

Symbolic Conservatives but Policy Moderates? Why Conservative Calgary Elects Moderate Mayors

**by
Carter McPherson**

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Declaration of Committee

Name: Carter McPherson
Degree: Master of Arts
Title: Symbolic Conservatives but Policy Moderates?
Why Conservative Calgary Elects Moderate
Mayors

Committee:

Eline de Rooij
Supervisor
Associate Professor, Political Science

Mark Pickup
Committee Member
Professor, Political Science

Abstract

Conservative Calgary consistently elects un-conservative mayors. Despite a mostly Conservative and right-wing electorate, right-wing mayoral candidates with Conservative Party ties consistently lose to moderate and un-conservative candidates. This voting pattern contradicts arguments against the localist thesis that suggest partisanship and ideology as primary influences on municipal voting. This paper uses data on the 2017 elections from the Canadian Municipal Election Study and Canadian Election Study and qualitative data from news sources for regression and qualitative analysis, testing the possibility that Calgary's non-partisan electoral system, vote splitting, and whether Conservative Calgarians being influenced by moderate operational ideology explain Calgary's deviant voting patterns. Testing the last explanation, this paper examines whether this moderate operational ideology is unique to municipal elections, consistent with the localist thesis, or if Conservative and right-wing Calgarians are operationally moderate across electoral levels. I conclude that Calgarians are somewhat influenced by moderate operational ideology in municipal elections.

Keywords: Localist thesis; municipal politics; ideology; partisanship

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List of Acronyms

CES	Canadian Election Study
CMES	Canadian Municipal Election Study
US	United States

Introduction

Calgary has a history of Conservative partisanship. Despite this, Calgary has failed to elect Conservative-tied mayors for most of its post-war history (Lucas, 2021). Lucas (2021) states that “[e]very four years, on the day after Calgary’s municipal election, political junkies across Canada suffer a collective outbreak of cognitive dissonance” as “conservative Calgary” elects “a distinctly un-conservative council” (para. 1-2). Calgary’s previous mayor, moderate Naheed Nenshi, was elected over candidates with ties to Conservative parties, Andre Chabot and Bill Smith in 2017 (Lucas & Santos, 2021, p. 33). In 2021 Calgary elected outspoken centrist Jyoti Gondek over Conservative-tied competitors Jeff Davison and Jeromy Farkas (Smith, 2021; Appel, 2021).¹ This paper investigates why Calgary, an apparent Conservative stronghold, elects un-conservative mayors that seem to represent opposing partisanship and ideology over Conservative-tied candidates by investigating voter behaviour in the 2017 municipal elections.

This paper investigates partisanship and ideology. Partisanship is an identification with a political party, whereas ideology refers to beliefs about the role of government (Converse, 2006). Ideology is often divided into operational and symbolic ideology. Operational perspectives define ideology based on issue positions, whereas symbolic perspectives define ideology as a social identity (Devine, 2015, p. 16). This paper investigates why Conservative partisans vote for un-conservative candidates and why right-wing identifiers vote for candidates who express moderate ideology.

Calgary’s non-partisan electoral system could explain the election of moderate mayors. The lack of parties may prevent voters from accurately identifying candidates’ ideology or partisanship. Calgary’s at-large mayoral electoral system could also provide

¹ This paper uses the terms Conservative-tied and un-conservative when referring to candidates. I define Conservative-tied candidates as those with prior or current ties to a Conservative Party and un-conservative, as candidates without ties to a Conservative Party and who express political views contrary to those of the Conservative Party. I also refer to these candidates as "moderate," referring to their moderate ideological position.

an explanation. In federal elections, left-leaning voters may be concentrated into few districts or multiple left-leaning candidates could cause vote-splitting.

Calgarians may also be Conservative partisans and symbolic right-wing ideologues while holding operationally moderate views, causing them to vote for moderate mayors. Calgarians may be operationally moderate only on municipal issues or across electoral levels while still identifying as Conservative and right-wing. Calgarians who are operationally moderate but who still identify with the Conservatives may be more likely to vote against partisan and ideological group norms in non-partisan elections.

Cutler and Matthews (2005) state that political science has discounted municipal elections to study higher-order elections. However, municipal politics has seen a resurgence of interest in recent years—particularly in Canada (Lucas & McGregor, 2021b, p. 4). Municipal politics is typically divided into elector and candidate studies (McGregor et al., 2021b, p. 1). Elector studies focus on electoral behaviour, whereas candidate studies analyze the candidates themselves (McGregor et al., 2021b, p. 1). This paper contributes to elector studies by investigating voting influences.

Municipal politics' electoral and institutional diversity allows for studying electoral behaviour across varied electoral and institutional contexts (Lucas & McGregor, 2021b, p. 3). In the case of Calgary, its non-partisan electoral system allows for the study of partisanship and ideology without explicit partisan cues.

The merits of non-partisan electoral systems are contested. Sherrill (1998) highlights several problems with non-partisan systems. Without political parties, voters are less able to assign blame as parties provide collective responsibility for policies (Sherrill, 1998). Non-partisan electoral systems could disadvantage less politically involved citizens as political information is increasingly difficult to gather as parties are not supplying information (Sherrill, 1998). Lastly, candidates must campaign individually, resulting in an “everyone for him-or herself” mindset and divisive campaigns (Sherrill, 1998).

Others argue these concerns are overstated. Barber (2013) states that some academics and municipal politicians argue in favour of non-partisan electoral systems stating that they encourage pragmatic decision-making and result in increased democratic responsiveness (as cited in Lucas et al., 2022, p. 190). In non-partisan electoral systems, politicians are forced to work together to develop policy because single politicians have insufficient power to unilaterally pass policy (Barber, 2013, p. 215). Additionally, because non-partisan politicians must campaign individually, they must be responsive to constituents to maintain support (Lucas et al., 2022, p. 188). Finding that individuals vote primarily based on their policy preferences would provide evidence that non-partisan municipal governments are ideologically representative and more likely to enact policies favoured by voters.

A prominent argument in municipal politics is the “localist thesis” which argues that municipalities are unique political worlds with different electoral cleavages than other electoral levels (Lucas & McGregor, 2020, p. 2). The debate over the localist thesis surrounds Peterson (1981) who argues that municipal policy responsibilities are unique and limited. Proponents of the localist thesis argue that traditional electoral cleavages such as partisanship are less relevant in municipal voting decisions due to the uniqueness of municipal policy responsibilities (Lucas & McGregor, 2020, p. 2). However, other research has argued against the localist thesis arguing that traditional cleavages such as ideology and partisanship influence municipal voting behaviour.

Calgary appears to contradict these pushbacks against the localist thesis as it appears that Calgary’s voting patterns are unique to its municipal elections. Calgaryans appear to not be primarily influenced by partisanship and ideology in municipal elections as they consistently elect moderate mayors despite being mostly Conservative. This paper investigates whether Calgary’s municipal voting decisions are influenced by partisanship and ideology or uniquely municipal electoral cleavages using data from the Canadian Municipal Election Study (CMES), qualitative data from news sources, and data from the Canadian Election Study (CES).

Lucas and Santos (2021) argue that partisanship is influential in Calgary's 2017 election. However, in the CMES dataset, there are more self-reported Conservatives in Calgary than all other partisan groups combined. Despite this Conservative majority, a moderate mayor was elected. This paper investigates Conservative partisans to determine why some Conservatives deviate from partisan expectations and vote for moderate candidates. This paper predicts that some Conservative partisans hold operationally ideologically moderate views resulting in them voting for moderate mayoral candidates.

Background

The 2017 Calgary Municipal Elections

Calgary uses an at-large, non-partisan electoral system for its mayoral elections but is divided into fourteen wards for city council elections (Lucas & Santos, 2021, p. 44). The 2017 municipal elections were highly competitive, with a larger turnout than any prior post-war election at 58% (Lucas & Santos, 2021, p. 40). A single issue did not define the mayoral election, but voters' feelings towards Nenshi himself and Smith's relative inexperience were most important (Lucas & Santos, 2021, pp. 37-38).

The mayoral campaign resulted in essentially a two-way race between Smith and Nenshi (Lucas & Santos, 2021, p. 35). Smith had some advantages as Calgary's economy suffered from the 2014 oil price collapse, which played into his Conservative background, and an anti-Nenshi sentiment was prevalent (Lucas & Santos, 2021, p. 34). As a result, 2017 was "the most competitive mayoral race in a generation" and resulted in Nenshi winning by 7.6 percentage points—a close election by Calgary standards (Lucas & Santos, 2021, pp. 34, 40). Lucas and Santos (2021) find that Smith and Nenshi's voter coalitions differed, with Smith voters being primarily white, male, older, and non-university-educated (pp. 41-42).

At the council level, a scandal surrounding property developer Cal Wenzel who was caught stating that with eight council votes you can dictate decisions resulted in "a number of contentious and potentially competitive [council] elections" as voters realized the importance of council elections (Lucas & Santos, 2021, p. 36). Lucas and Santos

(2021) argue that some council elections were fought on ideological grounds, with some lawn signs clearly stating, “Your Conservative Choice” (p. 37). Additionally, some council candidates were united by the “Save Calgary” organization connected to Smith (Lucas & Santos, 2021, p. 37).

Albertan Conservatism

Alberta is a very Conservative province, but this Conservatism is due to more than issue positions. In 2001, seven Albertan academics and Conservatives published the Alberta Agenda, which outlined how Alberta could protect itself against a “hostile” federal government (Dawson, 2021). The agenda captures prevalent sentiments of alienation and distrust in the federal government and the Liberal Party, resulting primarily from economically harmful policies under the Pierre Trudeau government (Dawson, 2021, para. 2). Ted Morton states that these sentiments are still present among Albertans and reflected in current policy (as cited in Dawson, 2021, para. 5).

This sentiment is part of Albertan identity. For example, Stewart and Sayers (2013), in their chapter on Albertan conservatism, highlight an Albertan who states, “I’ve been a Conservative all my life like any normal Albertan” (p. 249). Like this individual, many Albertans likely identify with the Conservatives primarily because of Albertan identity.

Stewart and Sayers (2013) argue that Alberta “may be less ‘conservative’ than widely assumed” as they find that Albertans hold political views contrary to conservative positions (p. 249). Many Albertans hold moderate political views, such as those related to moral issues like abortion and gay/lesbian marriage (Stewart & Sayers, 2013, p. 263).

Other research points to a prominent rural-urban divide which may explain Alberta’s Conservatism. Rural areas in the United States typically vote for the Republican Party, whereas metropolitan areas typically support the Democratic Party (Damore et al., 2021). Damore et al. (2021) highlight how this divide can result in a state voting primarily Republican despite strongly progressive metropolitan areas. Canada’s rural-urban divide has existed for generations and is now larger than ever (Lucas & Taylor, 2021, para. 11). Alberta’s Conservative reputation may be upheld by rural areas, while cities may be more moderate.

However, Calgary exhibits a history of Conservative voting in federal elections. This voting pattern may be upheld by suburban rather than urban areas. Munis (2020) demonstrates that suburban voters demonstrate similar resentment toward cities as rural voters (p. 17). A sizable number of suburban voters may explain Calgary's federal Conservative voting. However, in federal elections Calgary's urban and suburban districts typically vote Conservative. The only recent exception was 2015 where Calgary Centre voted Liberal, but this appears to be an exception as this district voted Conservative in 2019 and 2021 (Ho, 2021).

Conservatism in Calgary

The Conservative Party has won most of Calgary's districts in federal elections since 2000 (Ho, 2021). The weakest year for the Conservatives was 2015, the Liberals won two of ten districts (Ho, 2021). However, 2015 is likely an exception as the Liberal Party had rebuilt, and a sizable anti-Harper sentiment was prevalent in the Canadian electorate (Posner, 2016).

There is reason to expect that Calgary should elect Conservative and right-wing mayors. Armstrong and Lucas (2021) argue that municipal politicians typically match the ideological leanings of constituents (p. 970). Furthermore, they find that "more conservative municipalities are likely to be represented by more conservative representatives" (Armstrong II & Lucas, 2021, p. 970).

The election of moderate candidates over Conservative-tied candidates in mayoral elections appears to contradict Calgary's Conservatism. Lucas (2021) explains that Calgarians are "'policy progressives' but 'symbolic conservatives'" in municipal politics, referring to Calgarians' support of the Conservative Party and its conservative views despite moderate municipal voting. Furthermore, he argues that moderate municipal candidates are advantaged as they advocate policy positions similar to many Calgarians but must avoid left-wing, liberal, or progressive labels to avoid alienating Conservative partisans (Lucas, 2021, para. 34). Nenshi, for example, advocated a "purple party" rhetoric symbolizing a blend of Conservative blue and Liberal red, rather than any specific partisanship (Lucas & Santos, 2021, p. 45).

Literature Review

Ideology

This paper investigates a possible disjuncture between moderate operational ideology on the one hand, and Conservative partisanship and right-wing identification on the other hand in Calgarian's municipal voting decisions. Ideology is "the way a system—a single individual or even a whole society rationalizes itself" (Knight, 2006, p. 619). Ideology often takes a unidimensional structure in political science, referring to the "differentiation between alternative principles and their implications for government" (Knight, 2006, p. 619). For Converse (2006), ideology refers to systems of interrelated beliefs, ideas, and attitudes bound by constraint or functional interdependence (p. 3). These ideologies are based on beliefs about the proper role and function of the government (Converse, 2006, p. 3). Jessee (2012) states that ideology allows individuals to conceptualize and simplify the political world to efficiently form perceptions—thus structuring individuals' understanding of the political world (p. 15). Moreover, parties and politicians are influenced and driven by ideology, as they must be ideologically responsive to ideologically driven electorates to maintain support (Wiseman, 2017, p. 109).

Some researchers challenge this unidimensional conceptualization and distinguish between operational and symbolic ideology. Operational perspectives define ideology based on "the specific policy views held by citizens" (Devine, 2015, p. 16). Symbolic ideology defines ideology based on symbolic attachments to ideological groups (Devine, 2015, p. 16). There is some evidence to support distinguishing symbolic ideology. Devine (2015) finds that ideological self-identification prevents individuals from supporting candidates from ideological out-groups (p. 527). Conover and Fieldman (1981) investigate the underlying meaning behind the ideological terms "conservative" and "liberal" and find that identification with these terms is largely symbolic and primarily based on "nonissue-oriented meaning" (p. 641).

Popp and Rudolph (2011) state that the distinction is important as operational ideology requires individuals to reason on policy based on their ideological beliefs, whereas symbolic ideology requires evaluating the congruence of ideological symbols in policy with one's ideological identity (p. 808). They state that individuals who hold a symbolic ideology can hold an operational ideology that is consistent with or opposed to their symbolic ideology (Popp & Rudolph, 2011, p. 810). An example of conflicting symbolic and operational ideology is the "operational-symbolic paradox" which states that "Americans are more likely to identify as conservatives" but "are also more likely to embrace liberal... policy positions" (Popp & Rudolph, 2011, p. 810).

Ideological identities, like other social identities, have behavioural norms. Supporting a candidate on the same ideological side as one's ideological identity is consistent with ideological group norms (Pickup et al., 2022, p. 6). Pickup et al. (2020) state that individuals willingly incur personal costs to adhere to their political identity groups' norms. For example, an individual may vote for a candidate who opposes social programs that are personally beneficial (Pickup et al., 2020, pp. 1-2). They argue that the reasoning for individuals incurring these costs "can (in part) be explained by norm following" (Pickup et al., 2020, p. 18). Pickup et al. (2022) argue that individuals also incur costs of violating ideological group norms and that these costs increase as the norm's salience and strength increase (p. 6). Pickup et al., (2022) states that advertising is one way norm salience and strength can increase (p. 5). In Calgary's 2017 election conservative action groups conducted advertising campaigns for Conservative candidates (Kaufmann, 2017). Thus, there is reason to expect that Conservative and right-wing Calgarians should follow group norms and vote for Smith as partisan and ideological group norms were likely stronger and more salient. However, Calgary's non-partisan electoral system may have weakened group norms resulting in Calgarians with conflicting operational and symbolic ideologies to deviate from group norms and vote for Nenshi.

Partisanship

Revisionist political scientists defined partisanship as “an evolving indicator of an individual’s relationship to [political parties]” (Fiornia, 2002, p. 98). This adherence to a political party and its platform is highly stable and influences individuals’ political perceptions, issue preferences, vote choices, and political views (as cited in Klar, 2014, pp. 687-688). Partisanship can also act as a heuristic cue to assist individuals in making political judgements (Klar, 2014, p. 688).

The debate over partisanship relates mainly to the debate over party identification. Party identification studies are divided into instrumental perspectives, which argue that party identification is based on ideological beliefs and retrospective evaluations of parties, and expressive perspectives, which argue that party identification is a stable social identity (Huddy & Bankert, 2017, p. 2). Huddy and Bankert (2017) find more support for the expressive perspective than the instrumental perspective (p. 15). Greene (1999) finds that partisan identification involves an aspect of social identity, and that partisans and partisan leaners exhibit clear partisan social identity as consistent support of a political party generates “a social identity with that party” (pp. 401-402).

Mason (2015) states that individuals work to protect their party and spend time with co-partisans in the US (p. 129). Iyengar and Krupenkin (2018) state that research in the US shows that partisan identity is increasingly important, and that party identification is more affective than ideological, which points to the importance of the social identity aspect of partisan identification (p. 26). Further, Mason (2015) states that “[p]artisanship is the most prominent political identity” and that other political identities, such as ideological identity, are less important as parties are the central aspect of political competition (p. 130). In Canada there is some evidence of convergence between ideological and partisan identities, albeit less so than the US. Armstrong and Lucas (2021) find that Conservative partisans have somewhat homogenous right-wing ideology whereas Liberal and NDP partisans tend to be left-wing when surveyed on policy ideology (p. 968). Lucas (2022) argues that the partisan landscape of Canada can allow partisanship to serve as a “blunt measure” of ideology (p. 112). In Canada, the

Conservative Party is the only party that represents the ideological right and the traditionally centrist Liberal Party moved to the political left in 2015—even receiving the most left-wing score of all major parties from the Comparative Manifestos Project in 2015 (Lucas, 2022, p. 112). As a result, ideologically right-wing voters only have the Conservative Party representing their views allowing Conservative partisanship to be a blunt measure of right-wing ideology.

Expressive partisan identification can relate to demographic characteristics as this perspective views partisanship as an “identity strengthened by social affiliations” (Huddy & Bankert, 2017, p. 1). Pew Research Center (2021) finds, that in the US, the progressive left is younger and more educated than right-leaning individuals. Geys et al. (2022) find that individuals shift towards left-wing parties before age 40 and right-wing parties after age 55 (pp. 3, 7). Additionally, highly educated adults “are far more likely than those with less education to take predominantly liberal positions” (Pew Research Center, 2016). Thus, due to the potential for differences in demographic characteristics affecting results, it is important to investigate these characteristics and control for these variables when investigating issue preferences.

Traditional Electoral Cleavages in Municipal Politics

The debate over the role of ideology in municipal politics relates to the broader debate on the importance of traditional electoral cleavages in municipal elections. This debate surrounds the localist thesis. Proponents of the localist thesis argue that traditional electoral cleavages such as partisanship and ideology are unimportant in municipal elections.

