

**Discerning Claim Making:
Political Representation of Indo-Canadians by
Canadian Political Parties**

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Abstract

The targeting of people of colour by political parties during election campaigns is often described in the media as “wooing” or “courting.” How parties engage or “woo” non-whites is not fully understood. Theories on representation provide a framework for the systematic analysis of the types of representation claims made by political actors. I expand on the political proximity approach—which suggests that public office seekers make more substantive than symbolic claims to their partisans than to non-aligned voters—by arguing that Canadian political parties view mainstream voters as their typical constituents and visible minorities, such as Indo-Canadians, as peripheral constituents. Consequently, campaign messages targeted at mainstream voters include more substantive claims than messages targeted at non-white voters. I conduct a content analysis of political advertisements placed during the 2004–2015 general election campaigns in Punjabi and mainstream Canadian newspapers. The analysis shows that political parties make more symbolic than substantive claims in both categories of newspapers; however, Punjabi newspapers contain slightly more symbolic claims than the mainstream ones. The Liberals and NDP make more substantive claims in Punjabi newspapers than the Conservatives.

Keywords: claim making; visible minorities; representation claims

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Chapter 1.

Introduction

Canadian political parties' interest in the visible minority electorate has been well noted in the media (Adams & Griffith, 2015; Barber, 2015; Payton, 2011; Winnick, 2015). In fact, a former minister in the Stephen Harper cabinet (2006–2015), Jason Kenney, came to be known as Mr. Curry-in-a-Hurry for his unprecedented attendance at cultural events. Similarly, Justin Trudeau, the current Prime Minister, in the 2015 election ran on a slogan “Diversity is Canada’s Strength,” made a concerted effort to win back highly visible minority ridings from the Conservatives, and succeeded (Kirkey, 2015). The New Democratic Party of Canada also reached out to expand its base in the “vote-rich, multicultural” ridings (Cohen, 2013). However, the accounts have been anecdotal and journalistic in nature.

Academia recognizes that politicians deliver varying messages, depending on their audiences (Rohrschneider, 2002; Saward, 2010; Schnur, 2014). The strategic targeting of people of colour by political parties remains to be fully explored. Though it is often reported as “pandering” (Baily, Chase, Friesen, 2011; Frum, 2015). Politicians’ attendance at various “cultural events” is presented, not only by the media but by politicians themselves, as if they are stepping out of a familiar space (the mainstream) and into unfamiliar cultural enclaves, where people are different not only by skin colour, but also by culture (food, attire, values, and morals). Conversely, political outreach to Euro-Canadian voters (Canadians of European origin) is rarely reported as wooing/pandering, nor are there many differentiated cultural events. Perhaps this is because such voters are viewed as typical constituents. Consequently, the separation of cultural enclaves and typical constituencies divides these voters into separate electorates, regardless of their common identity as Canadians.

To gain a better understanding of the strategic targeting of political parties, my paper examines advertisements in mainstream and Punjabi Canadian newspapers of the three political parties: the Conservative Party of Canada (Conservatives), the Liberal Party of Canada (Liberals), and the New Democratic Party of Canada (NDP). The study looks at the representative claims made by public office seekers to persuade voters.

Claim making involves tapping into voters' preferences. However, data on visible minorities' preferences are not readily available. For example, Indo-Canadians are one of the largest visible minority groups but remain the least studied. National random surveys, such as the Canadian Election Study, capture very few respondents who identify themselves as Indo-Canadians, Punjabis, or Indians (East Indian), or who identify by their religious affiliations. There are no supplementary data addressing this shortcoming, which underscores that determining Indo-Canadians' political preferences is difficult.

My paper focuses on the representation claims of the political parties to a diverse electorate. Specifically, I ask: *To what extent do the representation claims of the political parties made to Indo-Canadians and typical voters differ?* The query stems from the assumption of socio-cultural differences between Indo-Canadians and the main Canadian political parties (Conservatives, Liberals, and NDP). Porter (1992) states that Anglophones and Francophones laid the foundations of Canada's social, political, and economic structures and remain influential in these areas. Euro-Canadians constitute more than 60% of the population (Statcan, 2011), a fact reflected in the leadership of political parties, as merely 17% of the Members of Parliament in the 42nd Parliament are people of colour or Indigenous people. The political institutions and democratic process are mainly administered by Euro-Canadians.

Several electoral ridings in British Columbia have a significant population of Indo-Canadians: Surrey-Newton, Surrey-Centre, Fleetwood-Port Kells, Cloverdale-Langley City, Delta, Abbotsford, and Mission-Matsqui-Fraser-Canyon. The Vancouver South riding has historical significance, as the original Punjabi market and the first Sikh temple were established and built there. The 42st Minister of Defense, Harjit Singh Sajjan, represents this riding. Approximately six percent of the seats in the 42nd Parliament are held by Punjabi (Indo-Canadian subgroup) Members of Parliament, mainly representing ridings from Ontario and British Columbia. Punjabi is the third most spoken language, after English and French, in the 42nd Canadian Parliament and the second most spoken in the city of Surrey, British Columbia (Binning, 2016; Census, 2011, p. 4; Rana, 2015). It can be said Indo-Canadians have gained significant electoral influence in several federal ridings, and the political parties have a vested interest in reaching out to and engaging with this electorate.

Political parties' outreach to and focus upon non-White Canadians has been well noted. The media limits its coverage to cultural enclaves of people of colour, where political engagement is framed as "pandering." Researchers recognize that political operatives pragmatically deliver varying messages; thus, representation claims to typical (Euro-Canadian) voters and Indo-Canadians (an ethnic minority) may differ depending on the parties' affiliation with the subgroups.

1.1. Terminology: Ethnic Minorities, Visible Minorities, People of Colour, and Immigrants

The terms ethnic minorities, visible minorities, people of colour, and immigrants are often used interchangeably to describe non-White Canadians, but these terms mean different things. An ethnic minority has a cultural marker that sets the group apart from the mainstream (Bhopal, 2004). For example, Mennonites are an ethnic minority within Canada, yet no visible marker of skin colour or facial feature sets them apart from the mainstream. Weber (1991) stated that ethnicity is a social construct built on a belief in common descent, out of which culture is defined and practiced (p.139). Therefore, ethnicity is about belonging to a group, a personal sense of connection with a group (religious, cultural, linguistic, ancestral). When given a choice, a person can identify with more than one group. For example, In the United States, when people were given an option of selecting "American" in a survey, only 38.8% chose "Latino or Hispanic," but when the "American" category was not an option, 62.2% identified themselves as "Latino or Hispanic" (Lee, 2008, p. 468). Similarly, in Canada, if identity question is asked in a survey one can identify oneself as Indo-Canadian, Punjabi, Sikh, Hindu, Christian, Muslim, East Indian, or simply Canadian. For this reason, ethnicity is a complex concept and needs to be used with caution (Bhopal, 2004; Lee, 2008; Smith, 2004).

Visible minority is a Canadian term to describe individuals who are visibly different (e.g., by skin colour, facial features) from the mainstream, regardless of their ethnicity. The Canadian government defines visible minorities as "persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Department of Justice, 1995). However, Canada's use of the term "visible minority" has been challenged by the United Nations' Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (2012) due to its homogenous connotation (p. 9).

The term “people of colour” is commonly used, particularly in the United States, to better reflect a racialized identity. Although the term is well recognized, there is no set definition or consensus on its use. It encompasses all people who are non-white, including Indigenous peoples. Generally, the term is used to denote power differentiation between whites and non-whites in the context of systematic racism (see Dhruvarajan, 2000; Hochschild, 2007; Stanfield, 1990).

The visible marker of skin colour does not indicate one’s legal status in Canada. For example, a person in the visible minority category may be a sixth-generation Canadian or a new immigrant. An immigrant status is applicable to all individuals born outside of Canada, regardless of their status as a permanent resident or a Canadian citizen (Statistics Canada, 2011). It does not denote ethnicity or visible minority marker (e.g., skin colour).

In this paper, as much as possible I use “Indo-Canadians” to represent a subgroup of people of colour who are of Indian ancestry. In other instances, I use the terms “visible minorities,” “non-white” and “people of colour” interchangeably, while recognizing that all of these terms are problematic in some way. To clarify, Indo-Canadians are a diverse group of people, linguistically, culturally, and religiously. The majority of Indo-Canadians in British Columbia hail from Punjab, a state in northern India bordering Pakistan; Punjabi is the Indo-Aryan language of this region. I use the term “Punjabi” in terms of language (e.g., Punjabi newspaper), Punjabis as people, or Punjabi speakers (for a history of Indo-Canadians, see Buchignani, Indra, and Srivastiva, 1985).

Having established the central topic of my paper in Chapter 1, in Chapter 2 I present the theoretical framework that sets the foundation of the paper. Chapter 3 describes the study’s methodology, which consists of a qualitative content analysis of newspaper advertisements. In Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 I present the analysis and the results. Chapter 4 focuses on differences between political parties and types of newspapers in the kinds of claims made, while Chapter 5 examines differences across campaign years. Chapter 6 highlights the key finds, implication and suggestion for future research on the topic.

Chapter 2.

Discerning Representation Claims

Chapter 2 is divided into five separate sections. The first section introduces *representation as a relational and performance act*. The second section discusses the use of substantive and symbolic claims in relational and performance representation. The third provides an overview of instrumental and expressive motivation for voting. The fourth presents what factors may be important to visible minorities in electing a representative. The chapter closes with an overview of Canadian political parties and their engagement with voters.