Most work surrounding the localist thesis has been conducted in the US. Oliver (2012) states “that the principle factors that drive presidential voting... may not always be relevant in local elections” (p. 151). Traditional cleavages like partisanship have been argued to be less relevant in municipal contexts. Kaufmann (2004) states that partisanship is less reliable for predicting local electoral behaviour and that conventional voting theories cannot explain urban politics’ variability (p. 2). Kaufmann (2004) argues that

racial cleavages are the primary influence on local voting decisions and that traditional cleavages only become important when interracial conflict subsides (p. 3). Hajnal and Trounstein (2014) further find evidence that racial cleavages matter most for local voting behaviour (p. 86).

In contrast, Oliver (2012) argues that the effect of racial cleavages is unclear as many cities are racially diverse (p. 156). He argues that local voters are “more interested, engaged, and informed about local politics” than average voters in presidential elections (Oliver, 2012, p. 179). As a result, Oliver (2012) argues that issues are significant for local voting decisions (p. 180). Fischel (2005) argues that home values are the primary guiding issue for municipal voter behaviour as homeowners are the largest and most politically influential group in municipal elections (p. 4).

Several scholars challenge the localist thesis and argue that traditional predictors of voter behaviour are relevant in municipal voting decisions. For example, research on municipal government responsiveness in the US shows that municipal policies are not apolitical but instead follow the ideological orientations of electorates (Tausanovitch & Warshaw, 2014, pp. 620-621). Further, Einstein and Kogan (2016) find that as cities become more “Democratic,” they focus on more progressive policies, which challenges Peterson’s (1981) argument that municipal policy responsibilities are largely unrelated to ideology and partisanship (p. 22).

In Canada, the debate over the uniqueness of municipal elections is ongoing. Some researchers argue that municipal politics acts as a “relief valve” where politicians that do not match the partisan and ideological orientations of where they live can be elected (Lucas, 2022, p. 106). For example, in a Conservative constituency a Liberal partisan would be more likely to run in municipal elections and find success due to the lack of partisan cues in non-partisan elections (Lucas, 2022, p. 106). However, Lucas (2022) finds that municipal politicians largely match the partisan and ideological orientations of their constituencies. McGregor et al. (2016) demonstrate that Torontonians differentiate mayoral candidates on ideological and partisan associations (p. 328). Lucas and McGregor (2020) find that Calgarians are influenced by similar electoral

cleavages in municipal and provincial elections (p. 7). Furthermore, they find that voters in Calgary can identify political groups and accurately organize them into political coalitions (Lucas & McGregor, 2020, p. 23). Lucas and Taylor (2021) find that Calgarians are influenced by partisanship in the 2017 election and argue that Calgarians are more likely to vote for candidates they perceive as co-partisans (p. 50).

Calgary appears to violate claims that partisanship and ideology are primary influences on municipal vote choice and that municipal politicians largely match the partisan and ideological orientations of municipal electorates. Nenshi does not match the partisan and ideological orientation of the Calgary electorate as he is not a Conservative partisan and does not express right-wing views. It may be possible that operational ideology is more important in Calgarians municipal voting decisions. This paper adds to the debate over the localist thesis by investigating whether the election of moderate mayors can be explained by a disjuncture between operational ideology and partisan and ideological identification among Calgarians. Finding that individuals are influenced by moderate operational ideology in Calgary and thus vote for moderate mayors would confirm recent arguments that municipal elections are defined by similar cleavages as provincial and national elections.

Theoretical Framework

If partisanship and symbolic ideology are the primary driving forces in municipal voting, then Conservative partisans should vote for candidates with ties to the Conservative Party, and right-wing identifiers should vote for candidates who express right-wing ideology or ties to right-wing ideological groups. However, it seems as though a subset of Conservative Calgarians vote for mayors without ties to the Conservative Party or, in the case of Nenshi, ties to opposing political parties and who express more left-wing views and loyalties. This paper predicts that some Calgarians exhibit a disjuncture between their operational ideology and the expectations of their partisan and ideological identities. These individuals likely identify with the Conservative Party and the ideological right due to their Albertan identity but hold moderate political views resulting in them voting contrary to expectations of their partisan and ideological identities. Finding that voters who vote contrary to their partisan and ideological group norms because of operationally moderate views would explain Calgary's municipal voting behaviour in-line with arguments against the localist thesis, as Calgarians would be voting using ideology as a driving force for voting decisions whereas the localist thesis argues municipal politics is not ideological. Finding this would provide evidence against the localist thesis, which argues that municipal issues are not ideological.

For these predictions to be plausible, most Calgarians should be operationally moderate. A decisive subset of Conservative Calgarians should also vote against Conservative-aligned mayoral candidates. This subset should differ from Conservative Calgarians who voted for Conservative candidates along issue preferences.

In such a Conservative city, it is unlikely that partisans of center to left-wing parties hold the majority of votes. Lucas (2021) states that Calgary has repeatedly elected un-conservative councils in addition to electing un-conservative mayors. When the Calgary electorate is divided into wards, it still elects progressive municipal leaders shedding doubt on arguments that moderate votes are diluted by vote-splitting or concentrated into a few districts.

The localist thesis argues that voters' ideology is not a primary influence on voting behaviour. It is possible that voters vote in an operationally moderate way, but this voting behaviour is due to the uniqueness of municipal policies. To disprove this possibility, Calgarians should be operationally moderate, across electoral levels.

The reasons why some argue Calgarians hold operationally moderate views relates to why Albertans identify with the Conservative Party. The distrust in other parties and the federal government has cultivated Conservative support in Alberta. However, there is a lack of research on the reasons Albertans and Calgarians may hold operationally moderate views. I speculate that job instability due to the suffering Alberta economy and a growing young population contributes to why Conservative Calgarians may hold operationally moderate views.

Central to this paper's argument are political issue positions as operational ideology defines ideology on issue preferences. The CMES asks several questions related to municipal issues. Particularly relevant to this paper are the issues of public transit, property taxes, traffic and congestion, and economic development. Research in the United Kingdom demonstrates that Conservatives are more likely to drive, whereas left-leaning individuals are more likely to use and support public transit (Fearn, 2014). In the US, right-leaning individuals are more likely to believe that taxes substantially affect the economy negatively (Stantcheva, 2021). New governments often revise tax policies (Stantcheva, 2021, p. 2312). Given that Nenshi was already in office, right-leaning voters would have more to gain from changes in property taxes under Smith than left-leaning voters. These findings show that Conservatives should view property taxes and economic development as more important and public transit and traffic and congestion as less important as these issues are closely related.

Data and Methods

Case Selection

Calgary presents a deviant case from recent arguments that ideology and partisanship influence municipal voting behaviour as it appears that Calgarians are not

influenced by their Conservative partisanship and right-wing ideology when voting in municipal elections. Gerring (2008) states that deviant cases demonstrate values contrary to a typical case and can disprove existing theories (pp. 655-656). For a deviant case to not be deviant, another causal process or factor should explain its deviance (Gerring, 2008, p. 656). For Calgary, a disjuncture between operational ideology and partisan and symbolic ideological identification would show that Calgarians are influenced by ideology in municipal elections and that municipal elections are not unique and non-ideological as the localist thesis argues.

Data

Quantitative data comes from the CMES and CES. The CMES is a Canada-wide study that surveyed voters in eight cities holding municipal elections in 2017 and 2018 (McGregor et al., 2021b, p. 2). The CMES has an average of 1,800 respondents per city and a total sample size of 14,458 respondents (McGregor et al., 2021b, pp. 2-3). Calgary has an above-average 2,034 respondents (Lucas & McGregor, 2021a, p. 219).

This paper filters the CMES data. Respondents who failed to respond to a question or responded that they did not know for some questions are recoded as missing values. Additionally, the CMES includes a data quality question and respondents who did not report the requested answer are excluded from this analysis. These respondents are likely less confident of their political knowledge. Thus, removing these respondents may exaggerate findings. As a result, any conclusions will have to be made conservatively to account for this potential issue from removing these respondents.

Overall, the filtered CMES dataset has 1,859 respondents. However, some analyses further filter the dataset resulting in lower sample sizes. The coding of variables is also slightly modified. The dependent variable, vote intention, is limited to include only Nenshi and Smith vote intentions. Smith and Nenshi vote intentions are coded as 0 and 1, respectively. This removed 238 respondents who intended to vote for an uncompetitive candidate or who did not report a vote intention and 63 respondents who intended to vote for Chabot. As there are very few Chabot supporters it is unlikely that there is vote-splitting between Conservative candidates. However, removing those who

were unsure filters the sample to more politically involved respondents which could exaggerate the effects of ideology and partisanship on vote intentions in the analysis. This recoding is done as the mayoral race resulted in a competitive two-way race between Nenshi and Smith (Lucas & Santos, 2021).

The CMES records the year of birth for respondents. Year of birth is subtracted from 2017 to obtain age at the time of the election. Partisan identification strength is recoded on a 1-3 scale with 3 signalling very strong identification, 2 signalling fairly strong identification and 1 signalling not very strong identification. Ideology is measured on a 0-10 left-right scale. The measures of economic retrospective evaluation of the city's economy and evaluations of one's financial situation are recoded on a 1-3 spectrum with 1 signalling that the economy has gotten worse, 2 signalling the economy has stayed about the same, and 3 signalling that the economy has gotten better. Education level is measured using eleven categories with higher values indicating higher education (McGregor et al., 2021a). For gender, five respondents who responded with "Other/gender non-binary" and "Prefer not to say" are excluded to create a binary male/female variable. Income is measured using nine categories with higher numbers signalling a higher income category. Lastly, issue preferences are measured on 0-10 scales, with higher values signalling greater importance.

This paper also uses data from the CES online pre-election survey for federal issue preference data. The CES collected data before and after the 2019 Canadian federal election using online and phone-based surveying (Stephenson et al., 2020, p. 9). The online survey was conducted by Qualtrics and has a sample size of 37,822 respondents (Stephenson et al., 2020, p. 9). This paper uses a subsample of 296 respondents residing in Calgary postal codes. All CMES and CES questions used are provided in Appendix A.

Lastly, this paper uses qualitative data on candidates' partisanship and ideology. Qualitative data is sourced from news sources in Calgary and candidates' social media accounts. For a detailed discussion of the qualitative data used, see Appendix B.

Methods

This paper initially examines the accuracy of respondent perceptions of Nenshi and Smith's partisanship and ideology by comparing CMES respondent answers to qualitative data on candidate's partisanship and ideology. Next, this paper uses OLS regression to examine the effects of demographic, political, and issue preference variables on intending to vote for Nenshi.² Logistic regressions are ideal for binary dependent variables, but the choice of OLS regression is based on the ease of presenting results. Results are confirmed by logistic regression which is presented in Appendix C.

The second analysis uses qualitative data to determine if a majority of Calgarians vote for moderate candidates in council elections. Candidates are first coded into ideological groups, then respondents who intended to vote for each candidate are analyzed to determine if a subset of Conservative and right-wing identifiers reported intentions to vote for moderate candidates at the council level. Lastly, this paper uses federal-level CES data filtered into partisan and ideological groups to examine if a subset of Calgarians identify with the Conservative Party and the right side of the political spectrum but express moderate issue preferences on federal issues.

² Political variables refer to any variables that are not demographics or the specific issue preference questions measured on 0-10 scales

Analysis

The first potential explanation for why Calgarians elect moderate mayors is that voters are unable to determine the partisanship and ideology of candidates, which prevents voters from being able to vote consistent with their partisan and ideological identities. This paper examines the accuracy of respondent ideological and partisan candidate associations to test this explanation. The CMES asks respondents what federal party they associate with mayoral candidates and to place mayoral candidates on a 0-10 left-right ideological spectrum. This data is compared to mayoral candidate partisanship and ideological orientations derived from qualitative data to determine the accuracy of respondent associations.

When Naheed Nenshi was first elected in 2010, his platform focused on more moderate issues such as transit and community development (CBC News, 2010). Nenshi was a civil activist with Civic Camp, which promoted an “urban vision for the city,” ending urban sprawl, increasing affordable housing, and inclusive budgeting (Anderson, 2021). Nenshi eliminated the sprawl subsidy, where the city paid developers to build on the city’s outskirts and pushed numerous public transit projects (Anderson, 2021). He also focused on community improvement by constructing four new recreation centres and a new central library (Anderson, 2021). Nenshi’s policies have typically leaned towards the moderate side of the political spectrum, with his focus on social programs and community goods.

Nenshi’s partisanship, has rarely, if ever, been mistaken as Conservative. During the 2015 federal campaign and following the 2019 federal election, there were rumours about whether Trudeau would recruit Nenshi for the Liberal Party (Cryderman, 2014; Thomas, 2019). Additionally, Nenshi has been labeled as “Trudeau’s mayor,” by Conservatives demonstrating his ties to the federal Liberal Party (Smith, 2019). Despite Nenshi’s non-partisan rhetoric, his partisan ties to the Liberal Party and ideological ties to the center to left of the political spectrum are clear.

Calgary's 2017 municipal elections had considerable partisan influence. Brian Pincott, a former city councillor, stated that the campaign was "a Republican, American-style election campaign" where conservative political action groups were "tenaciously engineering a backlash against progressive political gains" (as cited in Kaufmann, 2017). Smith was the Conservative-tied candidate pitted against Nenshi. Smith previously served as president of the Alberta Progressive Conservative (PC) Party, and his campaign focused on right-wing issues (Braid, 2017; as cited in Gilligan, 2017). He emphasized reducing business taxes and regulations to make Calgary "Canada's most business-friendly city" (Smith, 2017). Smith's clear right-wing ideology and prior ties to the PCs should have made it easy for Calgarians to determine his Conservative partisanship and right-wing ideological leanings.

Respondent Partisan and Ideological Candidate Associations

I first examine whether respondents associate Nenshi with center to left-wing parties and the ideological left and Smith with the Conservatives and ideological right. Figure 1 presents respondent federal partisan associations and ideological associations for Nenshi and Smith. Combined, a majority 59.75% of respondents associated Nenshi with parties to the left of center, while only 7.46% associated him with the Conservatives. In contrast, 68.77% of respondents associated Smith with the Conservative Party and 4.25% of respondents associated him with parties left of center.

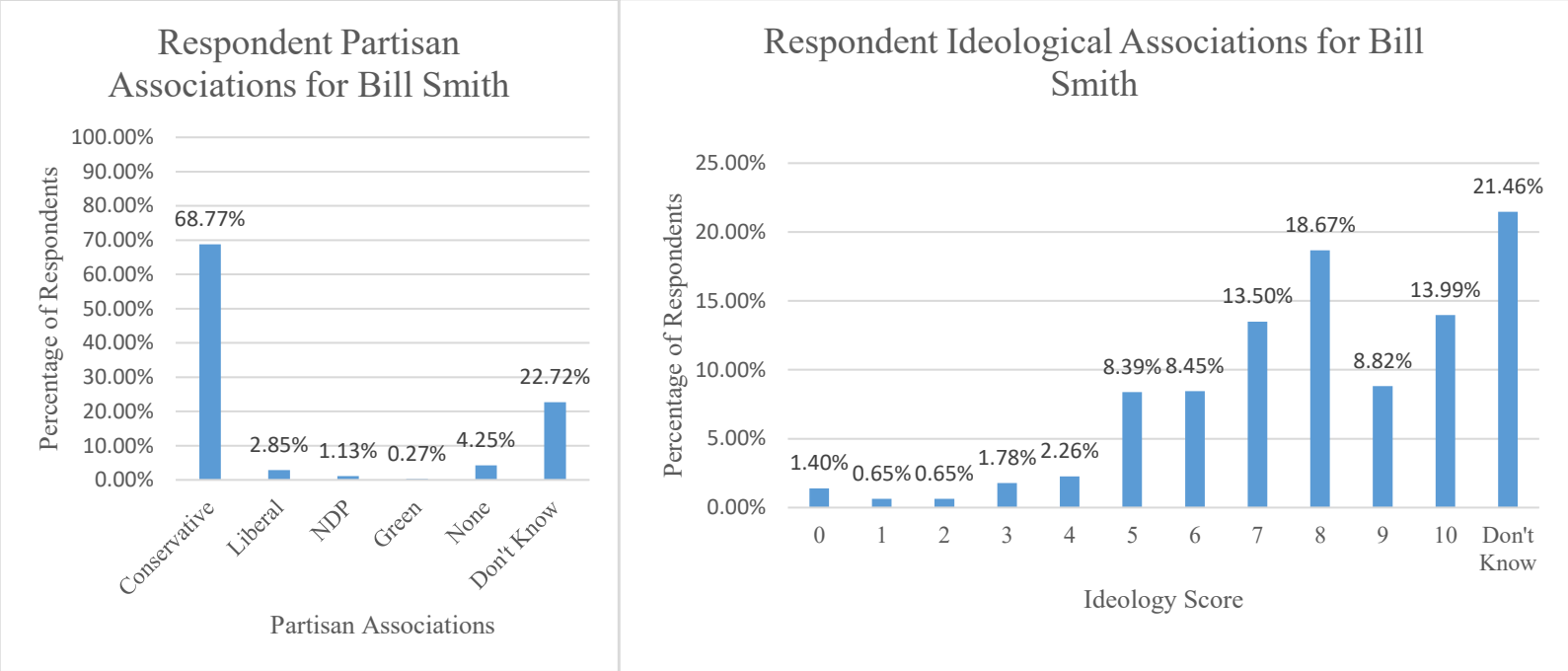
Nenshi is associated primarily with the center to left of the political spectrum and Smith primarily with the right side of the political spectrum. 72.57% of respondents perceived Nenshi to have an ideological score of five and under, whereas only 12.21% perceived him to have an ideological score over five. In contrast, 63.42% of respondents perceived Smith to have an ideological score over five, and 15.12% perceived him to have a score of five and under.

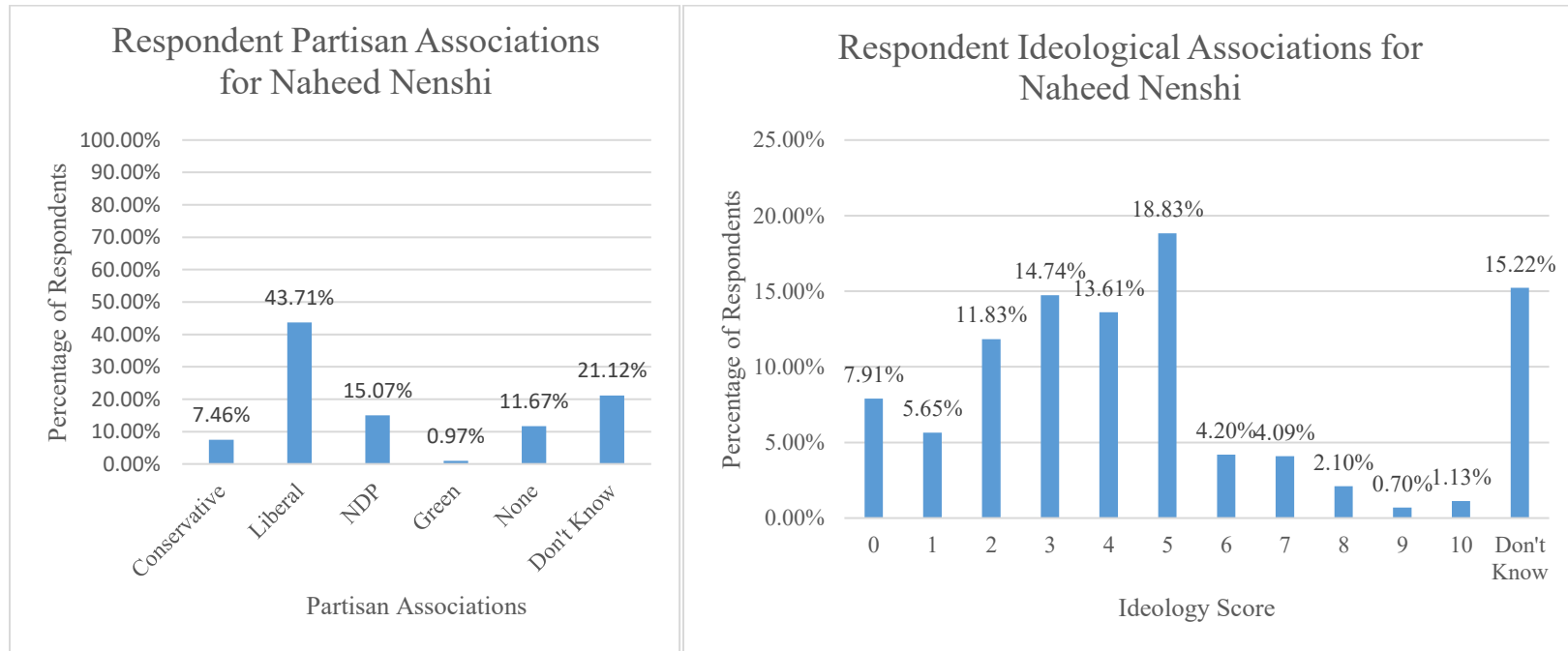
Additionally, I test for differences in the mean ideological score perceptions for Smith and Nenshi using a two-sample two-tailed z-test. The mean ideological score perceived by respondents for Nenshi ($M = 3.58$, $SD = 2.17$, $n = 1438$) was hypothesized to be different than the mean ideological score perceived of Smith by respondents ($M =$

7.29, SD = 2.17, n = 1438) and this difference was significant, $p < 0.001$. Respondents associated Nenshi with parties on the left of the political spectrum and the ideological left whereas respondents associated Smith with the Conservative Party and the ideological right. Important to note is that a sizable number of respondents were unable to place Nenshi in a partisan camp or ideologically.³ This could be due to his lack of direct ties with any federal or provincial party and his “purple party” rhetoric. Regardless it is clear that Smith is the Conservative choice and that a vote for Nenshi would be going against Conservative and right-wing group norms.

³ 15.22% of respondents did not provide an ideological score for Nenshi, and 21.46% of respondents did not provide an ideological score for Smith. These respondents are excluded from this analysis.

Figure 1. Percentage of Respondent Reported Ideological and Partisan Associations of Bill Smith and Naheed Nenshi





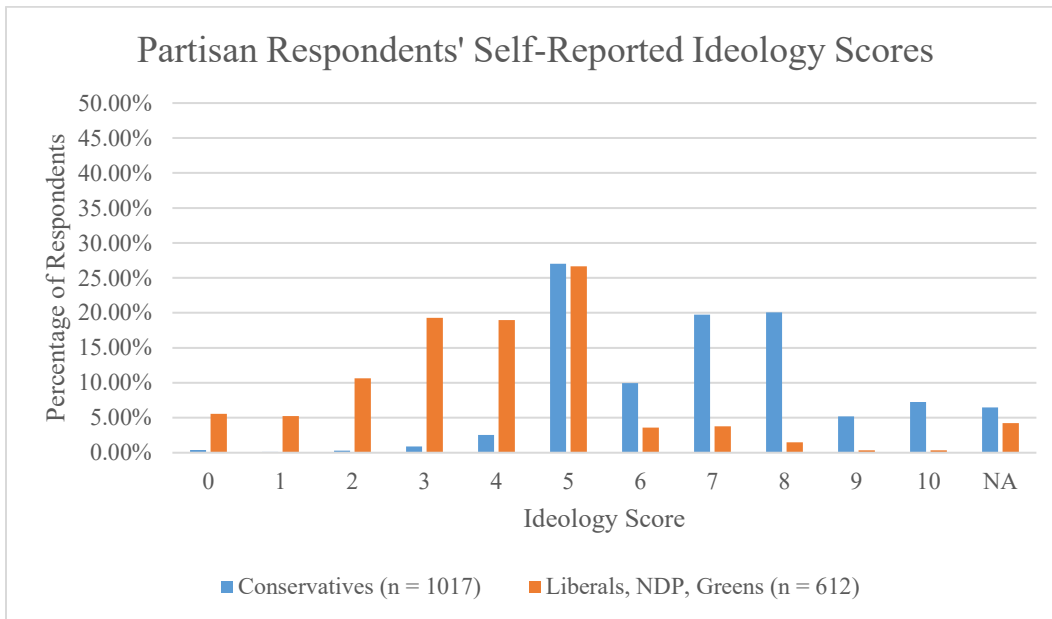
Note. Figure reports respondent answers to the question: “Which FEDERAL political party, if any, would you associate with each of the following mayoral candidates?” and the question asking respondents to place mayoral candidates on a 0 to 10, left to right scale (McGregor et al., 2021a). Figure based on a sample size of 1859.

Ideology and Partisanship

I next examine the association between respondents' partisanship and ideological self-identification to determine if Calgarians who report federal Conservative partisanship also report right-wing identification. Those identifying with a political party should theoretically have a similar ideological identity as the party they identify with. The CMES asks respondents to place themselves on a left/right spectrum (McGregor et al., 2021a). This question uses the terms "left" and "right" and does not use the term "ideology," making it more likely that respondents would associate these terms with symbolic ideology. Conservative respondents report an average ideological score of 6.69. Comparatively, partisans of the Liberal Party, NDP, and Green Party have an average ideological score of 3.81. The mean ideological score of Conservative partisans ($M = 6.69$, $SD = 1.78$, $n = 1043$) was hypothesized to be different than the mean of moderate partisans ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 1.85$, $n = 636$) and this difference was significant, $p < 0.001$ (2 tail, z-test). Conservative Calgarians appear to identify more with the political right than moderate partisans.

Additionally, I plot the ideology scores of partisan respondents in Figure 2. Most Conservatives are right-wing whereas most Liberal, NDP, and Green partisans are left-wing. There is a sizable number of centrists in all partisan categories. Further investigation into whether Albertan identity and Conservative identity results in right-wing identification and the effect of this centrist group on municipal election results is necessary.

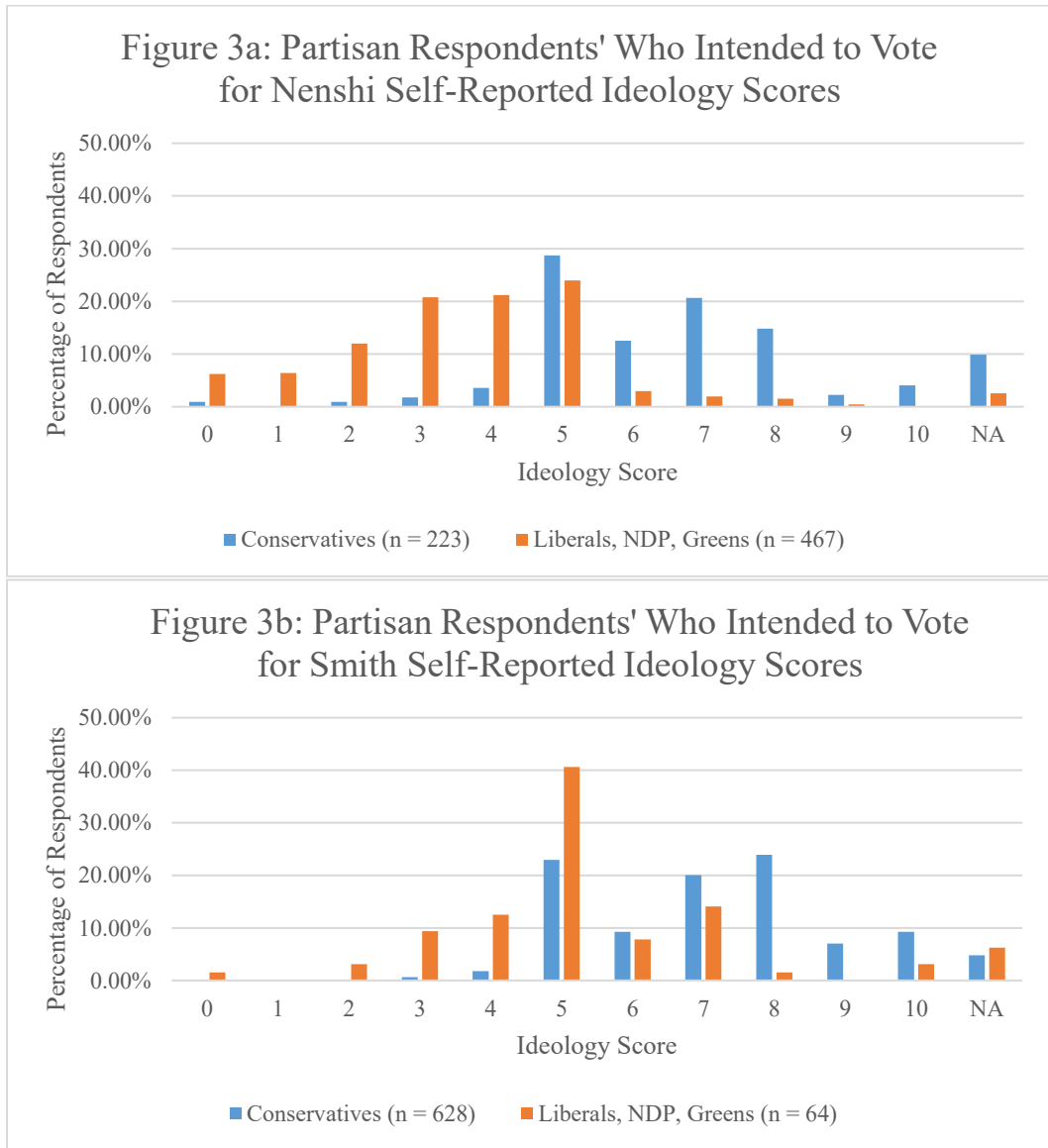
Figure 2. Percentage of Respondent’s Self-Reported Ideology Scores



Note. Percentages are calculated out of the total number of respondents for partisan group/grouping. Respondents who did not provide a partisanship are excluded from this figure.

I also examine partisan Smith and Nenshi supporters separately, plotted in Figure 3a and 3b. Most Conservatives that support Smith or Nenshi report right-wing ideology. Most Liberal, NDP, and Green partisans who supported Nenshi were left-wing. However most Liberal, NDP, and Green partisans who supported Smith were centrists.

Figure 3. (a) Percentage of Self-Reported Ideology Scores of Respondents who Intended to Vote for Nenshi and (b) Respondents who Intended to Vote for Smith



Note. Percentages are calculated out of the total number of respondents for partisan group/grouping. Respondents who did not provide a partisanship are excluded from this figure.

The large number of centrist Conservative partisans may explain the election of Nenshi. I need to demonstrate that there is a decisive subset of Conservative partisans who also identify with the right side of the political spectrum that supported Nenshi. In the initial CES sample of 1,859 respondents, 40.02% reported their intention to vote for Smith, while 42.71% reported their intention to vote for Nenshi. Of the Nenshi supporters, 28.09% reported Conservative partisanship, and over half (54.26%) of those Conservative partisans reported right-wing ideological identification (ideology values over 5). Examining the 242 centrist and left-wing Conservatives (ideology scores 5 and under) who intended to vote for either Smith or Nenshi, 33.47% intended to vote for Nenshi over Smith. Combined, Nenshi's non-Conservative supporters and his Conservative supporters who did not report right-wing ideology is not larger than Smith's supporters. Even if 50% rather than 33.47% of these centrist and left-wing Conservatives intended to vote for Nenshi, Nenshi would still need some right-wing Conservatives voters to win against Smith. 50% of these left-wing and centrist Conservatives would result in 121 respondents. Combined with Nenshi's non-conservative voters results in 37.22% of the sample supporting Nenshi, which is still less than Smith's 40.02% support in the sample. Nenshi needed some right-wing Conservatives to support him to have sufficient support to beat Smith. While center-to-left Conservatives contributed to Nenshi's electoral victory, there was a decisive subset of right-wing Conservatives that elected Nenshi.

Like Lucas (2022) I use partisanship as a blunt proxy measure of ideology. I primarily examine Conservative partisans rather than right-wing identifiers as the majority of Conservatives also identified with the ideological right. However, I briefly examine right-wing Conservatives to verify my findings in the following analysis. While centrist to left-wing identifying Conservatives voting for Nenshi does not demonstrate a disjuncture between voting behaviour and ideology, it does present a disjuncture between partisanship and partisan norms of voting for a Conservative-tied candidate, which can be examined using Conservative partisanship rather than right-wing identification in my analysis.

Analysis 1

I initially test demographic characteristics, political variables, and issue preferences using two-sample two-tailed z-tests to determine if there are any significant differences between respondents who intended to vote for Nenshi and respondents who intended to vote for Smith. I then conduct the same analysis on a sample restricted to Conservative partisans to determine if the same patterns hold between Conservative Nenshi supporters and Conservative Smith supporters. The tested demographic characteristics are age, gender, education level, and income. The tested political variables are ideological identity, partisan identification strength, economic retrospective evaluation of Calgary's economy, and views of respondents' personal financial situation. The tested issue preferences are public transit, property taxes, traffic and congestion, economic development, and the Calgary Flames arena.

Based on Lucas and Santos (2021), I expect that Nenshi voters will be, on average younger, more female, more educated, and because of higher education, have higher incomes than Smith voters. For political variables, I expect Nenshi supporters to be more ideologically left-wing and view the economy and their financial situation more positively than Smith voters.

For this paper's proposed explanation, issue preferences are most important as they are the best measure of operational ideology in the CMES dataset. I expect Nenshi supporters to view public transit as more important than Smith supporters and property taxes as less important. The issue of traffic and congestion is closely related to public transit although its connection to moderate issue preferences is less direct. Thus, I expect Nenshi supporters to view this issue as more important than Smith supporters. I also expect that economic development will be more important to Smith supporters based on Smith's emphasis on economic issues and conservatism's emphasis on economic importance and tax policy (Stantcheva, 2021). While somewhat unrelated to operational ideology, I expect Flames arena support to decrease the probability of intending to vote for Nenshi due to his opposition to the Flames arena and Smith's support for the arena (Lucas & Santos, 2021, p. 38). These expectations lead to the following hypothesis:

Conservative partisans who reported an intention to vote for Nenshi will view public transit and traffic and congestion as more important and property taxes and economic development as less important than Conservative partisans who reported an intention to vote for Smith.

Analyzing the differences between Nenshi supporters and Smith supporters provides a baseline for expectations when examining Conservative partisans who supported Nenshi and Conservative partisans who supported Smith. Table 1 presents the results of two-tailed z-tests for each variable. Nenshi supporters are, on average, younger, more female, and more educated than Smith supporters. For political variables, Nenshi supporters are less ideologically right-wing and have more positive views of the city's economy and finances than Smith supporters. Lastly, Nenshi supporters view public transit as more important and all other issues as less important than Smith supporters.

The next analysis examines Conservative partisans exclusively. Conservative partisans who intended to vote for Nenshi are compared to Conservative partisans who intended to vote for Smith in Table 1. I use the same variables with the addition of partisan identification strength as a political variable. I expect Conservative Nenshi supporters to be less strongly identified with the federal Conservative Party making it easier for them to vote against Conservative partisan group norms. On average, Conservative Nenshi supporters have weaker partisan identification than Conservative Smith supporters. For the other variables, the only significant difference compared to the analysis of Nenshi and Smith supporters, is that Conservative Nenshi supporters view traffic and congestion as more important than Conservative Smith supporters. This analysis demonstrates that Conservative Nenshi supporters exhibit similar differences compared to Conservative Smith supporters as Nenshi supporters do compared to Smith supporters. This shows that Conservative Nenshi supporters may have different voting influences compared to Conservative Smith supporters. Important for the discussion on the localist thesis is the finding that Conservatives who supported an un-conservative candidate expressed demographics, political variables, and, most importantly, issue preferences different than Conservatives who intended to vote for Smith. These voters may identify with the Conservatives and the right-wing due to Albertan identity but use

moderate operational ideology when making municipal voting decisions. For Calgary's deviance to be explained in-line with literature that argues against the localist thesis, Calgarians should be influenced by moderate operational ideology when voting in municipal elections.

Table 1. Two-Tailed Z-Tests for Demographics, Political Variables, and Issue Preferences Between Conservative Partisans and Liberal NDP, and Green Partisans and between Conservative Smith and Nenshi Supporters

Variable	Nenshi Supporters Mean	Smith Supporters Mean	Difference		Conservative Nenshi Supporters Mean	Conservative Smith Supporters Mean	Difference	
Age	51.396	57.603	-6.207	***	53.814	57.985	-4.171	**
Gender	0.551	0.422	0.129	***	0.518	0.414	0.104	**
Education	8.491	7.840	0.651	***	8.063	7.843	0.220	
Income	4.545	4.655	-0.110		4.762	4.756	0.006	
Ideology	4.380	6.779	-2.399	***	6.254	6.998	-0.744	***
Personal Financial Situation	1.971	1.624	0.347	***	1.857	1.630	0.227	***
Home Values Evaluation	2.563	2.287	0.276	***	2.521	2.315	0.206	***
City Economic Retrospection	2.042	1.480	0.562	***	1.845	1.466	0.379	***
Policy Retrospection	2.280	1.362	0.918	***	2.065	1.348	0.717	***
Mayoral Performance Evaluation	3.525	1.545	1.980	***	3.404	1.518	1.886	***
Nenshi Feeling Thermometer	84.125	27.556	56.569	***	81.855	27.039	54.816	***
Smith Feeling Thermometer	30.371	74.536	-44.165	***	39.782	75.551	-35.769	***
Public Transit	7.388	5.658	1.730	***	6.748	5.546	1.202	***
Property Taxes	7.116	8.992	-1.876	***	8.090	9.014	-0.924	***
Traffic and Congestion	7.115	7.505	-0.390	***	7.748	7.377	0.371	*
Economic Development	8.035	8.454	-0.419	***	8.360	8.470	-0.110	
Partisan Identification Strength	-	-	-	-	1.840	2.222	-0.382	***

.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

Note. Table shows mean variable values for Conservative Partisans and Liberal, NDP, and Green Partisans and Conservative Smith and Nenshi supporters and the results from two-tailed z-tests.