2.1. Relational and Performance Acts

The concept of elected officials representing citizens is central to representative democracy. The consent granted through the election process allows the “government to speak and act in the name of the people” (Vieira & Runciman, 2008, p. 4). Representation is an avenue through which the interests and grievances of citizens can be availed and potentially resolved in the democratic process.

There are two overarching components of representation. One is the *relational* arrangement between the representative, whereby a representative is a delegate and/or trustee (see Pitkin, 1967), also known as gyroscopic and surrogate representation (see Mansbridge, 2003). The second is the *performance* of the representative, during electioneering and in office. Rehfeld (2006) has identified relational and performance representation as “being vs. activity”; thus, representation is a “noun” and a “verb” at the same time (p. 17). The noun entails relational arrangements that are formalized through an election process. The verb entails the performance of the representative during electioneering and in office.

Pitkin (1967) identified relational and performance representation as authorization and accountability. Here, authorization pertains to acquisition of the representative role. Accountability is the (dis)approval of the performance that is conferred by looking out for another’s interests. If the performance is approved, the representative is re-elected; if it is disapproved, the representative is defeated. It is this

dynamic interplay between relational and performance that keeps representative democracy viable.

An effective performer understands the desires of constituents and engages accordingly. Saward (2014) has stated that political parties are pragmatic in targeting their appeals. Thus, shifting their position according to their audience is in fact a sign of “intelligent and prudent” judgement (p. 724). Moreover, setting a pragmatic agenda allows them to highlight certain issues and thereby create a demand (Lindekilde, 2013; Saward, 2010). To create a demand, as Saward (2010) has noted, the claim maker frames an issue of interest to the constituents and formulates an action that calls for a collective response. It is up to the constituents to accept or reject the proposed claim. For example, a female candidate may highlight equal pay as an issue and target women as the beneficiaries of her proposed agenda on the issue. It is up to the women to either get behind the claim or reject it.

The “aesthetic” packaging of claims taps into voter aspirations. Saward (2010) stated that claim making involves asking: “What image of these people, who don’t normally vote for us, can we offer them? Can we offer a future picture of themselves, under our government, which may compel them towards supporting us?” (p. 132). Political figures, scriptwriters, and spin doctors are “creative actors” who tailor claims that respond to these questions, taking into consideration the values, beliefs, and interests of the anticipated constituents (Saward, 2010, p. 47). The aesthetic packaging of the claim depends on the targeted audience. Schnur (2014) has identified three types of audience: saints, sinners, and salvageables (p. 359). The saints are the partisans, the loyalist supporters, the sinners are the opponents, and the salvageables are those who can be converted to followers or soft supporters and requires a unique aesthetic packaging strategy.

Partisanship or party identification initially develops in childhood through socialization by family’s and friends’ political views (Berelson et al., 1954). However, short-term factors such as issues and candidate evaluations also have an effect on voter choice (Campbell et al., 1990; Gidengil et al., 2012). Generally, partisans view their preferred party favourably and defend its stances regardless of the issues (Mathews, 2013). Conversely, the salvageables are undecided or loosely aligned voters, and they

may either have limited political knowledge or be well informed and use strategic voting to achieve their goals (Classen, 2007).

Saward (2010) has asserted that to sustain partisans and attract salvageables, claim makers apply three modes: popular, statal, and reflexive. The popular mode speaks to the grassroots of a political party, its appeals reflect social cleavages (p. 129), and the appeals are based on ideology and substantive policy (Rohrschneider, 2002; Schnur, 2014). Partisans expect ideology-driven policies. For example, NDP partisans are likely to expect a policy on labour protection and advancements (e.g., increasing the minimum wage), and the popular mode satisfies these expectations.

The latter two modes of claim making, statal and reflexive, are used to broaden the base by appealing to non-aligned voters (the salvageables). Here, political parties move away from party-centric campaigns, present themselves as “state actors,” and show flexibility about new ideas (Saward, 2010, pp. 132, 134). The role of the state actor is to represent the interests of the whole state rather than a social group. According to Saward (2010), this approach attracts new voters who typically would not have supported the party’s ideological stance. The claims speak to the values, beliefs, and interests of the anticipated constituents rather than ideological impositions. The reflexive mode is farthest removed from catering to the base. This mode tries to capture or be responsive to issue-based movements and groups (Saward, 2010); “this postmodern mode may be an emergent characteristic of today” (p. 128). Canadian political parties seem to shift pragmatically between popular and statal modes.

Rohrschneider (2002) argued that political parties’ targeting strategy depends on whether the intent is to “mobilize” or “chase.” Mobilization of partisans involves getting them on side and energizing them for a campaign. To chase non-aligned voters, parties downplay ideology and partisanship and engage in emotive appeals (Stolz, 2007, p. 312) based on universal values of social justice, morals, and good character (Schnur, 2014). For example, “I am one of you,” “you can trust me with your future because I am straight and honest,” “he’s an expert and he understands what’s going to work for you” (Saward, 2010, p. 75). Essentially, the voter is the consumer, and the political representative is the product that appeases the consumer’s needs and wants. The emphasis is on the “buyer” rather than the “seller” (Scammell, 2003).

In relational terms, voters expect their representative to advance their preferences in public policy. Often, the claim maker is pragmatic, directing ideology-driven, tangible policies at aligned voters and non-policy-specific, sentimental rhetoric at non-aligned voters.

2.2. Substantive and Symbolic Claims

A balancing act in claim making is apparent in political representation. Parties are expected to offer tangible policies that advance the interests of their partisans. However, to expand beyond their loyalists, political parties are expected to downplay exclusiveness and be inclusive of diverse people and ideas, at least symbolically. I therefore argue that as political parties venture away from their core or social groups, their representation claims become more symbolic than substantive.

The concepts of substantive and symbolic claims need to be further explored to fully understand their application in relational and performance representation. Saward (2010) has emphasized that substantive and symbolic representation are not necessarily dichotomous (p. 72). They simultaneously exist in all relational and performance aspects of representation. For example, a female representative can evoke both substantive and symbolic meaning in her representation: symbolic in descriptive representation (a woman representing women) and substantive because she now represents an underrepresented group.

Both concepts have a specific function in political representation. One can view substantive representation as offering “a means to an end” that advances the policy preferences of the represented (Pitkin, 1967a, p. 212), whereas symbolic representation is an end in itself. The latter is often limited to rhetoric that arouses an emotional response without offering a means to an end: “[it] tends to focus attention on those activities of political leaders which create charisma, enhance belief, stimulate irrational and affective reaction in people” and “involves working on the minds of those who are to be represented” (Pitkin, 1967b, p. 13). These claims are also referred to as “tangible” and “symbolic language” (Gusfjeld, 1967; Marion & Oliver, 2012); “referential” and “condensation symbols” (Edelman, 1964); or “instrumental” and “expressive” (Stolz, 1999). The tangible, referential, and instrumental acts all reiterate a similar concept of articulating an action that will bring about change in public policy. It is tangible because it

outlines what and how the promise will be achieved. It suggests significant modification or adjustment to the identified issue (Marion & Oliver, 2012). In this framework, referential symbols are the traceable aspects of a policy, such as costs, acts, regulations, and procedures (Edelman, 1964, p. 6). For example, the Community Historical Recognition Program (CHRP) was enacted by the Canadian Conservative government in 2008 to recognize the historical wrongs done to “ethno-cultural communities.” The cost of program was \$13.5 million over a five-year period, and it funded 68 programs (CIC, 2016). These details are the referential symbols of the program. Referential symbols can also be defined as the instruments or tools of a policy. Accordingly, an instrumental act is one that has substance to carry out an effect and shows “who gets what and how,” a tangible means to an end (Stolz, 2007, p.311).

Abstract (symbolic), condensation symbols and expressive acts are the theoretical opposite. Symbolic claims “give the appearance of change, [but] in reality no serious or significant adjustments are ever made” (Marion & Oliver, 2012, p. 475). The claim maker symbolically addresses issues without offering substantive policy or action. For example, a claim maker demands equal gender representation in parliament, yet offers no means of achieving it (e.g., affirmative action). The expression (expressive act) of demanding more women in parliament is an end in itself. This is not to suggest that symbolic claims are less meaningful. Sometimes, policy changes begin as symbolic gestures. Fringe or progressive ideas are likely to be couched in symbolic rhetoric at first, which acts as a precursor to attaining tangible ends (Cobb & Elder, 1973, p. 308; Lomardo & Meier, 2014, p. 151). Ideas that are saturated or have become the norm (read acceptable) are more likely to receive substantive and tangible actions than those that have not.

Substantive and symbolic claims play an important function in claim making, as they allow the claim maker to shift pragmatically. Substantive claims outline tangible policy proposals that are most likely to be approved by the majority of aligned voters. Symbolic claims are most likely to be used in outreach efforts to attract salvageable voters. At the very least, though, symbolic claims show that the representative is aware of the issue, and for some this mere recognition may be sufficient. In the political representation literature, the dichotomous nature of substantive and symbolic claims is emphasized, perhaps for clarity’s sake; however, as stated by Saward (2010), these

claims are intertwined, as substantive claims can arouse an emotional response and symbolic claims can have substantive value.