Regression Analysis

Using OLS regression on Conservative partisans, demographic, political, and issue preference variables are regressed as independent variables to determine their effect on vote intention. I first model the effects of demographic characteristics and political variables, then issue preferences separately, then combine all variables in one model. Figure 4a-d presents coefficient plots for the OLS regression models (see Appendix D for R code and Appendix E for regression tables). Ideology is recoded from its 0-10 scale to a dichotomous variable with 0 signalling right-wing ideology (ideology scores over 5) and 1 signalling left-wing to center ideology (scores 5 and under). This recoding decision was made to examine right-wing identifiers that are contrary to right-wing group norms by reporting centrist or left-wing identification. Additionally, this analysis uses a sample of 636 respondents after filtering for respondents who answered the questions of interest

Figure 4a presents results for demographic variables. In this model only age significantly affects vote intention in the Conservative partisan group. Higher age decreases the likelihood of intending to vote for Nenshi by 0.37 percentage points for each one-year increase in age ($p = 0.002$). For political variables, presented in Figure 4b, all variables have significant effects. Moving from right-wing to centrist and left-wing increases the probability of intending to vote for Nenshi by 8.53 percentage points ($p = 0.024$). Stronger partisan identification strength decreases the probability of intending to vote for Nenshi by 12.26 percentage points for each one-point increase in identification strength ($p < 0.001$). More positive economic retrospective evaluations of the city's economy increase the probability of intending to vote for Nenshi by 11.01 percentage points for each category movement towards the positive end of the spectrum ($p < 0.001$). Lastly, more positive views of one's financial situation increase the probability of a Nenshi vote intention by 6.57 percentage points for each category movement towards to positive end of the spectrum ($p = 0.008$).

While respondents exhibited differences in age and some political variables, the more important analysis for this paper's argument is of issue importance, presented in Figure 4c. Issue importance is the best measure of operational ideology in the CMES

dataset and is used to determine if Conservatives who intended to vote for Nenshi hold different issue preferences than Conservatives who intended to vote for Smith.

Firstly, viewing public transit as more important increases the probability of intending to vote for Nenshi by 3.04 percentage points for each one-point increase in importance ($p < 0.001$). Viewing property taxes as more important decreases the likelihood of intending to vote for Nenshi by 6.43 percentage points for each one-point increase in importance ($p < 0.001$). Traffic and congestion increases the probability of intending to vote for Nenshi by 2.43 percentage points for each one-point increase in importance ($p = 0.003$). Finally, the Flames arena decreases the probability of intending to vote for Nenshi by 2.83 percentage points for each one-point increase in issue importance ($p < 0.001$). Economic development did not have a significant effect as both Conservative Nenshi and Smith supporters viewed economic development as very important.

I now add demographics and political variables to the vote intention model using only issue preference variables which is presented in Figure 4d. I expect that younger age will increase the importance of public transit, whereas older age will increase the importance of property taxes. Therefore, age should have a mitigating effect on these issues, reducing their effect or vice versa as issues are more causally “proximate” to vote intention than age. Ideology should also mitigate issue preferences, as the issues of public transit and property taxes are more ideological.

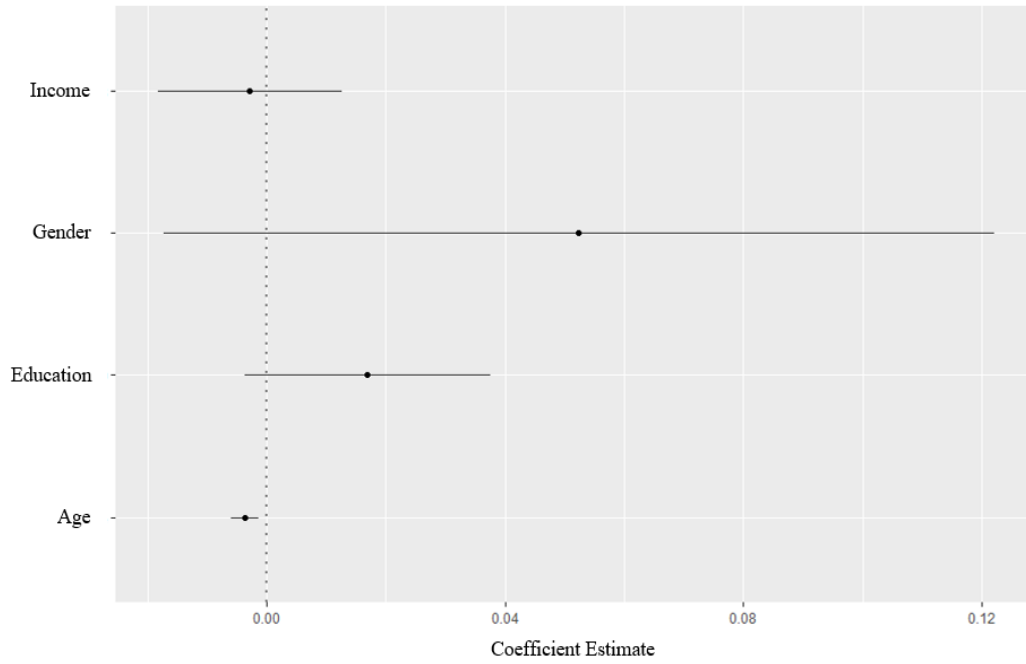
Despite the addition of demographics and political variables, all the previously significant issues are still significant. The effect of public transit decreased to 2.66 percentage points from 3.04 percentage points, and property taxes’ effect decreased from 6.43 to 4.67 percentage points. The effect of demographics and political variables on traffic and congestion and the Flames arena is less extreme than the first two issues. However, it does decrease traffic and congestion’s effect from 2.43 to 2.17 percentage points and the arena’s effect from 2.83 to 2.42 percentage points.

As the main issues analyzed are ideological, I test for interaction effects between ideology and public transit, property taxes, and traffic and congestion to determine if issue preferences are dependent on ideology (see Appendix E for regression tables). No

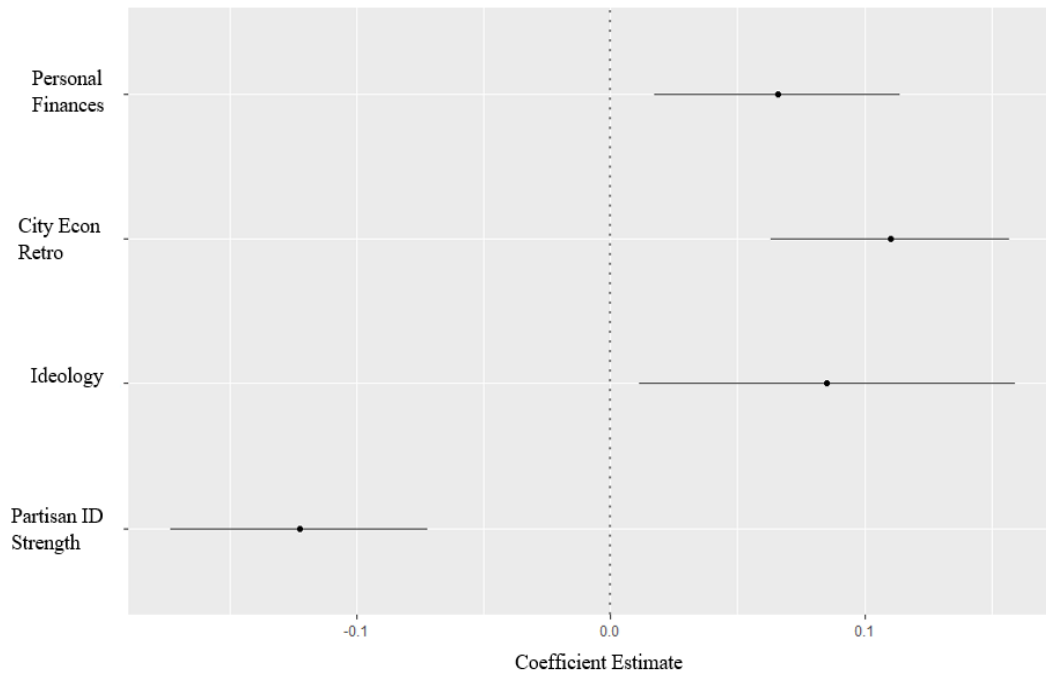
interaction terms had a significant effect for the interactions between all three issue preference variables and ideology. This shows that there is no moderation effect between ideology and issue preferences.

Figure 4. Coefficient Plots for OLS Regression Analysis on Conservative Partisans

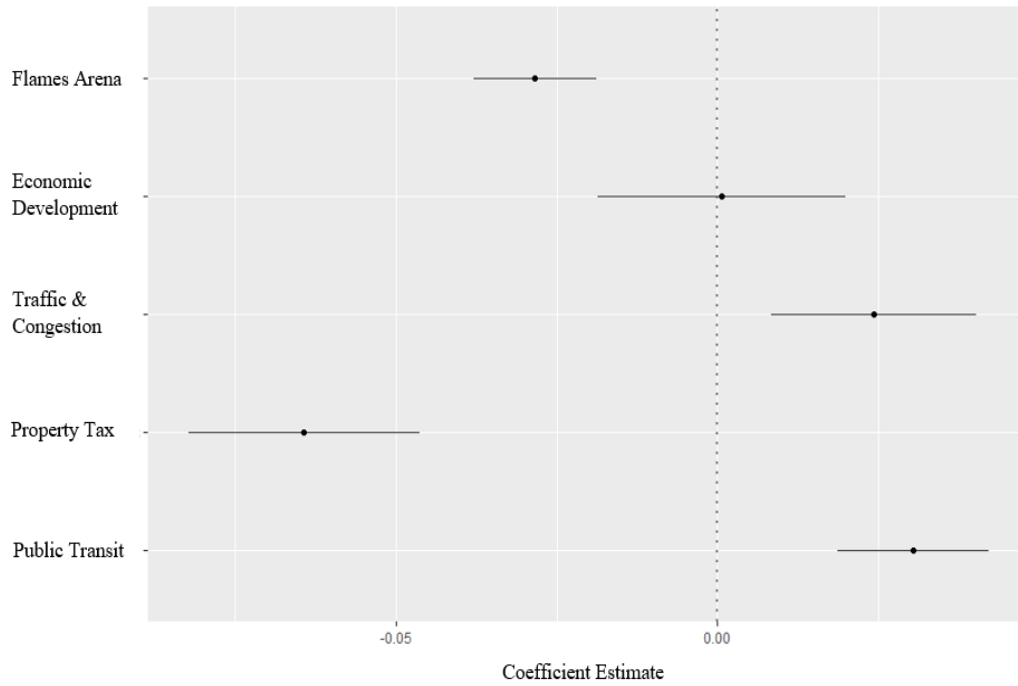
(a) The Effect of Demographics on Vote Intentions



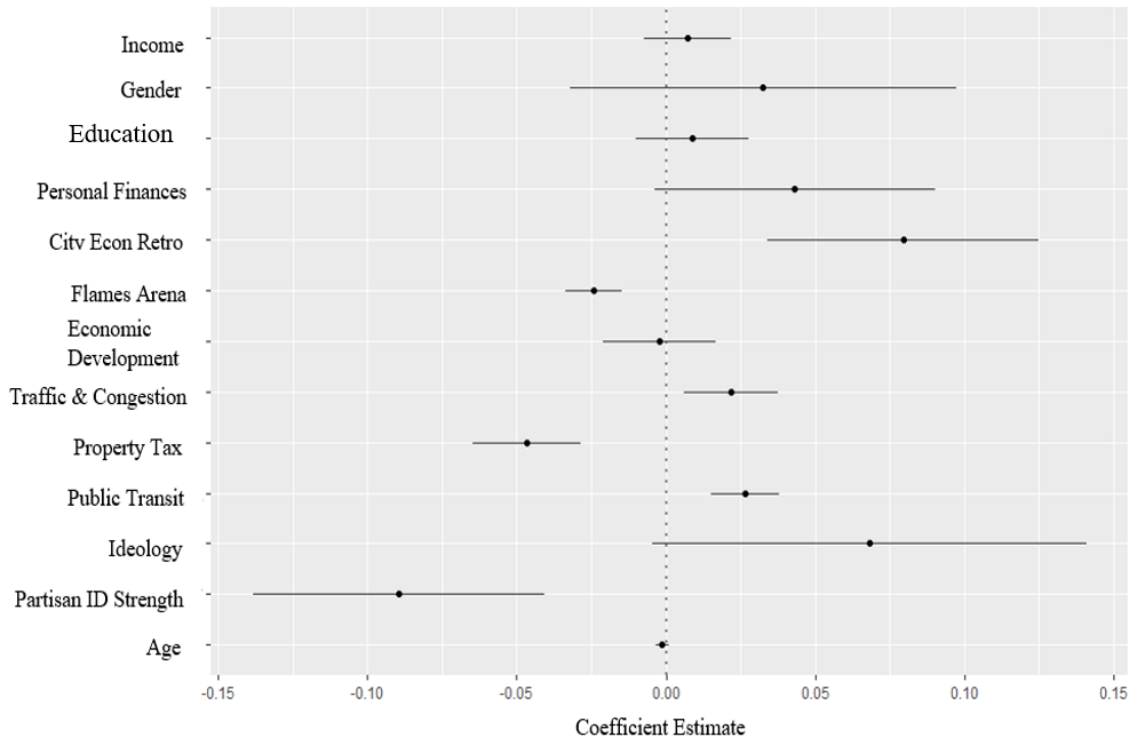
(b) The Effect of Political Variables on Vote Intentions



(c) The Effect of Issue Importance on Vote Intentions



(d) The Effect of Issue Importance, Demographics, and Political Variables on Vote Intentions



Note. Figures show coefficient estimates at a 95% confidence level. Regression based on a sample size of 481. Please see Appendix E for regression tables

Overall, my results partially confirm my hypothesis. Conservative Nenshi supporters differ from Smith supporters on issue preferences, with Conservative Nenshi supporters viewing moderate issues as more important and conservative issues as less important. This provides some evidence that Conservatives who supported Nenshi were voting based on moderate operational ideology that was different from that promoted by the Conservative Party. If this is the case, then it provides support to arguments against the localist thesis as it shows that ideology is an influence on municipal voting behaviour.

There were no interaction effects between ideology and issue preferences showing that the values reported on issue preference questions did not depend on respondent ideology (see Appendix E for interaction regression tables). This shows that respondents likely made their issue judgements somewhat independently of their ideological identification. If these individuals make their issue judgements on moderate operational ideology, then their moderate issue preferences should carry over to federal issues to show that these individuals are operationally moderate despite identifying as Conservative and right-wing. If these individuals are operationally moderate in general, then this will provide evidence that municipal elections are not ideologically unique from higher-level elections—thus providing evidence against the localist thesis. This possibility is tested later by examining federal issue preferences.

Right-Wing Identifiers

As a sizable number of Conservatives identify as centrist, I confirm my findings by analyzing Conservative partisans who also report a right-wing ideological score (above 5). I test for issue preferences in Figure 5a and issue preferences with demographics and political variables as controls in Figure 5b.

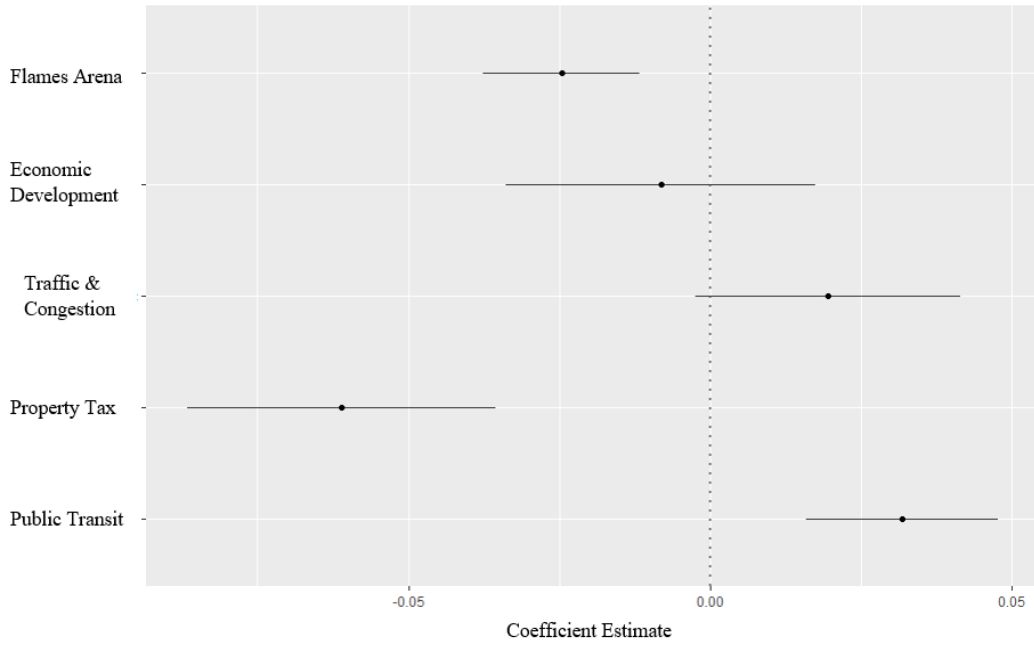
Public transit and property taxes are significant in the issue preference model. Public transit increases the probability of intending to vote for Nenshi by 3.18 percentage points for each one-point increase in issue importance ($p < 0.001$). Property taxes decrease the probability of intending to vote for Nenshi by 6.11 percentage points for each point increase in importance. The traffic and congestion variable is only significant at a 90% confidence level ($p = 0.081$) and increases the probability of intending to vote for Nenshi

by 1.96 percentage points. Lastly, the Flames arena is significant, and its effect is in the expected direction.

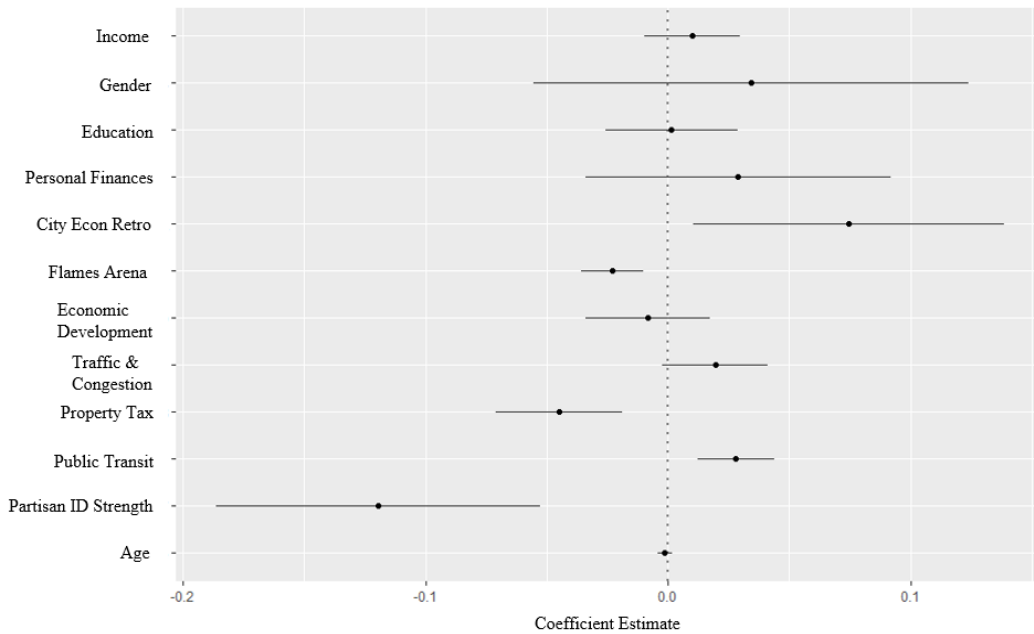
After adding demographics and political variables, the effects of the issue importance variables change similarly to the analysis on Conservative partisans. Public transit's effect decreases from 3.18 to 2.80 percentage points, and property taxes' effect decreases from 6.11 to 4.50 percentage points. This analysis produces largely the same results when examining Conservative partisans who also identify as right-wing as the analysis examining Conservative partisans regardless of ideology.

Figure 5. Coefficient Plots for OLS Regression Analysis on Conservative Right-Wing Identifiers

(a) The Effect of Issue Preferences on Vote Intentions for Right-Wing Identifiers



(b) The Effect of Issue Preferences on Vote Intentions with Demographic and Political Control Variables for Right-Wing Identifiers



Note. Figure shows coefficient estimates at a 95% confidence level. Regression based on a sample size of 343. Please see Appendix F for regression tables.

Analysis 2

The second analysis examines the possibility that operationally moderate Calgarian voters are overpowered in federal elections due to the city's division into constituencies or vote-splitting. I examine qualitative data to determine council candidates' partisanship and ideological orientations for each of Calgary's 14 wards. Qualitative data comes primarily from candidate questionnaires completed by the Calgary Herald before the election. For some candidates, other news sources and social media accounts are also used. As many candidates' social media pages used during the campaign are no longer available, current social media pages are also utilized. With the stability of party identification (Green & Palmquist, 1994), it is unlikely that candidates' partisanship and ideology would change significantly in four years.

Due to the low barriers of entry to become a candidate in a council election, many candidates are not competitive. The exclusion of candidates in this analysis is subjective and tailored to each council election. This exclusion protocol is used because council elections vary greatly in electoral competitiveness and the number of candidates. In general, if a candidate received relatively little support compared to the top two competitors, they are excluded from the analysis.

For this paper's argument to be plausible, Calgary should elect a centrist to moderate council majority. If, in an at-large election, Calgary elects a moderate mayor, then a majority of Calgarians should vote for moderate candidates in council elections because when divided into wards, there should still be a majority of Calgarians that vote for moderate candidates in municipal elections.

Coding

I code candidates as either left-wing, centrist, or right-wing based on their main campaign issues, candidate questionnaire, social media (if needed) and any additional information that assists in coding (see Appendix G for coding protocol). Candidates that focus primarily on social issues are coded as left-wing, whereas candidates focusing primarily on economic issues are coded as right-wing. If candidates focused equally on

social and economic issues, they are coded as centrist. For the questionnaire, candidates' primary issue is coded subjectively on whether it is a left-wing issue, such as affordable housing or a right-wing issue, such as lowering property taxes. I then examine candidates' approaches to the economy, coding those who promoted reducing taxes, regulations, and red tape as right-wing, economic diversification or small businesses as centrist, and public services and community improvement as left-wing. For the issue of tackling affordable housing through secondary suites, candidates who were against secondary suites or against reforming the approval system are coded as right-wing, candidates for reforming the approval system are coded as centrist, and those in favour of blanket approvals are coded as left-wing. For the issue of adding fluoride into Calgary's drinking water, candidates who were against fluoride were coded as right-wing, candidates for public health initiatives involving fluoride but against adding it into drinking water were coded as centrist, and candidates who were pro-fluoride were coded as left-wing. Lastly, for the issue of safe injection sites, candidates who were against the construction of these sites were coded as right-wing, and candidates for the construction of these sites were coded as left-wing. Candidates who expressed that they were for the construction of these sites, but only in some areas of the city, are coded as centrist. For a detailed coding table and protocol, see Appendix G. Appendix H provides a detailed description of candidates and their partisan and ideological leanings.

Analysis

Table 2 shows the percentage of the vote received, the ideological group code, and the percentage of supporters in the CMES sample who were Conservative partisans, Liberal partisans, NDP partisans, Green partisans, and non-partisans for each coded candidate.

Conservative partisans comprise the majority of respondents in eleven out of fourteen wards (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14). Calgary elected right-leaning candidates in six wards (1, 2, 4, 6, 10, 11). These election results are unsurprising, given that Conservative partisans comprise the majority of respondents in these wards. However, Calgary elected centrist candidates in three wards (3, 5, 12) and left-wing

candidates in five wards (7, 8, 9, 13, 14). The election of centrist candidates in wards 3 and 12 and left-wing candidates in wards 9, 13, and 14 is surprising, given that Conservative partisans make up the majority of voters in these wards. Lucas (2022) finds that wards 5, 7, and 8 lean towards the Liberal Party based on federal polling district data (p. 111). The election of a centrist candidate in Ward 5 and left-wing candidates in Ward 7 and Ward 8 is thus unsurprising. Overall, Calgary elected six right-leaning councillors leaving a centrist to left-wing majority on city council.

In wards 1, 6, and 11, the election of Conservative councillors follows the partisan leanings of voters. In these wards, centrist and moderate candidates all received a minority of their support from Conservative partisans. Additionally, wards 4, 5, 7 and 8 also reflect respondents' partisan leanings, with left-wing partisans supporting left-wing candidates and Conservative supporters supporting right-leaning candidates.

There is deviance from partisanship in six wards (2, 3, 9, 12, 13, 14). A majority of the respondents who reported their intention to vote for Wyness (Ward 2), Gondek (Ward 3), McAnerin (Ward 3), Keating (Ward 12), Colley-Urquhart (Ward 13), and Demong (Ward 14) were Conservative partisans despite these candidate's centrist to left-wing leanings. In these wards, there appears to be a disjuncture between Conservative partisanship and voting behaviour, as Conservative partisans intended to vote for centrist and left-wing candidates despite competing right-leaning choices.

It does not appear that vote splitting or concentration of moderate voters into a few districts can explain Calgary's federal Conservative voting patterns. Only wards 4 and 11 exhibited possible vote-splitting among centrist and left-wing candidates. Six of Calgary's fourteen wards showed deviance from partisan expectations by electing centrist or left-wing candidates despite a Conservative partisan majority in the electorate. This analysis demonstrates that many Conservative Calgarians vote for moderate candidates in council elections. Two possible explanations remain for why Calgarians vote for Conservatives in federal elections and moderates in municipal elections. First, other factors such as Albertan identity may explain why Calgarians vote Conservative in federal elections but vote according to their operational ideology in municipal elections.

Second, Calgarians may only be moderate on municipal issues while remaining supportive of the Conservative Party's right-wing platform at the federal level.

Table 2. Council Election Candidate's Vote Percentage, Coding, and Supporters by Partisanship

Ward	Candidate	Percentage of Vote Received	Ideological Group	Conservative Supporters (%)	Liberal Supporters (%)	NDP Supporters (%)	Green Supporters (%)	Non-Partisan Supporters (%)
1	Sutherland	45.27	R	76.56	14.06	0	1.56	4.69
1	Taylor	33.48	L	26.67	43.33	10	10	10
1	Blatch	13.1	R	77.78	11.11	0	0	11.11
2	Magliocca	48.78	R	68.75	12.5	4.17	0	4.17
2	Wyness	35.79	L	61.29	16.13	12.9	0	9.68
2	Maitland	9.7	R	66.67	22.22	0	0	11.11
3	Gondek	41.97	C	66.67	27.78	0	0	0
3	McAnerin	26.37	L	86.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	0
3	Lin	25.72	C	71.43	0	14.29	0	0
4	Chu	48.42	R	60.56	21.13	7.04	1.41	1.41
4	Miller	41.41	C	44.19	32.56	9.3	2.33	6.98
4	Berdusco	8.53	L	33.33	55.56	0	11.11	0
5	Chahal	40.61	C	56.25	18.75	12.5	0	0
5	Sadat	23.1	R	66.67	0	0	0	0
5	Baidwan	14.33	R	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
5	Nijjar	10.44	L	60	40	0	0	0
5	Dinca	9.39	L					
6	Davison	44.72	R	70.45	22.73	2.27	0	2.27
6	Razavi	21.51	L	20.69	37.093	24.14	3.45	10.34
6	Yost	8.16	R	50	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5
6	Brownridge	7.9	L	71.43	0	28.57	0	0
7	Farrell	41.03	C	16	52	12	10	6
7	Alexander	37.51	C	57.78	28.89	4.44	2.22	6.67
7	Brawn	12.12	R	87.5	12.5	0	0	0

Ward	Candidate	Percentage of Vote Received	Ideological Group	Conservative Supporters (%)	Liberal Supporters (%)	NDP Supporters (%)	Green Supporters (%)	Non-Partisan Supporters (%)
7	Aftergood	7.42	R	41.67	33.33	25	0	0
8	Woolley	58.28	L	23.88	47.76	1.45	4.48	5.97
8	Davis	32.54	R	64.29	23.81	2.38	0	4.76
8	Charest	6.77	C	37.5	25	12.5	0	12.5
9	Carra	45.31	L	36.17	40.43	12.77	2.13	6.38
9	Link	37.44	R	73.33	13.33	6.67	0	3.33
10	Jones	35.53	R	60	17.78	6.67	0	8.89
10	Winkler	27.05	R	64.71	11.76	5.88	5.88	5.88
10	Kassam	10.43	L	33.33	0	33.33	0	33.33
11	Farkas	38.39	R	80	11.67	0	0	6.67
11	Johnson	22.12	C	35	35	20	0	5
11	Eremenko	20.08	L	14.29	46.43	25	3.57	7.14
11	Dickinson	12.96	L	40	26.67	20	6.67	6.67
11	Simmons	6.45	L	14.29	57.14	28.57	0	0
12	Keating	72.79	C	58.93	19.64	1.79	3.57	5.36
12	Hargreaves	11.55	C	50	25	0	0	0
12	Cunningham	11.1	C	80	0	20	0	0
13	Colley-Urquhart	34.23	C	71.43	11.9	7.14	0	2.38
13	Dyrholm	16.62	R	100	0	0	0	0
13	Johnston	14.07	R	77.78	11.11	5.56	0	0
13	Celis	11.11	L	50	33.33	0	0	16.67
13	Boechler	10.92	L	40	40	20	0	0
13	Frisch	10.26	L	55.56	33.33	0	0	0
14	Demong	90.27	L	76.42	9.76	0.81	2.44	4.88
14	Kumar	9.73	C	60	30	0	0	10

Note. Table based on a sample size of 1859. For more detailed coding, see Appendix G and Appendix H

Analysis 3

This analysis aims to determine whether Calgarians are only operationally moderate on municipal issues, as Lucas (2021) argues, or if Calgarians hold operationally moderate views across electoral levels. I expect that Calgarians are not as operationally right-wing as widely assumed and that a sizable group will exhibit operationally moderate views despite Conservative and right-wing identification on federal issues.

I use a filtered dataset of Calgarians from the CES to test whether Calgarians are operationally moderate on federal issues. The CES asks respondents whether the government should spend more, less, or keep spending about the same on several issues. This analysis examines issue preferences for education, the environment, defence, just law, and immigration and minorities. In the US, findings from Columbia University show that most self-identified liberals report that public spending on higher education is “an excellent investment,” whereas only 32% of conservatives report the same (as cited in Downey, 2018). McCright et al. (2014) state that political orientation is “one of the strongest predictors of environmental concern,” so much so that it can affect views on environmental action and actions within individuals’ lives concerning being environmentally friendly (p. 258). In Ottawa, Fobissie (2019) finds that differences in support for renewable energy policy were best explained by political ideology, with those less supportive holding more conservative views (p. 8). In Canada, Fitzsimmons et al. (2014) find evidence that Conservative Party identification is a consistent predictor of defence spending support (p. 515). They find that Conservative partisans are the only partisan group that exhibits systematically greater support for defence spending than individuals with no party affiliation (Fitzsimmons et al., 2014, p. 513). Daniller (2019) finds that Republicans in the US have more negative views toward immigration and tend to emphasize the importance of increasing border security and deportations. In Canada, Conservatives are “more likely to view immigrants as ‘costly to society’” (Sharp, 2019). I expect that Conservative partisans and right-wing identifiers should support less education spending, less environmental spending, more defence spending, and less on immigrants and minorities.

I divide the sample into ideological and partisan groups to test these expectations. As seen in Table 3, most left-wing and centrist identifiers prefer more education and environmental spending and spending on just law, defence, and immigrants and minorities to stay about the same. Given that the Liberal Party was in power before the 2019 election, it is likely that current spending patterns reflected moderate preferences. Thus, operationally moderate respondents would likely prefer spending to stay the same or increase. On the other hand, Conservatives likely prefer changes to the Liberal status quo. Conservatives mostly prefer more education spending, for spending to remain the same for the environment, just law, and defence, and less spending on immigrants and minorities. Right-wing identifiers have roughly the same spending preferences as Conservatives.

However, there is still a sizable number of respondents who report spending preferences reflective more of moderate issue positions in both Conservative and right-wing groups. I examine Conservative partisans who also identify as right-wing and see how many exhibit preferences more in line with moderate positions. In this group, 44.71% prefer more spending on education, 22.35% prefer more environmental spending, and 37.65% prefer environmental spending to stay about the same. For just law, defence, and immigrants and minorities spending, many right-wing Conservatives prefer spending to remain the same. This provides some evidence that some Conservative right-wing Calgaryans have more moderate issue spending preferences that seem to contradict traditionally right-wing and Conservative positions.

Table 3. CES Calgary Respondents by Ideological and Partisan Group

Group	Education			Environment			Just Law			Defence			Immigrants/Minorities		
	Less	Same	More	Less	Same	More	Less	Same	More	Less	Same	More	Less	Same	More
Left-Wing & Centrist (n = 111)	0.00%	28.83%	69.37%	8.11%	25.23%	64.86%	4.50%	56.76%	34.23%	18.92%	61.26%	39.64%	30.63%	44.14%	19.82%
Right-Wing (n = 120)	9.17%	40.83%	48.33%	29.17%	38.33%	30.00%	4.17%	49.17%	43.33%	18.33%	47.50%	34.17%	55.00%	34.17%	26.67%
Conservative Left-Wing & Centrist (n = 28)	0.00%	42.86%	57.14%	21.43%	42.86%	35.71%	0.00%	50.00%	46.43%	3.57%	78.57%	14.29%	57.14%	32.14%	7.14%
Conservative Right-Wing (n = 85)	11.76%	42.35%	44.71%	36.47%	37.65%	22.35%	1.18%	52.94%	42.35%	18.82%	40.00%	41.18%	61.18%	30.59%	4.71%

Note. Table based on sample of 296 respondents

I now test whether Conservatives differ from Liberal, NDP, and Green partisans and if right-wing identifiers differ from centrist and left-wing identifiers. I test for differences in the mean spending preferences of these groups using two-sided z-tests shown in Table 4. Comparing Conservative partisans to partisans of the Liberals, NDP, and Greens shows differences in mean spending preferences for all issues but just law. Comparing right-wing identifiers to left-wing and centrist identifiers also shows differences on all issues but just law.

While a sizable number of Conservatives and right-wing identifiers appear to have issue preferences that are more in line with moderate voters, statistical tests show that Conservatives do significantly differ from partisans of the Liberals, NDP, and Greens, and right-wing identifiers significantly differ from left-wing and centrist identifiers several issue spending preferences. This provides evidence that moderate issue preferences are somewhat unique to municipal elections in Calgary. It is thus possible that Calgarians are not influenced by their operational ideology when making municipal voting decisions and instead are influenced by uniquely municipal factors resulting in moderate municipal issue preferences.

This analysis is limited as the issues used are somewhat unrelated to those in the CMES and Calgarians are not compared to other Albertans or Conservatives. The CMES asks about issues more related to the economy and social services. In contrast, the CES issues are not directly related to the economy and do not explicitly name any social services. The closest the CES comes is its question on immigrants and minorities. It is possible that asking more directly about social programs such as healthcare and economic issues such as income taxes could produce similar moderate issue preferences among Conservative and right-wing identifiers as found in the CMES analysis. Overall, this analysis provides some evidence against this paper's argument. However, more research on issues more directly related to the economy and social programs is needed to better compare federal issues to the CMES issues. While the CES does ask about several other issues, not all respondents are surveyed on these issues. Given the small Calgary sample size, there is insufficient data to analyze these issues.

Table 4. Two-Tailed Z-Tests for Issue Spending Preferences Differences Between Conservative Partisans and Partisans of the Liberal Party, NDP, and Green Party and Between Right-Wing and Left-Wing and Centrist Respondents

Variable	Conservatives		Liberals, NDP, Greens		Difference		Right-Wing		Left-Wing & Centrist		Difference	
	Mean	Observations	Mean	Observations			Mean	Observations	Mean	Observations		
Education	2.435	147	2.729	85	-0.294	**	2.398	118	2.706	109	-0.308	***
Environment	1.952	145	2.721	86	-0.769	***	2.009	117	2.578	109	-0.569	***
Just Law	2.427	143	2.282	85	0.145	.	2.405	116	2.311	106	0.094	
Defence	2.192	146	1.819	83	0.373	***	2.158	120	1.942	104	0.216	*
Immigrants and Minorities	1.4	145	2	87	-0.6	***	1.534	118	1.886	105	-0.352	***

.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

Note. Table shows mean, standard deviation, and number of observations for Conservative Partisans and Liberal, NDP, and Green Partisans and right-wing respondents and left-wing and centrist respondents and the results from two-tailed z-tests.

Conclusion

This paper argues that Calgary's moderate voting appears to reflect ideological and partisan influences providing evidence for arguments against the localist thesis as Calgarians likely vote for moderate mayors because they are influenced by their operational ideology. The localist thesis argues that ideology is unimportant in municipal politics. Under this explanation, it would make sense that Conservative and right-wing respondents did not vote for Conservative-tied and right-wing Bill Smith in the 2017 election because voters in municipal elections are not substantially influenced by partisanship or ideology.

However, finding that Conservative and right-wing Calgarians who voted for Nenshi were likely influenced by moderate operational ideology provides some evidence against the localist thesis as it shows that there may be some ideological influence in municipal voting. This sizable group of Conservative and right-wing Calgarians went against partisanship and ideological group norms when voting, even though Calgarians could mostly determine that Smith was associated with the Conservatives and the right-wing while Nenshi was not.

Calgary presents some deviance from arguments that challenge the localist thesis' assertion that ideology and partisanship are important in municipal voting. It is likely that ideology and partisanship have some influence on municipal voting but that the uniqueness of municipal electoral systems, particularly non-partisanship, leads to some voters relying more on operational ideology when voting. Additionally, the lack of explicit partisan and ideological identity cues likely provides some explanation for why voters go against partisan and identity group norms. Overall, this paper provides more evidence against the localist thesis than for with its findings of operational ideology's influence in Calgary. Future research should test the effect of partisan cues on mayoral vote intentions. Experimentally priming respondents with partisan associations for candidates could test this possibility.

The finding that some Conservative and right-wing voters preferred more moderate issue spending provides some evidence that there are Conservative right-wing Calgarians that hold moderate preferences. However, the finding that Conservatives were significantly different from Liberal, NDP, and Green partisans and right-wing identifiers were significantly different from left-wing and centrist identifiers limits any claims that Calgarians are generally operationally moderate beyond the municipal level. This finding provides some evidence in favour of the localist thesis as it shows that there may be some uniqueness to issue preferences at the municipal level. Future research will have to investigate the influences of municipal issue preferences further to determine if they are ideological or based on uniquely municipal factors. Future research should also investigate operational and symbolic ideology across electoral levels to determine if municipal elections are more prone to the influence of operational ideology.

This paper adds to the overall conversation about the localist thesis and the debate over non-partisan electoral systems. It examines a case that appears to not have significant partisan or ideological influence and finds that there is partisan and ideological influence, which provides evidence against the localist thesis. This paper also finds that Calgarians use operational ideology to elect municipal representatives adding evidence for arguments in favour of non-partisan electoral systems as it shows Calgarians are electing operationally representative leaders.