2.3. Instrumental and Expressive Voting

The literature on instrumental and expressive voting informs us about what influences a voter's decision. The *instrumental voting* perspective adheres to the influential works of Anthony Downs (1957), who postulated a rational electorate in which each citizen votes for the party (candidate) that offers them the largest utility (maximum benefit). Voters assess candidates' utility by finding a difference between perceived benefits from party *A* (incumbent) and party *B* (opposition). If the difference is positive, the citizen will choose party *A*, and if the difference is negative, the citizen will vote for party *B* (Downs, 1957, p. 39). If the expected change is zero, then the citizen is likely to abstain from voting (p. 43). Additionally, voters may use economic factors (national and personal) retrospectively (past performance) and prospectively (future expectation) to either reward or punish the incumbent (Anderson, 2010). For example, under the Liberal government, unemployment dropped between 1993 and 1997; however, 80% of Canadians believed that joblessness remained an unresolved issue, so the Liberal margin of victory suffered significantly (Gidengil, 2012, p. 71).

The *expressive voting* perspective asserts that voters are not as concerned with the election outcome as the instrumental perspective predicts. Just as in a football match, fans can choose to cheer for a team, but they have no control over the end results (Brennan & Hamlin, 1999, p. 118), so too does the outcome of the election and the delivery of policy depend on factors such as minority/majority government status and legislative structures. It is not always easy to know who to credit if the desired policy outcome is achieved or blame if it is not (Anderson, 2010, p. 145). For this reason, the expressive voting theorists argue it is plausible that a voting decision may be led by intrinsic values such as civic duty or showing commitment to a cause or a political party (Schuessler, 2000). Moreover, voters may "identify with the candidate's moral character, good looks or ethnic origin," and this identification influences their voting decision (Brennan & Hamlin, 1998, p. 156). Hence, many factors, such as socio-demographics, values and beliefs, partisanship, leader evaluation, and campaign dynamics influence voters' decisions (Anderson & Stephenson, 2010, p. 13).

Elections are also opportunities to express opinions, so people may vote to have “their voice heard” and to take an active role in an event rather than being bystanders (Dittman, Kubler, Maug & Mechtenberg, 2014, p. 26). In this case, the act of voting may be the end in itself rather than the means to an end. Overall, the instrumental and expressive vote models offer a framework that provides insight into why people vote. When making claims, political parties are responding to voters’ motivations for voting. They are tapping into instrumental motivation by offering substantive policies and alternatives in which voters can see themselves better off under the claim maker’s government. Equally, political claim making draws upon expressive motivation by making emotive appeals based on voters’ values, beliefs, and intrinsic concerns.

2.4. People of Colour’s Political Preferences and Motivations

The previous section discussed voters at large. This section specifically looks at the political preferences and motivations of visible minorities when electing a representative. Sobolewska (2005) studied whether there is an “ethnic agenda” in Britain or whether visible minorities have political attitudes in common with the mainstream population. She found “ethnic-specific issues” do not motivate visible political engagement (p. 212). Moreover, she concluded that social conservatism is based more on age and religion than on ethnicity, and that visible minorities’ socially conservative values are unlikely to trump their affinity for other factors, such as economics.

Canadian scholarship has attempted to answer a similar question with respect to “ethnic agendas” versus mainstream interests. It has been amply noted that mainstream parties of the left, particularly the Liberals, have been the choice for visible minorities (Erickson & Laycock, 2014; Harell, 2013). This may be because immigrants’ main concerns are immigration and ethnic minority issues, and Liberals have projected themselves as the most favourable on these issues—citing, for example, the adoption of multiculturalism in 1971 and enacting the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Bilodeau & Kanji, 2010, p. 79). Blais (2005) observed that individuals who are pro-immigration, pro-foreign aid, and pro-minority rights are also likely to vote for Liberals (p. 832). However, non-Europeans tend to be more socially conservative (e.g., against same sex marriage and abortion) (Blais, 2005). Non-European voters may also be inclined to vote for Conservatives, and some have credited the 2011 Conservative majority to “ethnic”

electorate support (Castonguay, 2013; Gollom, 2015; Hyder, 2005). Yet, parties on the right are generally known to hold negative views on immigration and minority rights issues (Lefevere et al., 2015, p. 755; Wagner & Meyer, 2015, p. 798). It is difficult to determine whether visible minorities' interests are different from those of mainstream society. Blais (2005) as well as Bilodeau and Kanji (2010) noted that there are limited data available in Canadian studies to make any conclusive statements on these groups' preferences about issues or policy.

For the most part, people of colour's interests have been studied in terms of *formalistic representation*, by focusing on laws and practices that either hinder or allow voting rights and running for public office. Generally, in Western democracies, visible minorities are descriptively under-represented in legislatures due to the nations' citizenship regimes and political parties' candidate recruitment practices (Bird, 2012; Black, 2011; Black & Hicks, 2006; Cross & Young, 2013). Bird (2012), however, has asserted that Canadian citizenship laws do not hinder the participation of visible minorities. Moreover, Canadian political parties permit non-citizen permanent residents to have party membership. This allows new immigrants the ability to participate in the party candidate selection process, although Canadian citizenship is required for voting in a general election. Canadian citizenship can be acquired after four years (at least 1,460 days) of residence in Canada. Bird (2012) has attributed the higher representation of visible minorities in the Canadian parliament to parties' striving for electoral advantage in non-white dense ridings. Notably, the NDP is the only party with an affirmative-action policy that stipulates 50% of their candidates must be from marginalized groups: visible minorities, youth, women, persons with disabilities, gays, and lesbians (Bird, 2012, p. 453; Cross & Young, 2013, p. 35).

In closing, the lack of data on the political preferences of people of colour in Canada can lead to misrepresentation, particularly in claim making. Perhaps there is no "ethnic agenda," and people of colour are politically mobilized by other issues, such as economics, just like Euro-Canadian voters. If this is the case, then political parties' rhetoric on immigration and/or conservative values may have an adverse effect on their outreach efforts.

2.5. Canadian Political Parties

Understanding the core group of Canadian political parties can shed some light on the ideologies that influence claim making during electioneering. Gidengil et al. (2012) asserted that religion has been an important predictor of voter choice in Canada (pp. 20, 29). Roughly, Liberal supporters tend to be Catholics, Conservative supporters are likely to be Protestants or fundamentalist Christians, and NDP supporters are the least likely to have any strong religious affiliation (Gidengil et al., 2012). Socio-demographics and rural–urban residency factors also serve as predictors of political leaning in Canada (Anderson & Stephenson, 2010, p. 17; Cochrane & Perrella, 2012; Gidengil et al., 2012, p. 21). College degree holders and urban dweller are more likely to support Liberals over Conservatives (Anderson & Stephenson, 2010, p. 17). Although class-based voting is nonexistent in Canada, union association is a strong predictor of NDP support (Gidengil et al., 2012, p. 31). It can be said that all three political parties have a distinct base of supporters.

The catch-all and brokerage nature of Canadian party politics has also been noted (Carty, 2013). Over the past several elections, the Conservatives have built coalitions across regional, religious, and ethnic divides while still appealing to their base (Carty, 2013, p. 18). The Liberals have been recognized as a brokerage party, as they downplay their base and present themselves as the natural governing party (Bélanger & Stephenson, 2010, p. 110). Brokerage parties are leader-centric, and their leader is the broker of competing interests (Carty, 2013, p. 15). Carty (2013) has asserted that Liberal party members play a significant role in leader and candidate selection but have limited policy input because the leader needs flexibility for brokering.

Party systems nonetheless are continually undergoing renewal. It has been noted that a decline in partisanship is causing voter volatility for Canadian political parties (Bélanger & Stephenson, 2010; Gidengil et al., 2012, p. 66). Others have pointed out that the arrival of new immigrants adds to voter instability and the consequent unpredictability of election outcomes (Pare & Berger, 2008). Bilodeau and Kanji (2010) observed that initially, new immigrants may experience party estrangement, but over time they do develop stable partisanship and party loyalty, generally in favour of the Liberals. Regardless of the reasons for voter volatility, a greater number of undecided and/or non-aligned voters in the “market” prompts party competition. This challenges the

major parties to come up with strategies that speak to their core supporters and attract new ones.

As mentioned earlier, when recruiting new voters, political parties downplay their ideological positions and highlight flexibility and inclusiveness (Rohrschneider, 2002; Saward, 2010, Schnur, 2010). For example, in 2005, the Conservatives during their national policy convention distanced themselves from the extreme right social issues such as abortion and same-sex marriage and embraced centrist positions (Pare & Berger, 2008, p. 49). The Conservatives pragmatically shifted from their ideologically rigid stance to a more flexible position on these social issues. However, the new Conservatives failed to stabilize Quebec voters' support and hence shifted their focus to target "ethnic" voters (Flanagan, 2011, p. 7). This type of political maneuvering is necessary for the survival of mass political parties.