The election of moderate mayors appears to reflect that Calgarians are not as Conservative and right-wing as assumed. Despite a Conservative majority in both the CMES and CES sample, a sizable group identified with the center and left side of the political spectrum and reported Liberal and NDP partisanship. In the Conservative CMES and CES samples, a sizable number of respondents reported center-to-left ideology. It appears that many Calgarians identify with the Conservative Party despite holding views contrary to the party's platform. This identification could be due to Albertan identity, but more research is necessary to probe this possibility. A sizable subset of Conservative Calgarians expressed moderate views, providing evidence for this possibility. Overall, Calgarians do not vote for Conservative or right-wing mayors because Calgarians are likely not as operationally right-wing as widely assumed.

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Appendix A. CMES and CES Questions

Note. Reprinted from “Canadian Municipal Election Study: CMES-EEMC codebook.docx.,” by R. M. McGregor, C. D. Anderson, É. Bélanger, S. Breux, J. Lucas, J. S. Matthews, A. Mévellec, A. A. Moore, S. Pruyers, L. B. Stephenson, & E. Tolley, 2021a, Harvard Dataverse, V3, UNF:6:2z759i+l4wNp4srjgGW46g== [fileUNF] CC0 1.0

Canadian MUNICIPAL Election Study Codebook

Important note: While many of the variables below apply to all cities, others are city-specific. Unless otherwise noted, the reader can assume that a variable applies to all cases. If variables are city-specific, it is indicated here next to each variable name, according to the follow legend:

C = Calgary

M = Montreal

Q = Quebec

L = London

S = Mississauga

T = Toronto

W = Winnipeg

V = Vancouver

ADMINISTRATIVE VARIABLES

CITY

1 = Calgary

2 = Montreal

3 = Quebec

4 = London

5 = Mississauga

6 = Toronto

7 = Winnipeg

8 = Vancouver

ResPIN

Respondent PIN, unique to respondents

CompletionDatePre

Date of pre-election survey completion

CompletionDatePost

Date of post-election survey completion

PANEL

Was respondent recruited via IVR (0) or from an existing panel (1)?

Technical note: The Quebec post-election survey includes IVR respondents only.

SCENARIO [MQ]

Technical note: experiment applied to S7A, S7B, S8, S14A, S14B, S14C, S14D, S29, S30, S31, S32, S33, S34, S35, S37, P3, P4,

- 1 = Names presented in alphabetical order (by last name), party label shown
- 2 = Names presented in reverse alphabetical order, party label shown
- 3 = Names presented in alphabetical order, no party label shown
- 4 = Names presented in reverse alphabetical order, no party label shown

PREWEIGHT_ALL

Weight for age and gender, for all respondents included in the pre-election questionnaire.

PREWEIGHT_IVR

Weight for age and gender, for IVR respondents included the pre-election questionnaire.

PREWEIGHT_ALL

Weight for age and gender, all respondents who complete the post-election questionnaire.

POSTWEIGHT_IVR

Weight for age and gender, for IVR respondents included in post-election questionnaire.

Technical note: Due to sampling issues, all post-election respondents in Quebec City are IVR. Thus $POSTWEIGHT_IVR = POSTWEIGHT_ALL$ for this city.

CAMPAIGN PERIOD SURVEY

S2 (*Note.* Age calculated by subtracting year of birth from 2017)

In what year were you born?
Please enter your year of birth in the box below.

- Prefer not to say (999)

S7B [if S6 != 4] [ALL CITIES BUT L]

Which mayoral candidate do you think you will vote for?

- Names indicated
 Other (998)
 Don't know or haven't decided (999)

S16

In FEDERAL politics, do you usually think of yourself as a:

- Liberal (1)
 Conservative (2)
 NDP (3)
 Green (4)
 Bloc (5)
 Other (88)
 None of the above (6)
 Don't know (9)

S17 [if selected a party in S16]

How strongly do you identify with that party?

- Very strongly (1)
 Fairly strongly (2)
 Not very strongly (3)
 Don't know (9)

S29

○ Which FEDERAL political party, if any, would you associate with each of the following mayoral candidates?

	[NAME]	[NAME]	[NAME]
None (1)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conservative Party of Canada (2)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Green Party of Canada (3)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Liberal Party of Canada (4)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
New Democratic Party of Canada (5)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other federal party (7)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't know (99)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

○ *Technical note: Separate variables have been created for each city.*

S31

How do you feel about each of the following mayoral candidates? Please use the sliders to indicate your feelings on a scale from 0 to 100, where zero means you REALLY DISLIKE the candidate and one hundred means you REALLY LIKE the candidate. [0 and 100 should be on opposite sides of the sliders; Only allow 1 answer]

Technical note: Separate variables have been created for each city.

S31A: Candidate A

○ Don't know (999)

S31B: Candidate B

○ Don't know (999)

S36

○ In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means left and 10 means right?

Left					Centre					Right	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know (99)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

S40

How important are each of the following issues to you in this election? Please indicate each issue's importance on a 0-10 scale, where 0 means not at all important and 10 means extremely important.

	Not at all important (0)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Extremely important (10)	Don't know (99)
A: Public Transit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B: Property Taxes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C: Traffic and Congestion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D: Economic Development	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E: City specific #1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
F: City specific #2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G: City specific #3 [T]	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Technical Note: Issues E and F vary by city. Toronto has an additional issue (G).

Calgary: Issue E = The Calgary Flames Arena Project, Issue F = Municipal Campaign Finance Reform

Montreal: Issue E = Environmental Protection, Issue F = Family Services

Quebec: Issue E = Immigration, Issue F = Style de gestion de Régis Labeaume

Mississauga: Issue E = Crime and community safety, Issue F = Housing affordability

London: Issue E = Bus Rapid Transit (BRT), Issue F = Social Services

Toronto: Issue E = Crime and community safety, Issue F = Housing affordability, Issue G = City council ward boundaries

Winnipeg: Issue E = The Portage/Main Referendum, Issue F = Crime and community safety

Vancouver: Issue E = Homelessness, Issue F = Affordability

S59

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

- No schooling (1)
- Some elementary school (2)
- Completed elementary school (3)
- Some secondary/high school (4)
- Completed secondary/high school (5)
- Some technical, community college (6)
- Completed technical, community college (7)
- Some university (8)
- Bachelor's degree (9)
- Master's degree (10)
- Professional degree or doctorate (11)
- Prefer not to say/Don't know (99)

S64 (Note. "Other/gender non-binary" and "Prefer not to say" to NA for analysis)

Are you:

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Other/gender non-binary (3)
- Prefer not to say (9)

S68

The confidentiality of your responses to this survey is guaranteed, and knowing the approximate income of respondents helps researchers to identify important patterns and trends.

Which of the following best indicates your annual household income before taxes?

- Less than \$25,000 (1)
- \$25,000-\$49,999 (2)
- \$50,000-\$74,999 (3)
- \$75,000-\$99,999 (4)
- \$100,000-\$124,999 (5)
- \$125,000-\$149,999 (6)
- \$150,000-\$174,999 (7)
- \$175,000-\$199,999 (8)
- \$200,000 or more (7)
- Prefer not to say/Don't know (99)

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<https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/8RHG1>



Canadian Election Study 2019 Online Survey Codebook

Version 1.0

April 29, 2020

All use of the 2019 Canadian Election Study data must be appropriately referenced and credited. The correct citation is: Stephenson, Laura B., Allison Harell, Daniel Rubenson and Peter John Loewen. The 2019 Canadian Election Study – Phone Survey. [dataset].

cps19_job To make sure we are talking to a cross section of Canadians, we need to get a little information about your background. First, in what year were you born?

- 1920 (1)
- 1921 (2)
- 1922 (3)
- 1923 (4)
- 1924 (5)
- 1925 (6)

- 1926 (7)
- 1927 (8)
- 1928 (9)
- 1929 (10)
- 1930 (11)
- 1931 (12)
- 1932 (13)
- 1933 (14)
- 1934 (15)
- 1935 (16)
- 1936 (17)
- 1937 (18)
- 1938 (19)
- 1939 (20)
- 1940 (21)
- 1941 (22)
- 1942 (23)
- 1943 (24)
- 1944 (25)
- 1945 (26)
- 1946 (27)
- 1947 (28)
- 1948 (29)
- 1949 (30)
- 1950 (31)
- 1951 (32)
- 1952 (33)
- 1953 (34)
- 1954 (35)
- 1955 (36)
- 1956 (37)
- 1957 (38)
- 1958 (39)
- 1959 (40)
- 1960 (41)
- 1961 (42)
- 1962 (43)
- 1963 (44)
- 1964 (45)
- 1965 (46)
- 1966 (47)
- 1967 (48)
- 1968 (49)

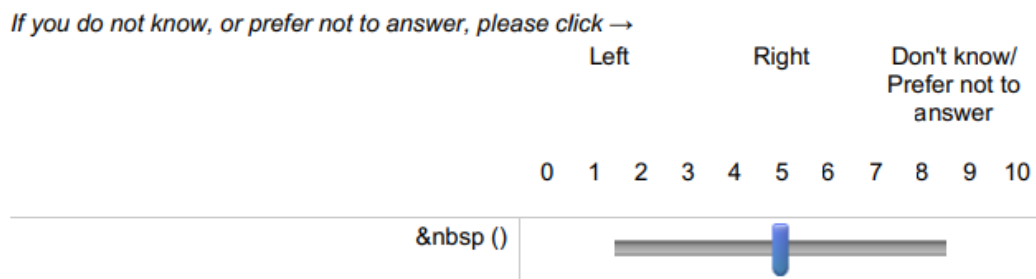
- 1969 (50)
- 1970 (51)
- 1971 (52)
- 1972 (53)
- 1973 (54)
- 1974 (55)
- 1975 (56)
- 1976 (57)
- 1977 (58)
- 1978 (59)
- 1979 (60)
- 1980 (61)
- 1981 (62)
- 1982 (63)
- 1983 (64)
- 1984 (65)
- 1985 (66)
- 1986 (67)
- 1987 (68)
- 1988 (69)
- 1989 (70)
- 1990 (71)
- 1991 (72)
- 1992 (73)
- 1993 (74)
- 1994 (75)
- 1995 (76)
- 1996 (77)
- 1997 (78)
- 1998 (79)
- 1999 (80)
- 2000 (81)
- 2001 (82)
- 2002 (83)
- 2003 (84)
- 2004 (85)
- 2005 (86)
- 2006 (87)
- 2007 (88)
- 2008 (89)
- 2009 (90)
- 2010 (91)

cps19_province Which province or territory are you currently living in?

- Alberta (14)
- British Columbia (15)
- Manitoba (16)
- New Brunswick (17)
- Newfoundland and Labrador (18)
- Northwest Territories (19)
- Nova Scotia (20)
- Nunavut (21)
- Ontario (22)
- Prince Edward Island (23)
- Quebec (24)
- Saskatchewan (25)
- Yukon (26)

NOTE: Respondents were randomly assigned to receive either cps19_lr_scale_bef or cps19_lr_scale_aft, as part of an experiment on ordering effects. If the embedded data field lr_scale_order was equal to “individual_first”, they received the individual self-placement question cps19_lr_scale_bef, and then the party placement question cps19_lr_parties. If the embedded data field lr_scale_order was equal to “party_first”, they received the the party placement question cps19_lr_parties, and then the individual self-placement question cps19_lr_scale_aft.

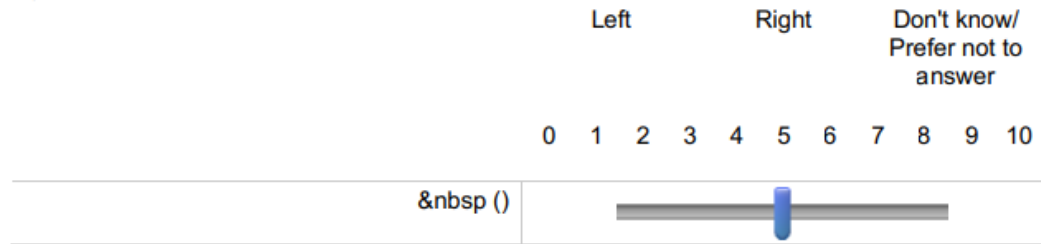
cps19_lr_scale_bef In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you



place yourself on this scale?

cps19_lr_scale_aft In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

If you do not know, or prefer not to answer, please click →



cps19_spend_educ How much should the federal government spend on **education**?

- Spend less (1)
- Spend about the same as now (2)
- Spend more (3)
- Don't know/ Prefer not to answer (4)

cps19_spend_env How much should the federal government spend on the **environment**?

- Spend less (1)
- Spend about the same as now (2)
- Spend more (3)
- Don't know/ Prefer not to answer (4)

cps19_spend_just_law How much should the federal government spend on **justice law**?

- Spend less (1)
- Spend about the same as now (2)
- Spend more (3)
- Don't know/ Prefer not to answer (4)

cps19_spend_defence How much should the federal government spend on **defence**?

- Spend less (1)
- Spend about the same as now (2)
- Spend more (3)
- Don't know/ Prefer not to answer (4)

cps19_spend_imm_min How much should the federal government spend on **immigrants and minorities**?

- Spend less (1)
- Spend about the same as now (2)
- Spend more (3)
- Don't know/ Prefer not to answer (4)

cps19_postalcode Please enter your six-digit postal code in the box below. (For example “A1A 1A1”, with letters in uppercase)

We are collecting your postal code in order to compare our results to census and electoral district data. Your postal code will not be released publicly or shared with any third party.

cps19_fed_id In federal politics, do you usually think of yourself as a:

- Liberal (1)
- Conservative (2)
- NDP (3)

Which province or territory are you currently living in? = Quebec

- Bloc Québécois (4)
- Green (5)
- People's Party (6)
- Another party (please specify) (7)

Appendix B. Qualitative Data

Qualitative data is used for similar purposes in two analyses. At the start of the first analysis, articles from Calgary news sources are utilized to explain the partisan and ideological loyalties of Naheed Nenshi and Bill Smith. For Nenshi, news sources covering his initial election in 2010 are initially used to determine his ideological position. Additionally, an article covering his political career published after his decision not to run for re-election in 2021 provides an additional explanation of his ideological stance on several issues. For Nenshi's partisanship, articles covering partisan connections throughout his tenure as mayor are used. Two main article types are used for Nenshi's partisanship. The first are articles covering rumours on the federal Liberal Party's attempts to recruit him for federal politics, which show his public association with the party. Second is the article that accuses Nenshi of being too close to Trudeau and the federal Liberals, which discusses his label as "Trudeau's mayor" by Albertan Conservatives. Combined, these articles show Nenshi's moderate ideology and connection with political parties other than the Conservatives.

For Bill Smith, articles covering the 2017 mayoral campaign are used to explain his ideological and partisan positions. The mayoral campaign involved more partisan signalling than in prior elections, as Conservative action groups tried to convince voters to vote for Conservative candidates (Kaufmann, 2017). These articles discuss these groups' ties to Bill Smith and his prior position as Alberta Progressive Conservative Party president. Additionally, Bill Smith published an article discussing his plans if elected, demonstrating his ideological positions on several issues. Combined, these articles are used to discuss Smith's ideological and partisan positions.

Qualitative data is also used in the second analysis in a qualitative analysis of coded data on the ideological positions of candidates running for city council. Two main article types are used. The first are articles published by Global News Calgary written by Heide Pearson, which provide small paragraphs about each candidate. These paragraphs often discuss the candidates' backgrounds but notably mention the issues each candidate has centred their campaign around. These articles provide a practical overview of each

candidate's preferred issues signalling their ideological leaning. The second type of article makes up the bulk of the analysis. These articles are the candidate questionnaires conducted by the Calgary Herald. The Calgary Herald sends every candidate a questionnaire about their preferred issues, stances on several important issues, and about Calgary itself for municipal elections. The questions covering the candidates' most important issue and issue positions on important campaign issues are used in the qualitative analysis to code candidates into an ideological group. The initial question asked candidates about the most important issue facing council. Candidates often responded either with an issue mainly related to the economy or an issue related to social programs. Using this question, an initial judgement on a candidate's ideological leaning is made. The campaign issues the questionnaire asked about were the economy, tackling affordable housing through secondary suites, adding fluoride back into Calgary's drinking water and safe injection sites to tackle the opioid epidemic. Candidates' positions on these issues are coded into ideological groups.

For some candidates, there was limited information about their campaign issues, limiting the information in the Global News articles and other candidates failed to fill out the Calgary Herald questionnaires. For these candidates, specific searches were conducted into news articles covering their campaigns to attain enough information to code them into ideological groups. For some candidates, these searches resulted only in information on a subsequent campaign for city council in the 2021 municipal election. As ideological positions are somewhat stable, information from 2021 campaigns is sometimes utilized. For other candidates, there were articles covering their 2017 campaign were utilized. Lastly, for some candidates, the best source of information on their ideological positions came from their social media accounts used during and after the election. Social media accounts were searched for posts expressing issue positions or ties to provincial and federal political parties. Using these posts, these candidates were coded into ideological groups.

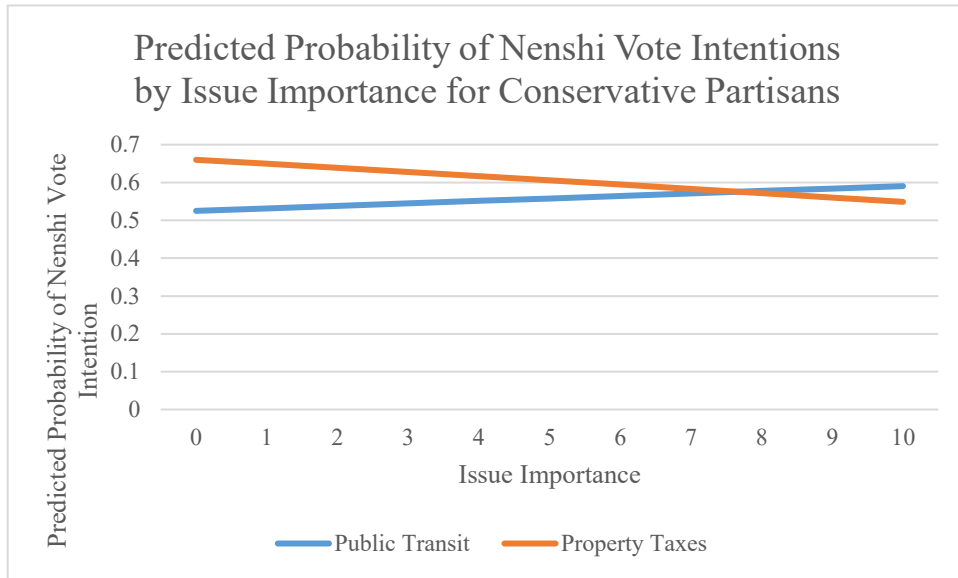
Appendix C. Logistic Regression Check

Logistic Regression Analysis

Because the above regression analyses use a binary dependent variable, logistic regression is better suited to examine the effect of the independent variables on vote intention. However, OLS regression produces more presentable results that better explain the effect of these variables on vote intention. I now briefly confirm my OLS results using logistic regression. I run logistic regressions and determine predicted probabilities of Nenshi vote intentions for significant issue importance variables, apart from the Flames arena, for the final regression model in my Conservative sample, which regresses issue preferences, demographics, and political variables for their effect on vote intention. Thus, I examine the predicted probabilities for each importance value for public transit and property taxes.

Figure C.1 plots the predicted probabilities for each issue importance value for public transit and property taxes while holding all other variables constant to their mean. As expected, the predicted probability of intending to vote for Nenshi for public transit increases as the issue's importance increases. The predicted probability of intending to vote for Nenshi for property taxes decreases as issue importance increases. This analysis confirms the findings of my OLS regression, as the effects of these issues are in the expected direction.

Figure C.1. Predicted Probability of Reporting an Intention to Vote for Nenshi by Public Transit and Property Tax Issue Importance for Conservative Partisans



Note. Plots show the effect of issue importance on the predicted probability of a Conservative partisan reporting an intention to vote for Nenshi. Issue importance is measured on a 0-10 scale, with 10 signalling the highest importance. The total sample size for this logit regression is 481.

Table C.1. Logistic Regression Results for the Effect of Issue Preferences, Demographics, and Political Variables on Vote Intention for Bill Smith and Naheed Nenshi for Right-Wing Identifiers

Variable	Coefficient Estimate	Standard Error	Pr(> t)	
Intercept	0.427	0.158	0.007	**
				**
Public Transit	0.027	0.006	0.000	*
				**
Property Tax	-0.047	0.009	0.000	*
Traffic and Congestion	0.022	0.008	0.007	**
Economic Development	-0.002	0.010	0.826	
				**
Flames Arena	-0.024	0.005	0.000	*
Age	-0.001	0.001	0.223	
				**
Partisan ID Strength	-0.090	0.022	0.000	*
Ideology	0.068	0.037	0.066	.
				**
City Economic Retrospection	0.080	0.023	0.001	*
Personal Financial Situation	0.043	0.024	0.072	.
Education	0.009	0.010	0.367	
Gender	0.033	0.033	0.322	
Income Category	0.007	0.007	0.322	
		Adj R ² =	n =	
	.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001	0.666	343	

Note. Table shows coefficient estimates, standard errors, and p-values. P-value significance is indicated by *'s. Total number of observations = 481 for regression model.

Appendix D. R Code

```
library(tidyverse)
library(dplyr)
library(ggplot2)
library(ggthemes)
library("car")
library(faraway)
library(GGally)

CMESTest <- MAP_A1_J20
str(CMESTest)

CMESTest$S7B <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S7B)
CMESTest$Age <- as.numeric(CMESTest$Age)
CMESTest$S17 <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S17)
CMESTest$S36 <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S36)
CMESTest$S46A <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S46A)
CMESTest$S56 <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S56)
CMESTest$S59 <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S59)
CMESTest$S64 <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S64)
CMESTest$S68 <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S68)

#Model 1
A1M1 <- lm(S7B ~ Age + S64 + S59 + S68, data = CMESTest)
summary(A1M1)
ggcoef(A1M1, exclude_intercept = TRUE)

A1M2 <- lm(S7B ~ S36 + S17 + S46A + S56, data = CMESTest)
summary(A1M2)
ggcoef(A1M2, exclude_intercept = TRUE)

#issues
CMESTest$S7B <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S7B)
CMESTest$S40A <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S40A)
CMESTest$S40B <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S40B)
CMESTest$S40C <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S40C)
CMESTest$S40D <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S40D)
CMESTest$S40E_C <- as.numeric(CMESTest$S40E_C)

A1IssuesM1 <- lm(S7B ~ S40A + S40B + S40C + S40D + S40E_C, data = CMESTest)
summary(A1IssuesM1)
ggcoef(A1IssuesM1, exclude_intercept = TRUE)
```

```
#Issue models with Demographic, political variables controls
```

```
A1IssuesM2 <- lm(S7B ~ S40A + S40B + S40C + S40D + S40E_C + Age + S64 + S59 +  
S68 + S36 + S17 + S46A + S56, data = CMESTest)  
summary(A1IssuesM2)  
ggcoef(A1IssuesM2, exclude_intercept = TRUE)
```

```
#Interaction Effects
```

```
IntM1 <- lm(S7B ~ S40A * S36, data = CMESTest)  
summary(IntM1)
```

```
IntCM1 <- lm(S7B ~ S40A * S36 + S40A + S40B + S40C + S40D + S40E_C + Age +  
S64 + S59 + S68 + S36 + S17 + S46A + S56, data = CMESTest)  
summary(IntCM1)
```

```
IntM2 <- lm(S7B ~ S40B * S36, data = CMESTest)  
summary(IntM2)
```

```
IntCM2 <- lm(S7B ~ S40B * S36 + S40A + S40B + S40C + S40D + S40E_C + Age +  
S64 + S59 + S68 + S36 + S17 + S46A + S56, data = CMESTest)  
summary(IntCM2)
```

```
IntM3 <- lm(S7B ~ S40C * S36, data = CMESTest)  
summary(IntM3)
```

```
IntCM3 <- lm(S7B ~ S40C * S36 + S40A + S40B + S40C + S40D + S40E_C + Age +  
S64 + S59 + S68 + S36 + S17 + S46A + S56, data = CMESTest)  
summary(IntCM3)
```

```
#Right-Wing Identifiers
```

```
CMESTest1 <- MAP_CMES_A1_RW  
str(CMESTest1)
```

```
CMESTest1$S7B <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$S7B)  
CMESTest1$Age <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$Age)  
CMESTest1$S17 <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$S17)  
CMESTest1$S36 <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$S36)  
CMESTest1$S46A <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$S46A)  
CMESTest1$S56 <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$S56)  
CMESTest1$S59 <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$S59)  
CMESTest1$S64 <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$S64)  
CMESTest1$S68 <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$S68)  
CMESTest1$S7B <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$S7B)  
CMESTest1$S40A <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$S40A)
```

```

CMESTest1$$S40B <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$$S40B)
CMESTest1$$S40C <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$$S40C)
CMESTest1$$S40D <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$$S40D)
CMESTest1$$S40E_C <- as.numeric(CMESTest1$$S40E_C)

A1IssuesM1RW <- lm(S7B ~ S40A + S40B + S40C + S40D + S40E_C, data =
CMESTest1)
summary(A1IssuesM1RW)
ggcoef(A1IssuesM1RW)

A1IssuesM2RW <- lm(S7B ~ S40A + S40B + S40C + S40D + S40E_C + Age + S64 +
S59 + S68 + S17 + S46A + S56, data = CMESTest1)
summary(A1IssuesM2RW)
ggcoef(A1IssuesM2RW)

#Logistic Regression Analysis

ds.temp <- MAP_A1_J20

logitM2 <- lm(S7B ~ S40A + S40B + S40C + S40D + S40E_C + Age + S17 +
S36 + S46A + S56 + S59 + S64 + S68, family = "binomial", data = ds.temp)
summary(logitM2)

#Public Transit
exp(logitM2$coef[2])

L1 <- logitM2$coef[1] + logitM2$coef[2] * (ds.temp$$S40A) + logitM2$coef[3] *
mean(ds.temp$$S40B) + logitM2$coef[4] * mean(ds.temp$$S40C) +
logitM2$coef[5] * mean(ds.temp$$S40D) + logitM2$coef[6] * mean(ds.temp$$S40E_C)+
logitM2$coef[7] * mean(ds.temp$Age) + logitM2$coef[8] * mean(ds.temp$$S17) +
logitM2$coef[9] * mean(ds.temp$$S36) + logitM2$coef[10] * mean(ds.temp$$S46A) +
logitM2$coef[11] * mean(ds.temp$$S56) + logitM2$coef[12] * mean(ds.temp$$S59) +
logitM2$coef[13] * mean(ds.temp$$S64) + logitM2$coef[14] * mean(ds.temp$$S68)

P1 <- 1/(1 + exp(-L1))

C1 <- cbind(ds.temp$$S40A, L1, P1)

C1[1:10, ]

#Property Taxes
exp(logitM2$coef[3])

L2 <- logitM2$coef[1] + logitM2$coef[2] * mean(ds.temp$$S40A) + logitM2$coef[3] *
(ds.temp$$S40B) + logitM2$coef[4] * mean(ds.temp$$S40C) +
logitM2$coef[5] * mean(ds.temp$$S40D) + logitM2$coef[6] * mean(ds.temp$$S40E_C)+

```

```
logitM2$coef[7] * mean(ds.temp$Age) + logitM2$coef[8] * mean(ds.temp$S17) +  
logitM2$coef[9] * mean(ds.temp$S36) + logitM2$coef[10] * mean(ds.temp$S46A) +  
logitM2$coef[11] * mean(ds.temp$S56) + logitM2$coef[12] * mean(ds.temp$S59) +  
logitM2$coef[13] * mean(ds.temp$S64) + logitM2$coef[14] * mean(ds.temp$S68)
```

```
P2 <- 1/(1 + exp(-L2))
```

```
C2 <- cbind(ds.temp$S40B, L2, P2)
```

```
C2[1:10, ]
```

Appendix E. Analysis 1 Regression Tables

Table E.1. Regression Results for the Effect of Demographics on Vote Intention for Bill Smith and Naheed Nenshi for Conservative Partisans

Variable	Coefficient Estimate	Standard Error	Pr(> t)	
Intercept	0.319	0.113	0.005	**
Age	-0.004	0.001	0.002	**
Gender	0.052	0.035	0.140	
Education	0.169	0.010	0.108	
Income	-0.003	0.008	0.716	
		Adj R ² =	n =	
.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001		0.012	481	

Note. Table shows coefficient estimates, standard errors, and p-values. P-value significance is indicated by *'s. Total number of observations = 481 for regression model.

Table E.2. Regression Results for the Effect of Political Variables on Vote Intention for Bill Smith and Naheed Nenshi for Conservative Partisans

Variable	Coefficient Estimate	Standard Error	Pr(> t)	
Intercept	0.209	0.084	0.013	*
Ideology	0.085	0.038	0.024	*
				**
Partisan ID Strength	-0.123	0.026	0.000	*
				**
City Economy Retrospection	0.110	0.024	0.000	*
Personal Financial Situation	0.066	0.025	0.008	**
		Adj R ² =	n =	
.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001		0.660	481	

Note. Table shows coefficient estimates, standard errors, and p-values. P-value significance is indicated by *'s. Total number of observations = 481 for regression model.

Table E.3. Regression Results for the Effect of Issue Preferences on Vote Intention for Bill Smith and Naheed Nenshi for Conservative Partisans

Variable	Coefficient Estimate	Standard Error	Pr(> t)
Intercept	0.608	0.105	0.000
Public Transit	0.030	0.006	0.000
Property Tax	-0.064	0.009	0.000
Traffic and Congestion	0.024	0.008	0.003
Economic Development	0.001	0.010	0.949
Flames Arena	-0.028	0.005	0.000
		Adj R ² =	n =
.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001		0.139	481

Note. Table shows coefficient estimates, standard errors, and p-values. P-value significance is indicated by *'s. Total number of observations = 481 for regression model.

Table E.4. Regression Results for the Effect of Demographics, Political Variables, and Issue Preferences on Vote Intention for Bill Smith and Naheed Nenshi for Conservative Partisans

Variable	Coefficient Estimate	Standard Error	Pr(> t)	
Intercept	0.427	0.158	0.007	**
				**
Public Transit	0.027	0.006	0.000	*
				**
Property Tax	-0.047	0.009	0.000	*
Traffic and Congestion	0.022	0.008	0.007	**
Economic Development	-0.002	0.010	0.826	
				**
Flames Arena	-0.024	0.005	0.000	*
Age	-0.001	0.001	0.223	
Gender	0.033	0.033	0.322	
Education	0.009	0.010	0.367	
Income Category	0.007	0.007	0.322	
Ideology	0.068	0.037	0.066	.
				**
Partisan ID Strength	-0.090	0.025	0.000	*
				**
City Economic Retrospection	0.080	0.023	0.001	*
Personal Financial Situation	0.043	0.024	0.072	.
		Adj R ² =	n =	
.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001		0.662	481	

Note. Table shows coefficient estimates, standard errors, and p-values. P-value significance is indicated by *'s. Total number of observations = 481 for regression model.

Table E.5. Regression Results for the Effect of Demographics, Political Variables, and Issue Preferences on Vote Intention for Bill Smith and Naheed Nenshi for Conservative Partisans with Ideology and Public Transit Interaction

Variable	Coefficient Estimate	Standard Error	Pr(> t)	
Intercept	0.420	0.160	0.009	**
				**
Public Transit	0.028	0.007	0.000	*
Ideology	0.094	0.083	0.255	
				**
Property Tax	-0.047	0.009	0.000	*
Traffic and Congestion	0.022	0.008	0.008	**
Economic Development	-0.002	0.010	0.834	
				**
Flames Arena	-0.024	0.005	0.000	*
Age	-0.001	0.001	0.218	
Gender	0.032	0.033	0.326	
Education	0.009	0.010	0.373	
Income Category	0.007	0.007	0.322	
				**
Partisan ID Strength	-0.089	0.025	0.000	*
				**
City Economic Retrospection	0.080	0.023	0.001	*
Personal Financial Situation	0.043	0.024	0.073	.
Public Transit * Ideology	-0.004	0.012	0.725	
		Adj R ² =	n =	
.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001		0.662	481	

Note. Table shows coefficient estimates, standard errors, and p-values. P-value significance is indicated by *'s. Total number of observations = 481 for regression model.

Table E.6. Regression Results for the Effect of Demographics, Political Variables, and Issue Preferences on Vote Intention for Bill Smith and Naheed Nenshi for Conservative Partisans with Ideology and Property Tax Interaction

Variable	Coefficient Estimate	Standard Error	Pr(> t)	
Intercept	0.393	0.172	0.022	*
				**
Property Tax	-0.043	0.011	0.000	*
Ideology	0.150	0.160	0.349	
				**
Public Transit	0.027	0.006	0.000	*
Traffic and Congestion	0.021	0.008	0.008	**
Economic Development	-0.002	0.010	0.852	
Flames Arena	-0.024	0.005	0.000	
Age	-0.001	0.001	0.225	
Gender	0.034	0.033	0.306	
Education	0.009	0.010	0.371	
Income Category	0.007	0.007	0.325	
				**
Partisan ID Strength	-0.089	0.025	0.000	*
				**
City Economic Retrospection	0.081	0.023	0.001	*
Personal Financial Situation	0.044	0.024	0.070	.
Property Tax * Ideology	-0.009	0.018	0.601	
		Adj R ² =	n =	
.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001		0.662	481	

Note. Table shows coefficient estimates, standard errors, and p-values. P-value significance is indicated by *'s. Total number of observations = 481 for regression model.

Table E.7. Regression Results for the Effect of Demographics, Political Variables, and Issue Preferences on Vote Intention for Bill Smith and Naheed Nenshi for Conservative Partisans with Ideology and Traffic and Congestion Interaction

Variable	Coefficient Estimate	Standard Error	Pr(> t)	
Intercept	0.449	0.164	0.007	**
Traffic and Congestion	0.020	0.009	0.032	*
Ideology	0.005	0.131	0.967	**
Public Transit	0.027	0.006	0.000	*
				**
Property Tax	-0.047	0.009	0.000	*
Economic Development	-0.003	0.010	0.786	**
Flames Arena	-0.024	0.005	0.000	*
Age	-0.001	0.001	0.214	
Gender	0.032	0.033	0.331	
Education	0.009	0.010	0.377	
Income Category	0.007	0.007	0.329	**
Partisan ID Strength	-0.090	0.025	0.000	*
				**
City Economic Retrospection	0.079	0.023	0.001	*
Personal Financial Situation	0.044	0.024	0.067	.
Property Tax * Ideology	0.008	0.017	0.616	
		Adj R ² =	n =	
.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001		0.662	481	

Note. Table shows coefficient estimates, standard errors, and p-values. P-value significance is indicated by *'s. Total number of observations = 481 for regression model.

Appendix F. Analysis 1 Right-Wing Identifiers Check Regression Tables

Table F.1. Regression Results for the Effect of Issue Preferences on Vote Intention for Bill Smith and Naheed Nenshi for Right-Wing Identifiers

Variable	Coefficient Estimate	Standard Error	Pr(> t)	
Intercept	0.645	0.144	0.000	** *
Public Transit	0.032	0.008	0.000	** *
Property Tax	-0.061	0.013	0.000	*
Traffic and Congestion	0.196	0.011	0.081	.
Economic Development	-0.008	0.013	0.532	**
Flames Arena	-0.025	0.007	0.000	*
.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001		Adj R ² =	n =	
		0.660	343	

Note. Table shows coefficient estimates, standard errors, and p-values. P-value significance is indicated by *'s. Total number of observations = 343 for regression model.

Table F.2. Regression Results for the Effect of Issue Preferences, Demographics, and Political Variables on Vote Intention for Bill Smith and Naheed Nenshi for Right-Wing Identifiers

Variable	Coefficient Estimate	Standard Error	Pr(> t)	
Intercept	0.628	0.216	0.004	**
				**
Public Transit	0.280	0.008	0.000	*
				**
Property Tax	-0.045	0.013	0.001	*
Traffic and Congestion	0.019	0.011	0.079	.
Economic Development	-0.008	0.013	0.521	**
				**
Flames Arena	-0.023	0.007	0.001	*
Age	-0.001	0.001	0.377	
Gender	0.034	0.046	0.453	
Education	0.001	0.014	0.915	
Income Category	0.010	0.010	0.319	**
				**
Partisan ID Strength	-0.120	0.034	0.001	*
City Economic Retrospection	0.074	0.033	0.023	*
Personal Financial Situation	0.288	0.032	0.369	
		Adj R ² =	n =	
.p < 0.10, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001		0.666	343	

Note. Table shows coefficient estimates, standard errors, and p-values. P-value significance is indicated by *'s. Total number of observations = 343 for regression model.

Appendix G. Coding Protocol

- Campaign Overview
 - If primarily social issues = Left-wing
 - If primarily economic issues = Right-wing
 - If equal focus on both = Centrist
- Questionnaire
 - Primary issues: subjective judgement on whether it is Left-wing, centrist, or right-wing
 - Economic Development
 - Reducing taxes, reducing regulation/red tape = Right-wing
 - Economic diversification, small business = centrist
 - Little economic focus, community development = Left-wing
 - Affordable Housing
 - If pro-secondary suites = Left-wing
 - If against secondary suites = Right-wing
 - If promote reforming of approval system = Centrist
 - Fluoride in drinking water
 - If pro = Left-wing
 - If anti = Right-wing
 - If pro public health measures other than in water = Centrist
 - Safe Injection sites
 - If pro-injection sites = Left-wing
 - If anti-injection sites = Right-wing
 - If pro in certain areas = Centrist
- Candidate social media
 - Subjective judgement based on partisan retweets and issue stances
- Other
 - Anything of note

Appendix H. Detailed Qualitative Analysis of Council Candidates

Ward 1

In Ward 1, incumbent Ward Sutherland was re-elected with 45.3 percent of the vote (Pearson, 2017a). Coral Taylor and Chris Blatch each received 33.5 and 13.1 percent of the vote, respectively (Pearson, 2017a). Sutherland initially ran on combating increased taxation from various causes, from flood damage repair to “friendly parks and recreational facilities” (Sutherland, 2013). Additionally, Sutherland joined Jeff Davison’s 2021 mayoral campaign (Toy, 2021). Sutherland was coded as right-wing. Taylor focused more on social issues than Sutherland and focused on economic diversity to improve the economy (Vote Coral, n.d.; Taylor, n.d.; Calgary Herald, 2017a). Taylor is coded as left-wing. Blatch focused on “fiscal responsibility, community safety and transit” (Pearson, 2017a). Additionally, he emphasized fiscal restraint, especially with taxes, and increased policing in 2021 (Blatch, 2021). Blatch is coded as right-wing.