The above discussion underscores that political parties shift their claims according to their audience. Here, I make the assumption that Euro-Canadian voters are more likely to be considered typical constituents of mass parties, and Indo-Canadians are more likely to be external to parties' typical constituents. Arguably, parties' representation claims to Euro-Canadians are likely to be more substantive than to Indo-Canadians. However, previous studies have suggested that visible minorities are likely to be supporters of ideologically left-leaning parties (Bilodeau & Kanji, 2010; Blais, 2005; Erickson & Laycock, 2014; Harrell, 2013). Hence, the Liberals, NDP and Conservatives should have distinguishable strategies for targeting Indo-Canadian voters. The Liberal and NDP representative claims should be comprised of substantive policy initiatives, whereas the Conservative party is targeting non-aligned or loosely aligned voters, so their claims to Indo-Canadians should be less substantive and more symbolic. My resulting hypotheses are:

- **H1:** All parties are likely to make more substantive claims to the typical electorate than to the Indo-Canadian electorate. Conversely, all parties are likely to make more symbolic claims to the Indo-Canadian electorate than to the typical electorate.
- **H2:** The Liberals and the NDP are more likely to make substantive claims to Indo-Canadians than the Conservatives.

In the context of my paper, the typical electorate reflects the characteristics of the majority of Canadians (i.e., Euro-Canadians). The two hypotheses lead the discussion in

the remaining chapters. Based on the theoretical perspectives, I expect that the mainstream and Punjabi newspapers are likely to have differing claims.

Chapter 3.

Methodology

Chapter 3 includes an explanation of the research design, a brief discussion on data collection, and a description of the coding scheme.

The focus of my paper is representation claim making by federal political parties and their respective candidates during electioneering. Over the past five elections (2004, 2006, 2008, 2011, and 2015), the NDP, Conservatives, and Liberals have spent over \$155 million in mass media-mediated campaigns—\$130 million on radio/TV ads and \$25 million on “other” advertising, which includes newspapers (Elections Canada, 2017). Additionally, candidates spend thousands of dollars advertising in their local ridings. The use of mass media during a campaign is the single largest expense for the three parties.

These advertisements provide ample raw data on representation claim making, and a content analysis of these can provide greater insight into how political parties’ make claims to Indo-Canadian and mainstream voters differ.

As we saw in Chapter 2, theoretical perspectives on representation claims outline two main types of claims: substantive and symbolic. Substantive representation claims are observable as tangible policy articulation. Going back to the descriptive representation example presented earlier, having a representative who resembles the represented (e.g., an Indo-Canadian representative for Indo-Canadians; a woman representing women) may also be symbolically significant. My focus is on the written text rather than the descriptive representation; thus, symbolic claims are statements (claims) that evoke emotions (e.g., fear, hope).

For feasibility, I have narrowed the data collection to mainly British Columbia. The primary population base of Indo-Canadians is in the suburbs of Ontario and British Columbia, and the Punjabi press is heavily concentrated in these areas as well. However, accessing printed newspapers is challenging, as the majority are stored in boxes in the publishers’ offices/warehouses; an exception is the *Indo-Canadian Times* newspaper, which has been archived at the Vancouver Public Library since the 1980s. I contacted over 25 Punjabi newspaper publishers across Canada, and only five

newspapers in BC were accessible: *Akal Guardian*, *Hamdard Weekly* (BC edition), *Indo-Canadian Times*, *Punjabi Patrika*, and *Punjab Guardian*. I supplemented the Indo-Canadian data with nine advertisements from Alberta and 14 from Ontario. The *Akal Guardian* has readership in BC and Alberta. A total of 87 unique Punjabi advertisements were collected. These advertisements were placed during the 2004, 2006, 2008, 2011, and 2015 writ periods by the federal NDP, Liberals, and Conservatives and their respective local candidates. These publications were selected from ridings where there is a concentrated Indo-Canadian population, namely Surrey, Abbotsford, and the surrounding areas. In all cases, the mainstream newspapers align with the local Punjabi papers. For example, *Punjabi Patrika* and the *Abbotsford News* are free-of-charge local newspapers in Abbotsford. To clarify, the mainstream newspapers are English language newspapers, and the intended readership is mainstream society.

It is possible that I was not able to collect all the advertisements in Punjabi newspapers from the 2006 and 2008 campaign periods, as only two of the above noted five Punjabi newspapers had 2006 and 2008 editions. To assess the impact of this potentially missing data, I also conducted an analysis that excluded the 2006 and 2008 data of both mainstream and Punjabi newspapers. The results are provided in Chapter 5.

The mainstream newspapers (2004, 2006, 2008, and 2011) are available in hardcopy or as digital files at local libraries, city archives and newspaper offices. Initially for mainstream advertisements, I searched for political party advertisements in national and regional newspapers such as the *Vancouver Sun*, *The Province*, the *Globe & Mail* and the *National Post*. However, after looking through all the available microfilms at the Simon Fraser University library (Bennet Library), I found only a few political advertisements. I was more successful when I searched the 2015 online local newspapers, where I found the majority of the advertisements from the candidates and their respective political parties. Local newspapers from 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2011 are available on microfilm at public libraries, city archives, and publishers' offices. In total, I collected 146 unique advertisements from the following mainstream "local" newspapers: *Surrey Leader*, *Surrey Now*, *Abbotsford News*, *Peace Arch News*, *Delta Optimist*, and *Vancouver Sun*.

Collecting advertisements is painstaking work as it requires going through each page of the newspaper and making copies. Printing these documents was not feasible, especially at publishers' offices, as I would have had to ask the staff to print them for me. Instead, I took photos with my camera, transferred the files to my home computer, copied the images into a Word document, and typed out the written content. I saved each advertisement as a single Word document. I also translated the Punjabi advertisements into English and similarly created a single Word document for each. This allowed me to code these advertisements in NVivo as text documents rather than images; an image cannot be coded line by line in NVivo.

All in all, I collected 233 unique advertisements. Any repeating advertisements were excluded. In many cases, the candidates repeated the same advertisements in multiple editions of the same newspaper and in additional newspapers. Although repetition could mean the candidate was trying to deliver a particular message consistently, it added no additional information to the content, so repeated advertisements were excluded from the final data.

The strength of using political newspaper advertisements is that they capture the representative claims in hardcopy. This allows for comparison of appeals to different demographics within the same area. However, the weakness of content analysis is that it supports a more descriptive approach. Although it allowed me to systematically break down the data to find "what" was being said by the political parties/candidates, it did not allow feedback from the claim makers. This would have required interviewing political operatives.

Print advertisements do not fully capture the dynamic nature of a campaign. Including other communications, such as radio, television, and social media advertisements, would have provided additional data for my study. Due to the limited resources at my disposal, collecting additional data was not feasible, particularly because locating Punjabi data proved to be more difficult than I had initially assumed. Nonetheless, the essence of the campaign periods is captured in the newspaper advertisements, as each campaign had one or more central theme(s), and all advertisements were representative of the theme(s). Local candidates tweaked the same themes to reflect local issues. In elections, all three mediums (newspaper, radio, and television) are used to widen the reach of parties' messages. The overall messages are

unlikely to change, as frequent, consistent, and repetitive messaging is needed to generate voter familiarity and response. Also, the target audience of radio and television remains the general public and therefore more symbolic than substantive claims would be expected. Any additional data would have enhanced my study, but would not change the overall results.

3.1. Content Coding

My coding scheme is guided by theories of representation claim making and electioneering. First, I randomly selected 60 advertisements to establish my coding scheme. I continued to refine my scheme by thoroughly analyzing the text and interpreting it to develop categories and subcategories that capture the essence of the representation claims. The three main categories that emerged out of the sample analysis are substantive claims, symbolic claims and mixed claims. The first two categories are presented in Figure 3-1. I created the third category, mixed claims, to capture claims that use emotive appeals and make substantive claims in the same advertisements. I explain these categories in detail below. First, substantive claims are comprised of references to policy frameworks. Stolz (2007) states that substantive claims intend to have an effect, “a means to an end,” and lay out “who gets what, when and how” (p. 311). Substantive claims offer tangible rather than symbolic actions (Edelman, 1964), meaning it is possible to identify what is being claimed (i.e., the policy area), who it will impact, and how it will be implemented. An example of a substantive claim is: “Our government will invest \$1 million to enhance the healthcare system to make sure no senior is left waiting for service.” This statement identifies what (healthcare as the policy area), how (investment of \$1 million), and who it will impact (seniors). In other words, a substantive claim “provides direction, [and] advocates a particular program or course of action to be taken by the administration to address the problem or perceived problem” (Marion & Oliver, 2012, p. 480).

Second, symbolic claims are comprised of policy expressions and emotive appeals. Generally, they arouse an emotional reaction (Edelman, 1964; Stolz, 2007) and in some cases can be precursors to tangible policies that may not be achievable at first for political, financial, or social reasons (Cobb & Elder, 1973, p. 308; Gusfield, 1963; Lomardo & Meier, 2014, p. 151). Policy expressions are statements that make reference to a policy area and offer a means to an end. For example, a representative may claim

that she will “restore integrity and trust and bring accountability to the government.” This claim may inform voters that these issues are important to her. Perhaps she’s tapping into public sentiment in response to government mishaps that have garnered public scrutiny. Nonetheless, the claim falls short of letting voters know how she will achieve the stated goal. Therefore, these types of statements are coded under the subcategory *policy expression* (namely, *government reforms*). *Emotive appeals* are further divided into three categories: *credibility appeals*, *negative advertisements* and *greeting/optimism* (i.e., *special holiday messages*, *slogans of hope and change*. Neuman et al. (2010) opined that *emotive appeals* can be divided into six basic emotions: anger, guilt, fear-anxiety, sadness, hope–change, and happiness. For example, “vote for change” or “change” are often used by opponents, and these slogans offer hope and optimism; they also suggest the status quo is undesirable. These statements play on voters’ aspirations and fears. In such advertisements, candidates may list their accomplishments as evidence of their fitness to run for public office. The key attributes sought in representatives are creditability, character, and competence (Powell and Wanzneried, 1991; Teven, 2008; Zuydam and Hendriks, 2015), where character reflects values, community service, and faith, and competence is judged based on education, experience, and proven track record.

Scholars of rhetoric identify three rhetorical devices typically used by politicians to emotionally connect with their audience: ethos, pathos, and logos. Ethos consist of the credibility appeals that highlight the claim maker’s background. For example, to gain power, former UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher emphasized her ordinariness through references to her family, by describing the nation’s finances in terms of “housewife imagery,” and by presenting “herself as an outsider” (Crines et al. 2016, p. 161). The claim maker is likely to convey the message “I am one of you,” or they may play up their education and experience as evidence of their ability to represent the electorate. Pathos is about creating a connection through arousing an emotion such as anger, fear, empathy, or confusion (Mshvenieradze, 2013, p. 1940). Logos is the use of logical persuasion or evidence in claim making (Crines et al. 2016, p.159). Commonly, logos is at play when political parties use their track record to gain credibility for their claim (e.g., “our tax cuts have put millions back in Canadians’ pockets”). All three are present in symbolic claims.

The third category, *mixed claims*, captures claims that combine both *emotive appeals* and *policy initiatives*. As aforementioned, substantive and symbolic claims are not necessarily dichotomous and are often intertwined; however, *mixed claims* are not the same as a policy initiative that may also convey symbolic meaning to voters. For example, the Conservatives' repeal of the gun registry was (is) symbolically and substantively impactful. On the one hand, the repeal brought a sense of achievement and perhaps happiness for the proponents. On the other, it angered the opponents and likely in some cases triggered fear. Claims that I coded under the *mixed claims* category are different in that separate emotive statements and policy initiative statements are combined in one advertisement. For instance, some claims first highlight the opponent's policy in a negative light, then offer a "means to an end" for a better policy alternative. A larger proportion of the advertisements fit under this category than under the category of purely substantive claims.

The coding tree presented in Figure 3-1 depicts the coding scheme. Symbolic claims are made up of *emotive appeals* and *policy expression*. I expect that parties are likely to make more credibility appeals to non-aligned voters. *Policy expressions* are further divided into immigration, social welfare, economy, national security, foreign policy, environment, government reform, and criminal justice. However, recording a breakdown of policy areas proved to be difficult in NVivo because source duplication could result (i.e., referencing the same source twice), as many advertisements include more than one policy area. For example, an advertisement that includes an immigration policy claim may also refer to healthcare and the economy. Since I count each advertisement as a case, none can be counted twice (i.e., there is one policy per source). To circumvent this issue, I created a separate parent node for a policy area. In hindsight, I see that immigration policy should have had a separate parent node, as it is omnipresent in Punjabi newspapers. To compensate for this oversight, I used manual counting and have included the resulting observations in my analysis in Chapter 4.

The substantive representation claims mirror the *policy expressions*, and these claims are categorized as *policy initiatives*. Policy initiatives are tangible policy proposals on immigration, social welfare, the economy, national security, foreign policy, the environment, government reform, and the criminal justice system. As noted above, since many advertisements include more than one policy area, child nodes could not be fully populated.

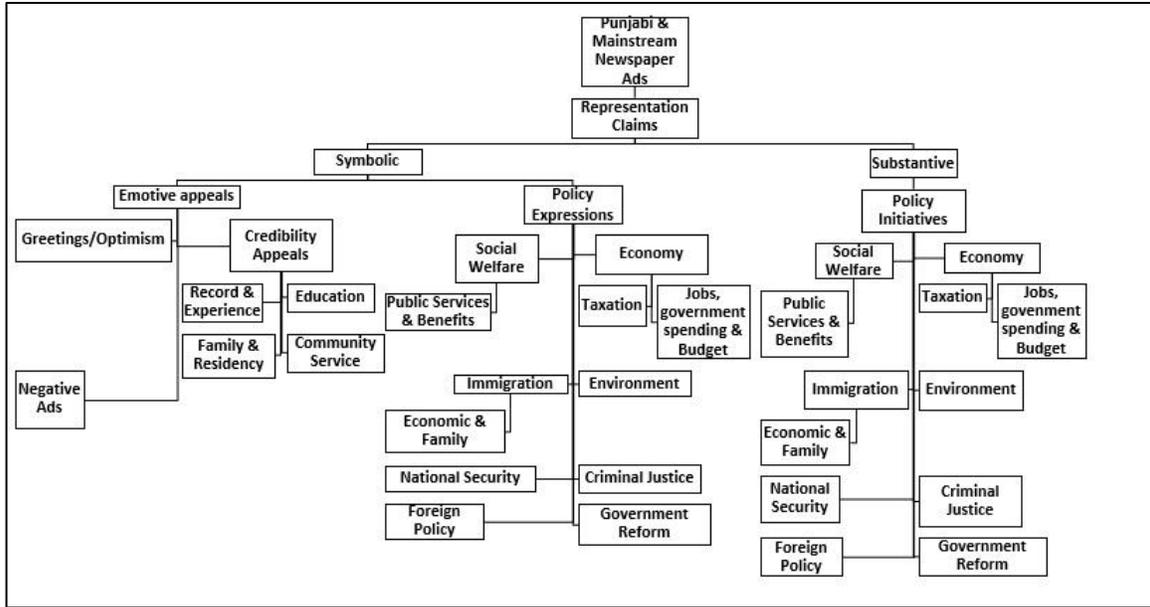


Figure 3-1. Representation Claim Making Code Tree

The main purpose of my paper is to capture the essence of claims in political advertisements. The coding scheme made it possible to systemically break down data into smaller pieces to thoroughly examine advertisements' contents. The categories highlight the essentials of representation claim making. The next chapter applies these categories to achieve a full analysis of the collected advertisements.

Chapter 4.

Analysis

The aim of this section is to provide a clearer understanding of representation claims in the political advertisements printed in local mainstream and Punjabi newspapers during the campaign periods of 2004, 2006, 2008, 2011, and 2015 for Canadian federal elections. The content of these political advertisements is reviewed, and comparisons are made between the claims of the Conservative Party of Canada (Conservatives), the Liberal Party of Canada (Liberals), and the New Democratic Party of Canada (NDP) in mainstream and Punjabi newspapers.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part focuses on *substantive claims* overall and provides a comparison between the mainstream and Punjabi newspaper advertisements. The second part reviews *symbolic claims* overall and offers comparisons between the mainstream and Punjabi newspaper advertisements. The third part covers *mixed claims*, first overall and then through comparisons between the mainstream and Punjabi newspaper advertisements. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of these sections.

4.1. Substantive Claims

There are noticeably fewer substantive claims in the mainstream and Punjabi newspaper advertisements than symbolic claims (see Table 4-1). Of the total advertisements, eight percent of claims are substantive in the mainstream and two percent in the Punjabi newspapers. The symbolic claims in Punjabi newspapers are slightly higher than in the mainstream newspapers, with a difference of four percentage points.

Table 4-1. Percentage of Types of Representation Claims per Newspaper Type

Claims	Mainstream	Punjabi
Mixed	14	16
Substantive	8	2
Symbolic	78	82
Total (N)	100 (145)	100 (87)

When these claims are broken down by political party for each newspaper type, some differences are notable (see Table 4-2). The substantive claims in the Punjabi newspapers advertisements are made exclusively by the Liberals; in addition, the Liberals make more substantive claims in the mainstream newspapers than in the Punjabi ones. The Conservatives and NDP make no purely substantive claims in Punjabi newspapers. In fact, the NDP makes no substantive claims in mainstream newspapers either. Overall, I coded fewer symbolic claims in Punjabi newspapers for the Liberals and for the NDP than for the Conservatives. Conversely, I found that Liberals and the NDP have a higher percentage of mixed claims in Punjabi newspapers than the Conservatives, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Table 4-2. Percentage of Types of Representation Claims per Party

Claims	Mainstream			Punjabi		
	<i>CPC</i>	<i>Liberals</i>	<i>NDP</i>	<i>CPC</i>	<i>Liberals</i>	<i>NDP</i>
Mixed	14	12	23	10	19	25
Substantive	8	8	0	0	4	0
Symbolic	78	80	77	90	77	75
Total	100 (74)	100 (49)	100(22)	100 (31)	100 (48)	100 (8)

Generally, the substantive claims are characterized by three things: the policy area, who the policy will impact and by how much, and how the policy will be implemented. For example, in Figure 4-1, the Liberals promise to make Canada stronger by improving healthcare, reducing taxes, increasing the Guaranteed Income Supplement, and reducing immigration processing times.

In these economic hard times Canada's Liberal party promises to make Canada stronger:
Improved Healthcare- More doctors and national plan for terminal disease medicines!
Reduce taxes to help families- More childcare spaces and new \$350 child tax credit
Tax cuts for small and medium size business
\$800 per couple increase in Guaranteed Income Supplement, so they can live with dignity!
\$800 million will be allocated to reduce immigration processing time, to welcome and support success of new immigrant in Canada.