With only one competitive moderate candidate, moderate vote splitting is not an issue. Sutherland and Blatch supporters are mostly Conservatives. 76.56% of Sutherland voters and 77.78% of Blatch voters reported Conservative partisanship, whereas only 15.63% of Sutherland voters and 11.11% of Blatch voters reported left-wing partisanship. In contrast, 26.67% of Taylor supporters reported Conservative partisanship, while 63.33% reported left-wing partisanship.

Ward 2

In Ward 2, Incumbent councillor Joe Magliocca was re-elected with 48.4 percent of the vote, while competitors Jennifer Wyness and Christopher Maitland received 36.2 and 9.8 percent of the vote, respectively (Pearson, 2017b). Magliocca focused on “transportation, public transit, recreation, and community services” (Pearson, 2017b). However in his questionnaire, emphasized several right-wing positions (Calgary Herald, 2017b). Additionally, his Twitter shows Conservative partisanship as he retweets Conservative politicians (Magliocca, n.d.). Magliocca is coded as right-wing. Wyness’

focused on fiscal responsibility, transparency, and innovation (Pearson, 2017b). Her website emphasizes the need to provide better public services and highlights her focus on public health and safety (Wyness, 2022). Wyness is coded as left-wing.

Maitland emphasized economic issues related to the budget and taxes on his questionnaire (Calgary Herald, 2017b). He also discounted the utility of Calgary's transit system (Calgary Herald, 2017b). Maitland is coded as right-wing.

Magliocca voters are mostly Conservatives. 68.75% of Magliocca supporters reported Conservative partisanship, while 16.67% reported left-leaning partisanship. Surprisingly, Wyness also received a significant number of Conservative supporters, with 61.29% of her supporters reporting Conservative partisanship and 29.03% reporting left partisanship. 66.67% of Maitland supporters were Conservatives, and 22.22% reported left-leaning partisanship.

Ward 3

Ward 3 had an open race for councillor where Jyoti Gondek won the election with 42 percent of the vote, while Ian McAnerin and Jun Lin both received around 26 percent of the vote (Pearson, 2017c). Gondek provided a centrist platform emphasizing infrastructure and economic needs (Pearson, 2017). She promoted the need for better funding for public services using additional methods to property taxes (Calgary Herald, 2017c). She is coded as centrist. McAnerin presented a moderate platform focusing on recycling and public transit (Pearson, 2017c). McAnerin's questionnaire showed his support for controversial public services such as safe injection sites (Calgary Herald, 2017c). He is coded as left-wing. Lin presented a centrist platform emphasizing council transparency and tax issues (Pearson, 2017c). He also supported the Green Line transit system (Pearson, 2017c). Lin is coded as centrist although he is the only candidate that had right-wing coding in a coding category.

66.67% of Gondek supporters are Conservatives, while 27.78% reported left-leaning partisanship. Surprisingly, 86.67% of McAnerin supporters reported

Conservative partisanship, while only 20.00% reported left-leaning partisanship. Lin supporters were 71.43% Conservative and 14.29% left-leaning.

Ward 4

Incumbent Sean Chu won re-election with 48.4 percent of the vote compared to Greg Miller and Blair Berdusco, who received 41.4 and 8.5 percent of the vote, respectively (Pearson, 2017d). Chu's platform emphasized economic issues related to tax policy and revitalizing the economy emphasizing lowering taxes, supporting small businesses, and making Calgary more business-friendly (Calgary Herald, 2017d). Chu is coded as right-wing. Miller showed support for both economic issues and public services. He stated that Calgary needs to attract new businesses and control spending (Calgary Herald, 2017d). However, his plans for attracting new businesses focused on new industries (Calgary Herald, 2017d). Additionally, Miller expressed support for moderate issues such as the Green Line and affordable housing (Calgary Herald, 2017d). Miller is coded as centrist. Berdusco addressed economic issues, focusing on reducing unemployment (Calgary Herald, 2017d). She also supported controversial public services such as safe injection sites and adding fluoride to Calgary's water system (Calgary Herald, 2017d). Berdusco is coded as left-wing.

Ward 4 elected a right-wing candidate over two centrist to moderate candidates. In this election, there is a possibility of vote splitting as the moderate candidates received a combined 49.9 percent of the vote, which is larger than Chu's 48.4 percent. Chu supporters are mostly Conservative, with 60.56% reporting Conservative partisanship. 29.58% of Chu supporters reported left-leaning partisanship. An equal 44.19% of Miller supporters reported Conservative and left-leaning partisanship. Lastly, 33.33% of Berdusco supporters were Conservatives, while 66.67% were left-leaning partisans.

Ward 5

Ward 5 saw an open race that elected George Chahal with 40.6 percent of the vote (Pearson, 2017e). Four other candidates received significant portions of the vote. Aryan Sadat received 23.1 percent, Sarbdeep Baidwan received 14.3 percent, Balraj Nijjar

received 10.4 percent, and Tudor Dinca received 9.4 percent (Pearson, 2017e). Chahal emphasized attracting businesses to Calgary and balancing city hall's budget (Calgary Herald, 2017e). He supported safe injection sites and secondary suite rentals (Calgary Herald, 2017e). Chahal is coded as centrist. Sadat was more right-wing. He strongly emphasized economic issues related to cutting taxes and attracting businesses (Calgary Herald, 2017e). Additionally, he emphasized the need to reduce regulations on business (Calgary Herald, 2017e). Sadat was against safe injection sites and did not take a firm stand on housing or transit in his questionnaire (Calgary Herald, 2017e). He is coded as right-wing. Baidwan emphasized issues related to taxes and essential services (Pearson, 2017e). His social media during the election campaign showed clear allegiance with Bill Smith and promoted right-wing opinions relating to taxes and public services (Baidwan, n.d.). He is coded as right-wing. Nijjar was coded as left-wing. He focused on public transit and infrastructure issues and paid less attention to economic issues (Pearson, 2017e). He also stood against cuts to educational transportation and supported the construction of recreation centres in Ward 5 (Raj Nijjar, 2017). Lastly, Dinca emphasized public services and urban planning in his platform (Calgary Herald, 2017e). Dinca is coded as left-wing.

With three moderate candidates and two right-leaning candidates, vote splitting is unlikely. 56.25% of Chahal supporters were Conservatives, and 31.25% were left-leaning partisans. For the rest of the candidates, there is a small number of respondents limiting valid measurement.

Ward 6

Ward 6's open race elected Jeff Davison with 44.7 percent of the vote (Pearson, 2017f). Competitors Esmanhan Razavi received 21.5 percent, Sean Yost received 8.2 percent, and Jeffery Brownridge received 7.9 percent of the vote (Pearson, 2017f). Davison's platform focused on cost control and spending (Pearson, 2017f). Additionally, Davison presented a clear right-wing image in his 2021 mayoral bid focusing on reducing taxes (Davison, n.d.). Davison is coded as right-wing. Razavi ran on a platform also focusing on economic issues primarily related to tax policy (Pearson, 2017f). Her website

shows a focus on neighbourhood and community development (Razavi, 2017). She is coded as left-wing. Yost's platform focused on reducing residential and commercial property taxes, while his questionnaire comments on social issues had little substance (Calgary Herald, 2017f). Brownridge focused on economic issues and attracting business to Calgary (Calgary Herald, 2017f). Both Yost and Brownridge are coded as right-wing.

Ward 6 elected a right-wing candidate. Davison's support base is mostly Conservative, with 70.45% reporting Conservative partisanship while only 25.00% reported left-leaning partisanship. Razavi's supporters were mostly moderate, with 65.52% reporting left-leaning partisanship and only 20.69% reporting Conservative partisanship. Finally, both Yost and Brownridge supporters were mostly Conservative.

Ward 7

Ward 7 re-elected Druh Farrell with 41 percent of the vote (Pearson, 2017g). Brent Alexander, Dean Brawn, and Margot Aftergood received 37.5, 12.1, and 7.4 percent, respectively (Pearson, 2017g). Farrell focused on social issues rather than economic issues (Calgary Herald, 2017g). Her questionnaire promoted several centrist opinions on major issues (Calgary Herald, 2017g). Farrell is coded as centrist. Alexander stated a need to control property taxes and reduce taxes and regulations for businesses (Calgary Herald, 2017g). He also favoured secondary suites to combat unaffordable housing and safe injection sites (Calgary Herald, 2017g). Alexander is coded as centrist as he received an equal number of left-wing and right-wing codes. Brawn presented a typical right-wing platform emphasizing economic issues (Calgary Herald, 2017g). He promoted lowering individual and commercial taxes to attract new businesses and did not express strong opinions on social issues (Calgary Herald, 2017g). Like Brawn, Aftergood focused on lowering taxes and did not take hard stances on social issues (Calgary Herald, 2017g). Brawn and Aftergood are coded as right-wing.

Farrell's supporters were mostly moderate. 74.00% of Farrell supporters reported left-leaning partisanship, and only 16.00% reported Conservative partisanship. Conversely, 57.78% of Alexander's supporters were Conservatives, and 35.56% were

moderate partisans. All but one of Brawn's supporters in the sample were Conservatives, whereas Aftergood's supporters were more moderates than Conservatives.

Ward 8

Ward 8 re-elected Evan Woolley with 58.3 percent of the vote, with Chris Davis and Karla Charest receiving 32.5 and 6.8 percent, respectively (Pearson, 2017h). Evan Woolley's platform focused on social and economic issues (Pearson, 2017h). Woolley did not mention taxes but stated that diversification was necessary to strengthen Calgary's economy (Calgary Herald, 2017h). Woolley also favoured a streamlined secondary suite program and supported safe injection sites (Calgary Herald, 2017h). Woolley is coded as left-wing. Davis stated that "he will be a 'tax warrior'" if elected (as cited in Pearson, 2017h). His questionnaire showed his support for lowering taxes to attract businesses (Calgary Herald, 2017h). Davis is coded as right-wing. Charest focused on property tax reduction and affordable housing (Pearson, 2017h). Her support for economic issues and affordable housing presents a centrist leaning (Calgary Herald, 2017h). Charest is coded as centrist.

Ward 8, like Ward 7, elected a moderate candidate over a centrist and a right-leaning candidate. Woolley's supporters were mostly moderate at 62.69%, while 23.88% of Woolley supporters were Conservatives. In contrast, 64.29% of Davis supporters were Conservatives, and 26.19% were moderate partisans. Charest's partisan supporters were half Conservatives and half moderates.

Ward 9

In Ward 9, Gian-Carlo Carra was re-elected with 45.3 percent of the vote, with runner-up Cheryl Link receiving 37.4 percent (Pearson, 2017i). Carra's platform addressed economic issues but focused on neighbourhood growth and tax system reform rather than reducing taxes and regulations (Calgary Herald, 2017i). He also supported blanket legalization of secondary suites to combat unaffordable housing and supported safe injection sites (Calgary Herald, 2017i). Carra is coded as left-wing. Link focused more on tax issues and making Calgary more business-friendly (Calgary Herald, 2017i).

In her questionnaire, she paid little attention to social issues (Calgary Herald, 2017i). Link is coded as right-wing.

Ward 9 elected a moderate candidate over a more right-wing candidate. Carra's supporters are 55.32% moderate and 36.17% Conservative. In contrast, Link's supporters are 73.33% Conservative and 20.00% moderate partisans.

Ward 10

Ray Jones was re-elected 35.5 percent of the vote (Pearson, 2017j). However, due to re-zoning he represents the new Ward 10 (Pearson, 2017j). David Winkler and Salmah Kassam received 27 and 10.4 percent of the vote, respectively (Pearson, 2017j). Jones provided little detail on his platform, likely due to his incumbent status since being elected in 1993 (Pearson, 2017j). In his questionnaire, he only stated that watching city spending was important for the economy (Calgary Herald, 2017j). He supported safe injection sites but took no stand on addressing affordable housing (Calgary Herald, 2017j). Jones is coded as right-wing. Winkler was more right-wing and addressed economic issues in detail on his questionnaire (Calgary Herald, 2017j). He supported lowering taxes and reducing regulation on business (Calgary Herald, 2017j). Winkler also stated that he was against fluoride in drinking water and safe injection sites (Calgary Herald, 2017j). Winkler is coded as right-wing. Kassam stated that lowering taxes is important to attract business (Calgary Herald, 2017j). Kassam also addressed affordable housing and safe injection sites providing support for both (Calgary Herald, 2017j). Kassam is coded as centrist.

Jones supporters are 60.00% Conservative partisans and 24.44% moderate partisans. Winkler supporters are mostly Conservatives, with 64.71% reporting Conservative partisanship and 23.53% reporting left-leaning partisanship. Only three respondents supported Kassam, which limits the analysis of his supporters.

Ward 11

Ward 11 elected Jeromy Farkas, who received 38.4 percent of the vote in an open race (Pearson, 2017k). Linda Johnson received 22.1 percent, Janet Eremenko received 20.1 percent, Robert Dickinson received 13 percent, and Keith Simmons received 6.5 percent of the vote (Pearson, 2017k). Farkas focused on reducing taxes and city spending on essential services (Calgary Herald, 2017k). Farkas opposed blanketed rezoning for secondary suites and did not take a hard stance on safe injection sites (Calgary Herald, 2017k). Additionally, Farkas's lawn signs clearly stated, "Your Conservative Choice!" (Farkas, 2017). Farkas is coded as right-wing.

Johnson's campaign focused on ensuring public services for residents and providing local amenities to attract business (Calgary Herald, 2017k). She took hard stances in favour of restoring fluoride to Calgary's drinking water and for safe injection sites (Calgary Herald, 2017k). Johnson is coded as centrist. Eremenko outlined a moderate campaign. She did little to address economic issues in her questionnaire and instead focused on social issues, supporting safe injection sites (Calgary Herald, 2017k). Dickinson focused more on social than economic issues emphasizing the need for better transit, arts and culture, and environmental initiatives (Calgary Herald, 2017k). Simmons primarily addressed social issues emphasizing residential livability and supporting safe injection sites (Calgary Herald, 2017k). Eremenko, Dickinson, and Simmons are all coded as left-wing.

Ward 11 elected a clear Conservative candidate over several moderate candidates. Ward 11 presents some potential for vote-splitting as the moderate candidates, Johnson, Eremenko, Dickinson, and Simmons, received a combined 61.7 percent of the vote compared to Farkas's 38.4 percent. Even the two moderate candidates with the most support, Johnson and Eremenko, received 42.2 percent of the vote. It is possible that vote splitting resulted in the election of Farkas over one of his moderate competitors. Farkas supporters are overwhelmingly Conservative, with 80.00% reporting Conservative partisanship while only 11.67% reported a moderate partisanship. Of the four moderate

candidates, 25.71% reported Conservative partisanship, while 65.71% reported a moderate partisanship.

Ward 12

Ward 12 re-elected Shane Keating with 72.8 percent of the vote (Pearson, 2017l). Teresa Hargreaves and Brad Cunningham only received 11.6 percent and 11.1 percent of the vote, respectively (Pearson, 2017l). Keating addressed economic and social issues in his questionnaire (Calgary Herald, 2017l). He stated that a review of city services is necessary to help Calgary's economy and a need for streamlining secondary suite applications to combat unaffordable housing (Calgary Herald, 2017l). Keating is coded as centrist. Hargreaves focused on "business and community development" and community engagement (Pearson, 2017l). Hargreaves failed to respond to the 2017 questionnaire, but in her 2021 questionnaire, she promoted issues ranging from policing to transit (Hargreaves, 2021). Hargreaves is coded as centrist. Cunningham mentioned the importance of economic issues and supporting small businesses (Calgary Herald, 2017l). He also emphasized social issues such as public engagement. He is coded as Centrist

Ward 12 saw the election of a centrist candidate despite possibilities for vote splitting. Keating's supporters are primarily Conservatives despite his centrist platform. 58.93% of Keating supporters reported Conservative partisanship, while 25.00% reported a moderate partisanship. However, this could be due to Keating's large electoral margin of victory. Only 12 respondents supported the other candidates, while 56 respondents supported Keating. For these other candidates, there were more Conservative supporters than moderate supporters.

Ward 13

Incumbent Diane Colley-Urquhart was re-elected in Ward 13 with 34.3 percent of the vote (Pearson 2017m). Mark Dyrholm received 16.6 percent, Art Johnston received 14.1 percent, Sherrisa Celis received 11.1 percent, Adam Boechler received 10.9 percent, and Adam Frisch received 10.3 percent of the vote (Pearson, 2017m). Colley-Urquhart addressed economic and social issues in her questionnaire (Calgary Herald, 2017m). She

emphasized controlling city spending and supported safe injection sites (Calgary Herald, 2017m). Her platform also focused on transit and policing (Pearson, 2017m). Colley-Urquhart is coded as centrist.

In contrast, Dyrholm is more right-leaning with his focus on over-taxation and -spending and reducing regulations on business (Calgary Herald, 2017m). Art Johnston was previously a Progressive Conservative MLA making it easy for voters to determine her Conservative and right-wing leaning (Pearson, 2017m). Both Dyrholm and Johnston are coded as right-wing.

Celis is politically moderate, as her campaign focused on social issues such as transportation and her Twitter page shows clear support for the Alberta NDP (Pearson, 2017m; Celis, n.d.). Boechler seems somewhat moderate with his economic focus on selling Calgary rather than addressing taxation (Calgary Herald, 2017m). Frisch was also moderate as he did not address taxation and instead focused on helping small businesses and supported safe injection sites (Calgary Herald, 2017m). Celis, Boechler, and Frisch are coded as left-wing.

Ward 13 elected a moderate candidate, and with an equal number of moderate and right-leaning candidates, there is little concern for vote splitting. Surprisingly, 71.43% of Colley-Urquhart supporters are Conservatives. Only 19.05% of Colley-Urquhart supporters reported a moderate partisanship. Unsurprisingly Dyrholm's supporters were all Conservatives. Surprisingly, Johnston's supporters were 77.78% Conservative, and only 16.67% reported moderate partisanship. For the remaining moderate candidates, 50.00% of their supporters reported Conservative partisanship, and 40.00% reported moderate partisanship.

Ward 14

Peter Demong was re-elected in Ward 14 with 90.3 percent of the vote, with his only competitor, Kelash Kumar, receiving 9.7 percent (Pearson, 2017n). Demong is a moderate candidate with his focus on transit and community integrity (Pearson, 2017n). On the other hand, Kumar stated that voters were focused on "taxation, the arena, transit

and transportation” (Jarvie, 2017). Kumar thus appears to be a centrist with his mention of tax and social issues. The election of Demong likely has to do with the late entry of Kumar. Kumar entered the race on September 18, 2017, less than a month before the election (Jarvie, 2017). Nonetheless, Demong, a moderate candidate, was elected despite many Conservative partisans in the district. Despite Demong’s moderate platform, 76.42% of his supporters reported Conservative partisanship. However, this is likely due to the lack of a competitive challenger leaving voters little choice when voting.