Source: Indo-Canadian Times, 2008, ad.25

Figure 4-1. Example of Substantive Claims in a Punjabi Newspaper

Even though there are subtle emotive appeals in this advertisement, such as “so they can live with dignity,” and “welcome” new immigrants, the focus remains primarily on outlining policy initiatives. Overall, Liberal advertisements have similar policy components—such as healthcare, taxes, and social welfare—in both mainstream and Punjabi newspapers; however, mention of immigration policy appears mainly in the Punjabi advertisements. Single-themed advertisements on the economy, seniors, or healthcare appeared exclusively in mainstream advertisements.

The Liberal training plan will help Canadians get the skills they need to find well-paid work.
Increase annual funding for training by \$750 million and invest \$25 million in training facilities.
Help job-seekers get work experience through apprenticeship on federal infrastructure projects.
Create 40,000 youth job opportunities each year for the next three years.

Source: Abbotsford News, 2015, ad.210

Figure 4-2. Example of Substantive Claims in a Mainstream Newspaper

Figure 4-2 shows an advertisement focused on how the Liberal government will help voters get “well-paid” jobs and create employment opportunities for youth. Such an in-depth look at a single policy area was noticeably missing from the Punjabi advertisements. Moreover, local issues related to the environment and infrastructure were mainly present in the mainstream advertisements. This is particularly noticeable in a *Delta Optimist* advertisement (October 16, 2016, p. 7) wherein the candidate emphasizes environmental protection, a climate-resilient infrastructure, and environmental research and development; yet no such topic is covered in the Punjabi papers in the same community, by that candidate or any other.

The Conservatives made substantive claims exclusively in the mainstream advertisements; none were present in the Punjabi advertisements. Their substantive representation claims in the mainstream newspapers covered diverse policy areas: taxes, criminal justice system, government reform, healthcare and childcare. Figure 4-3 presents an example of a substantive claim because it describes *who* the policy will impact and *how* it will be implemented. Most notably, Conservatives make more substantive claims about the criminal justice system, the economy, and social welfare, including healthcare, and fewer on immigration and the environment.

A Conservative government will:
Cut the GST: from 7% to 6%- a tax cut for all of us!
Restore Safe Streets: serious jail terms for serious drug crimes
Clean Up Government: ban corporate and union donations
Provide a New Healthcare Guarantee: treatment within acceptable wait times
Provide Choice in Childcare: \$1, 200 per child to parents of preschoolers.
Source: Surrey Leader, 2008, ad.176

Figure 4-3. Example of Conservatives' Substantive Claims in a Mainstream Newspaper

Overall, I coded more symbolic than substantive claims in both mainstream and Punjabi newspapers. This was expected, as in both cases the readership of the newspapers does not solely consist of partisans, but consists of a more general public." Therefore, parties are likely to use more symbolic than substantive claims.

4.2. Symbolic Claims

Symbolic claims make up the majority of the representation claims in both mainstream and Punjabi newspapers (see Table 4-1). Of the total advertisements, 78% are symbolic in the mainstream and 82% in the Punjabi papers. Although the difference is only four percent, it is notable when the data are broken down by political parties. The Conservatives make 12 percentage points fewer symbolic claims in the mainstream than in the Punjabi newspapers. Additionally, the Conservatives make 13 percentage points more symbolic claims in the Punjabi newspapers than the Liberals and 15 percentage points more than the NDP. Conversely, the Liberals and NDP make slightly more symbolic claims in the mainstream than in the Punjabi newspapers. In sum, the Conservatives make notably more symbolic claims in Punjabi than in mainstream newspapers, and more symbolic claims than the other parties.

Symbolic claims are comprised of two subcategories: *emotive appeals*, and *policy expressions*. Emotive appeals mainly arouse an emotion, with or without referencing a policy area. Policy expressions are normative statements about a policy area; they usually offer “what” a policy is and may make vague reference to who it will impact but will offer no means of achieving it. Below, I will discuss emotive appeals and policy expressions separately.

4.2.1. Emotive Appeals

The *emotive appeals* are further divided into three categories: *credibility appeals*, *negative ads*, and “*greetings/optimism*.” In Table 4-3, “Other” includes negative ads and “greetings/optimism.” The credibility appeals are part of the emotive appeals even though they are coded separately for aggregation purposes. These themes appear consistently in advertisements in mainstream and Punjabi newspapers. The function of emotive appeals is to connect with voters by arousing anger, guilt, fear-anxiety, sadness, hope–change, and happiness (Neuman et al., 2010).

Table 4-3. Percentages of Types of Emotive Appeals Per Newspaper

Appeals	Mainstream			Total	Punjabi			Total
	<i>CPC</i>	<i>Liberals</i>	<i>NDP</i>	(<i>N</i>)	<i>CPC</i>	<i>Liberals</i>	<i>NDP</i>	(<i>N</i>)
Credibility	56	38	.06	(32)	37	52	11	(27)
Policy Express.	50	32	18	(34)	18	71	12	(17)
Other	61	20	16	(44)	39	39	22	(23)

Note: The percentages do not add up to a hundred because most of the advertisements have more than one emotive appeal. “Other” includes greetings/optimistic emotive appeals.

Credibility Appeals

Credibility appeals are mainly made up of ethos, which includes personal attributes, third-party verification, and records of achievement. Personal attributes include mentions of a candidate’s education, volunteer service, and family commitment (see Figure 4-4). Emphasis is also placed on the candidate being a resident of the riding and therefore understanding local issues; this emphasis is even greater in cases where the opponent is a parachute candidate (appointed by the party leader) rather than locally nominated.

<p>Conservatives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attorney and MBA • Small business owner • Experience in Parliament, at the Canadian Embassy in Washington D.C., and at the International Trade Centre of Canada • Lives in South Surrey with his wife Andrea <p style="text-align: right;">Source: Peach Arch newspaper, 2004, ad. 112</p>
<p>Liberals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A man of integrity and honesty • Emergency Ward fund raising volunteer at Surrey Memorial Hospital • Small business owner, professional engineer, land surveyor and community leader • Married to Roni, proud father of three and cares for his parents <p style="text-align: right;">Source: Indo-Canadian Times, 2004, ad. 010</p>
<p>NDP</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education: MBA and Law • He has been working the Liberal party for last 10 years • He is enthusiastic about bringing change to Brampton East • Community • Raj has the opportunity to live and serve the Brampton community. He has been involved with the Guru Gobind Children's Federation and Karma Grow Farms to serve the community and empower the youth • Reasons for running • Raj is fighting for reducing the taxes for middle class families and increase child benefits and invest in jobs <p style="text-align: right;">Source: NDP, 2015, ad 089</p>

Figure 4-4. Disclosure of Level of Education, Family, and Record to Establish Credibility

Third-party verification is omnipresent in political advertisements. This involves obtaining testimonies from residents and in some cases high-profile individuals (e.g., local mayors, incumbent Members of Parliament in other ridings). In such instances, the entire advertisement is comprised of testimonies from individuals vouching and expressing their support for the candidate (see Figure 4-5). The testimonies essentially speak to the candidate's character and trustworthiness, as they introduce the candidate from the perspective of fellow residents and/or known figures.

Conservatives

“I’ve known Phil Eldsvik for many years and he is an outstanding candidate for parliament representing British Columbia issues in Ottawa, where they are largely ignored”. - Rafe Mair, Radio Personality and Columns

Source: Surrey Leader, 2006, ad. 149

NDP

“When Pixie knocked on my door, I was thrilled to discover a politician who resonated with me for the first time. She was open to learning how she could best serve my family”. - Heather Leavoy, South Surrey, BC

Source: Peach Arch, 2015, ad. 230

Liberals

“Shinder is a man of serious integrity. He answers his phone, keeps his appoints and shows up on time. He will work for me, a senior citizen, as my MP”. - Llew Breese, Retired Businessman

Source: Surrey Now, 2011, ad.198

Figure 4-5. The Use of Testimonies for Establishing Credibility

In credibility appeals, record of achievement is also prominent, especially in terms of its pertinence to governing parties. During the 2004 and 2006 elections, Liberal advertisements boasted about the party’s achievements (see Figure 4-6). Canada’s economic growth and peace-builder status often appeared in the Liberals’ 2004 and 2006 advertisements. Conversely, during this period the Conservatives, as the official opposition, emphasized their record on holding the government accountable (see Figure 4-7). After coming to power in 2006, the Conservatives in the 2008, 2011, and 2015 campaign periods boasted about their record on the economy: three consecutive balanced budgets, 2.9% in surplus trade, lowering the national debt by \$40 billion, cutting taxes (*Delta Optimist*, 2015, ad.164). In their Punjabi advertisements, Conservatives boast about redress for the Komagata Maru incident, cutting immigration fees, increasing immigration numbers (temporary and permanent residents), and establishing referral offices for the recognition of international credentials.

<p>Liberals Let's Build on our Achievement Canada voted #1 in the World as most livable country for 8 consecutive years Leads G7 in Economic Performance Martin delivered 7 straight surplus budgets</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Source: Surrey Leader, 2004, ad 120</p> <p>Conservatives Gurmant has been holding the Martin-Chretien Liberal government's feet to the fire for waste, mismanagement, cronyism, patronage and their lack of accountability.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Source: Surrey Leader, 2004, ad. 097</p> <p>As a Member of Parliament, I have worked to protect all that we value and defend against those issues which would lessen our quality of life.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Source: Delta Optimist, 2004, ad 101</p>
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Figure 4-6. Record of Achievement as a Credibility Appeal

In terms of numbers, Conservative make more credibility appeals in mainstream than in Punjabi newspapers and make more credibility appeals than the other parties in the mainstream newspapers. The Liberals make more credibility appeals in Punjabi than the mainstream newspapers and make more credibility appeals than the other parties. The NDP makes fewer credibility appeals in both newspaper, but makes higher credibility appeals in Punjabi than the mainstream newspapers (see Table 4-3). The Liberals make notably more credibility appeals in Punjabi than in mainstream newspapers

More notable in credibility appeals is that Liberals and NDP make more credibility appeals in Punjabi than in mainstream newspapers. I expected that the parties of the left would have fewer credibility appeals in Punjabi newspapers as Indo-Canadians would be aligned voters, so there is less need for establishing credibility. Interestingly, Conservatives have fewer credibility appeals in Punjabi than in the mainstream newspapers. I expected to see more credibility appeals from Conservatives in Punjabi newspapers than the other parties as Indo-Canadians are considered less likely to be aligned with Conservatives, thus there would be a greater need for establishing credibility.

Other (Greetings/Optimism and Negative Appeals)

The overall coded references for greetings/optimism are fewer due to repetition, particularly optimism (slogans of hope–change). The political parties and their candidates offer best wishes for “cultural events” (such as Vaisakhi, Diwali, and India’s

Independence Day) in paid advertisements in Punjabi newspapers. In mainstream newspapers, some candidates also advertise best wishes for Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year, and Easter. Optimism or optimistic appeals are campaign slogans of hope, change, unity, and patriotism (“HERE FOR CANADA”). The most notable Liberal phrases in the 2015 elections are “Be Part of the Change” and “The Liberal Party believes in Canadian unity; our strength is in diversity.” Generally, the slogans are unique to each party for each campaign period. For example, the 2004 Liberal slogan “Choose Your Canada” is different from their 2015 slogan “Be Part of the Change.” This slogan could mean Liberals’ return from the 2011 election demise, but the interpretation is in the eye of the beholder.

Negative Appeals

In a political campaign, negative advertising is used to either attack the opponent’s credibility or contrast one’s views with the opponent’s. In either case, the advertiser’s intent is to present a negative view of the opponent.

Notably in this study, all political parties have fewer negative advertisements in Punjabi than in mainstream newspapers (see Table 4-3). Of the Other emotive appeals, approximately 66 percent of the claims in mainstream newspaper are negative appeals and of these 55 percent belong to Conservatives. Equally, 52 percent of the Other emotive appeals in Punjabi newspaper are negative and Liberals’ negative appeals are slightly higher than the other two parties. The NDP makes fewer negative appeals in both newspapers than the other parties, but makes slightly higher negative appeals to mainstream than in Punjabi newspapers.

A closer examination of the content of the negative advertisements reveals that the political parties provide different information in the mainstream than in Punjabi newspapers. For example (see Figure 4-7), the Liberals highlight a number of issues about the Conservatives’ stance on the Iraq war and on environmental stewardship. However, in the Punjabi newspapers, the Liberals’ main message is about the Conservatives’ immigration cuts and threats to citizenship. In fact, for both the Liberals and the NDP, immigration cuts are a focal point against the Conservatives in their emotive appeals.

Liberals:

CHOOSE: AND THE RESULTS WILL BE...

Green= More Russ Hiebert. That means more climate change denial and global embarrassment.

NDP= More Russ Hiebert. That means prisons not pensions, threatened healthcare and corporate tax cuts.

Conservative= More Russ Hiebert. That means more jets not vets, out of control spending and ballooning deficits.

Source: Peace Arch, 2011, ad 194

Liberals:

Ujjal Dosanjh believes to re-build our economy "we must balance the budget and make it more affordable to send your children to good universities. Harper thinks it's fine for families to wait 14 years before re-uniting in Canada." Ujjal Dosanjh will reverse Harper's cuts to family re-reunification for new Canadians.

Source: Hum dar, 2011, ad.36

NDP:

Nearly a million people are stuck on wait lists, and new Canadians are waiting up to ten years to re-unite with their parents. But instead of helping families reunify faster, Stephen Harper is cutting the number of visas available for this purpose.

Source: Punjabi Patrika, 2011, p.51

Figure 4-7. Differences in the Content of Negative Appeals in Mainstream and Punjabi Newspapers

In the 2015 campaign, the Liberals also used the element of fear. For example, the Liberal advertisement shown on the left in Figure 4-8, from a Toronto-based Punjabi newspaper, depicts a "cancelled" stamp on a citizenship card, and the headline says: "Stop Harper! Your Citizenship is in Danger." The Liberals exploited the Conservatives' controversial Bill C-24, which gave the government the power to revoke the Canadian citizenship of dual citizens if they were convicted of terrorism or treason.

The Conservatives also engage in negative emotive appeals, particularly in mainstream advertisements. They claim the Liberals are scandal ridden, will increase taxes, and are weak on crime, and they assert that if the Liberals are elected in 2015, Canada will be "less secure," as Liberals will "restore relations with the Iranian regime, a state-sponsor of terrorism," "cancel" income splitting and other social welfare initiatives, and create an unsustainable deficit. These ads invoke fears of terrorism and income insecurity. In the Punjabi advertisement, the Conservatives' claims appear to centre around moral panic (see Figure 4-8). The Conservatives advertisement asks: "Does Justin Trudeau share your values?" and claims that legalizing marijuana will make it more accessible for your kids, and that legal drug injections sites and brothel houses will

open in your neighbourhoods. It ends with: “These are not our values either. Vote for your values!” The ad taps into the perception that ethnic minorities are socially conservative and shows that the Conservatives share these values (Castonguay, 2013).

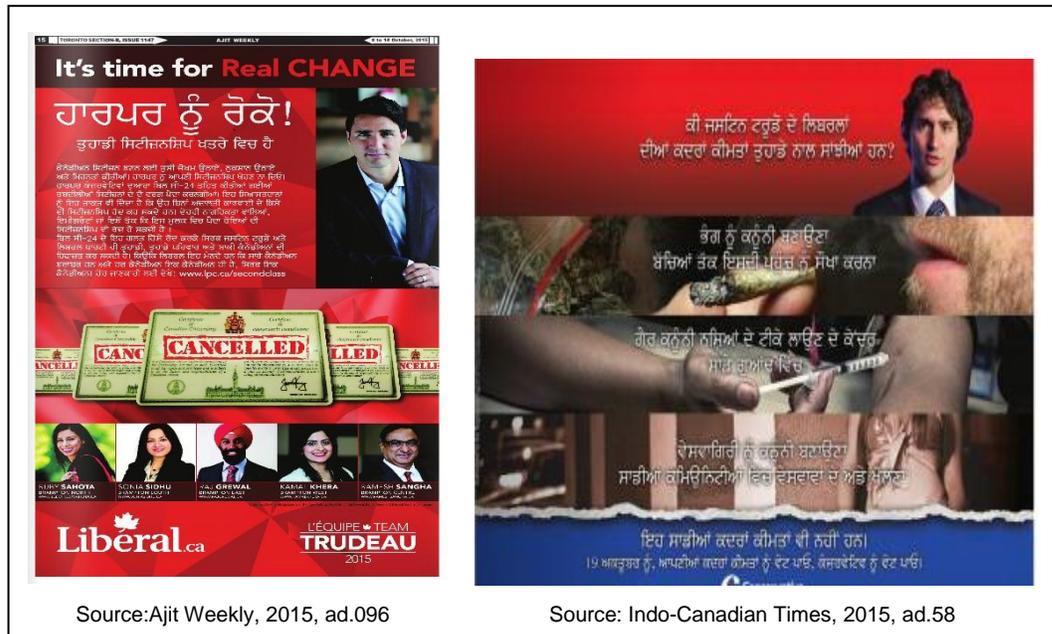


Figure 4-8. Fear-Based Emotive Appeals by Liberals (left) and Conservatives(right)

The NDP advertisements in the Punjabi newspapers follow a similar pattern of highlighting the Conservatives’ cuts to immigration, and they add the Conservatives’ inaction on the environment. Generally, issues presented in negative advertisements in the Punjabi newspaper are limited in scope; issues such as the environment, foreign policy, or riding-level concerns are rarely present.

The focus on immigration may be why all parties have lower levels of negative appeals in the Punjabi newspapers. The addition of other policy areas, such as the environment, foreign policy, or infrastructure, may have broadened the scope for criticism of the other parties, and this may have increased the number of negative references.

4.2.2. Policy Expressions

The second sub-category within symbolic claims is policy expressions. As described earlier, policy expressions (or normative statements) are mentions of public

policy without any elaboration on the means of achieving or implementing a proposal. For example, in bottom advertisement in Figure 4-9, the Liberals express stronger support for social programs and opportunities for newcomers to earn an income. However, these statements fall short of offering a solution or a means of achieving a “strong start” for children, or “access” to education and healthcare. Similarly, in the top advertisement in Figure 4-9, improving the transportation infrastructure and building the capacity of first responders are identified as important, yet no substantive means of achieving these are identified. The Liberals’ policy expressions in Punjabi newspapers are similar in scope (e.g., social benefits) as in mainstream newspapers, except for the addition of newcomer settlement and immigration policy statements. Policy statements on the environment and infrastructure appear exclusively in mainstream newspapers, whereas immigration-related policy statements appear exclusively in Punjabi newspapers.

Liberals' Policy Claims in Mainstream Newspapers

Your Family. Your Future. Your Canada.

The Liberal Family Pack

- Help families pay for college and university.
- More high-quality, affordable child care spaces.
- Help with the cost of caregiving.
- Stronger public pensions.
- Green renovation tax credit.

Source: Peach Arch, 2011, p.189

Transportation, infrastructure and the ability of our First Responders (Police and Fire) to fulfill national security responsibilities are two of the issues that Shelley feels she can make a positive impact on as your Member of Parliament.

Source: Delta Optimist, 2004, ad.106

Liberals' Policy Expression in Punjabi Newspapers

All children should receive strong start

Newcomers should have opportunity to make income

Each youth should be able to attend college or university to get a job

Each family should have a secure pension and medical services when needed.

Source: Indo-Canadian Times, 2011, ad.038

Because it is possible to Canada even better

- Will find better ways to create new jobs and reduce taxes for middle class
- Improve transit and infrastructure
- Reunite families by fixing Canada's broken immigration system.

Source: Hamard, 2015, ad.94

Figure 4-9. Liberals' Policy Expressions in Mainstream and Punjabi Newspapers

As presented in Table 4-3, of the policy expression in the mainstream newspapers, I coded 50 percent for Conservatives. Conversely, of the policy expressions in Punjabi newspapers, I coded 71 percent for Liberals. I coded fewer policy expression for NDP in both newspapers. The policy expressions of the Liberals and the NDP in Punjabi newspapers mainly concern immigration and social benefits. Advertisements in the mainstream newspapers included a broader scope of issues, such as infrastructure and the environment. Therefore, even though the parties of the left engage with Indo-Canadians on a policy level, the narrow scope suggests the engagement is not fully exploring the other potential preferences of the electorate.

All in all, the emotive appeals and policy expressions are central to symbolic claims. Credibility appeals, negative advertisements and policy expressions communicate to voters the trustworthiness of the candidate through aesthetically packaged personal attributes, proven track records, and policy statements that help voters feel emotionally connected with the candidates.

4.3. Mixed Claims

The third category in representative claims is what I term mixed claims. These combine separate elements of symbolic and substantive claims. Mixed claims are more prevalent than substantive claims in both mainstream and Punjabi newspapers (see Table 4-1). In fact, all three parties make more mixed claims than substantive claims in both newspaper types (see Table 4-2).

The Conservatives make fewer mixed claims in the mainstream and Punjabi newspapers than the other parties. The NDP make more mixed claims in the mainstream and Punjabi newspapers than the other parties. In the Punjabi newspapers, the NDP's mixed claims are 15 percentage points more than the Conservatives' and six percentage points more than the Liberals. The Liberals make seven percentage points more mixed claims in Punjabi than in mainstream newspapers. This indicates the Liberals and NDP deliver substantive policy proposals in mixed claims, particularly the NDP. It also suggests the parties of the left are making slightly more substantive policy proposals than the Conservatives to the Indo-Canadians.

More notably, the political parties use different types of symbolic claims in the mixed claims. The Liberals and NDP mainly focus on negative emotive appeals (fear) and credibility appeals such as candidates' character and community service. The Conservatives' use credibility and negative appeals as well, but these pertain to track record and fear. In the 2004 and 2006 elections, Liberals also use record in their credibility appeals, and the Conservatives focus on candidates' character. In the mixed claims, the credibility appeals are often paired with negative appeals and policy initiatives. For example, in Figure 4-10, the Liberal advertisement in a Punjabi paper illustrates the use of negative emotive appeal against the Conservatives, and the second half of the advertisement outlines substantive policy initiatives, including an official apology for the Komagata Maru incident, which is in direct opposition to the

Conservatives' stance. The former Prime Minister Stephen Harper had offered an apology for the incident in 2008 at an Indo-Canadian event in Surrey, British Columbia. However, the event organizers refused to accept the apology and demanded an official apology in the House of Commons.

<p>Nina Grewal and Conservatives [have] Cut immigration [intake] by 10 percent Cut immigration India by 21 percent Cut immigration from Pakistan by 30 percent Cut immigration from China 36 percent Made it difficult for immigrants, visitor, and students to enter Canada. Brenda Locke and Liberals [will] Create fast track permanent residency programs for temporary workers, students and nannies Ready five-year multi-entry visas Prepare express entry passes for business travelers Reduce the immigration backlog Assist in getting acceptance on foreign certificates and degrees. Apologize in House of Commons for recognition [hurtful] Komagata Maru Increase the number of landed immigrants in Canada</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Source: Punjab Guardian, 2008, ad. 031</p>
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Figure 4-10. Example of Liberals' Mixed Claims

The NDP uses emotive appeals in mixed claims to contrast themselves with their Liberal and Conservative opponents on immigration and the Harmonized Sales Tax (HST) (see Figure 4-11). This advertisement first uses negative appeal by stating that Conservatives “cut immigration” and Liberals lacked action on the immigration file. The NDP lists its perceived positive contribution to the immigration program and offers a substantive policy initiative on the Guaranteed Income Supplement.

David Murray and Jack Layton's NDP team

Strong Leadership That's on Your Side

Immigration and Family Reunification

Nearly a million people are stuck on wait lists, and new Canadians are waiting up to ten years to re-unite with their parents. But instead of helping families reunify faster, Stephen Harper is cutting the number of visas available for this purpose.

- Stephen Harper's Conservatives cut reunification visas from 16,000 to 11,000 from 2011
- Liberal governments left Canada's immigration system buckling under 800,000 backlogged applications, five-year waits to sponsor aging parents, and no progress on credentials recognition

JACK LAYTON'S NEW DEMOCRATS

- Led the fight to cement family reunification as a principle of Canadian immigration policy, and to expand it with "Once-in-a-Lifetime" legislation permitting Canadians to sponsor one relative outside the "family" class.
- Introduced the Visitor Visa Fairness Act to create a transparent appeal process, so visiting family members are no arbitrarily turned away.

JACK LAYTON'S NEW DEMOCRATS are the only party in the House of Commons to vote against the HST.

JACK LAYTON'S NEW DEMOCRATS propose to increase Guaranteed Income Supplement to lift close to 300,000 Canadian Seniors out of poverty and help them keep up with the cost of essentials.

Source: Punjabi Patrika, 2011, ad. 051

Figure 4-11. Example of NDP's Mixed Claims in Punjabi Newspapers

To summarize the above analysis, it is apparent that political parties use diverse representation claims in their newspapers advertisements. Symbolic claims are most prominent, followed by mixed claims, then substantive claims. These results provide minimal support for my first hypothesis: *All parties are likely to make more substantive claims to the Euro-Canadian electorate. Consequently, all parties are likely to make more symbolic claims to the Indo-Canadian electorate.* In both types of newspapers, nearly 80% of the advertisements (78% in mainstream and 82% in Punjabi newspapers) include symbolic claims, a difference of just four percent percentage points. There is some association between higher symbolic claims and the Indo-Canadian electorate, but further examination is required to establish any conclusive results.

There is stronger evidence for my second hypothesis: *The Liberals and NDP are more likely to make substantive claims to Indo-Canadians than the Conservatives.* The NDP and the Liberals do make more substantive claims and mixed claims in Punjabi newspapers than the Conservatives. However, the substantive and mixed claims of the Liberals and NDP are narrower in scope in Punjabi than in mainstream newspapers. In

Punjabi newspapers, these two parties focus mainly on immigration policy and tie it strongly to emotive appeals that depict the Conservatives as anti-immigration (e.g., [Liberal ad] “Stop Harper, Your Citizenship is in Danger” (see Figure 4-8). These emotive appeals can be perceived as fear mongering or outright threats. Negative rhetoric on immigration may have an especially negative impact on Indo-Canadian voters, considering the historical discrimination against immigrants from India (more on this assertion in Chapter 6).

Chapter 5.

Claim Making Differences by Campaign Years

There are 46 unique advertisements in the mainstream newspapers from the 2006 and 2008 campaign periods, compared with 18 in the Punjabi newspapers. This low number is due to the inaccessibility of 2006 and 2008 Punjabi newspapers. Out of the five Punjabi newspapers to which I had access, only two had 2006 and 2008 editions. This was not an issue for the mainstream newspapers. To observe whether this gap had any impact on my comparative analysis, I removed the 2006 and 2008 data from the mainstream and Punjabi data. This means the results are for the campaign periods of 2004, 2011, and 2015; these are presented in Tables 5-1 and 5-2.

Excluding the 2006 and 2008 campaign periods has no impact on the overall results, as all parties still have a larger percentage of symbolic claims in both mainstream and Punjabi newspapers. However, the breakdown by parties shows some differences.

Table 5-1. Percentage of Types of Representation Claims without 2006 and 2008 Data per Newspaper Type

Claims, All Years	3 Years (2004, 2011, 2015)			
	Mainstream	Punjabi	Mainstream	Punjabi
Mixed	14	16	13	13
Substantive	8	2	11	3
Symbolic	78	82	76	84
Total (N)	100 (146)	100 (87)	100 (106)	100 (69)

For Liberals, the number of symbolic claims in the Punjabi newspapers increased by seven percentage points and in the mainstream newspapers decreased by seven percentage points (see Table 5-1). What this tells us is that Liberals may have made a higher percentage of substantive claims to Indo-Canadians in the 2006 and 2008 election campaigns. Perhaps in the latter years the Liberals make higher percentage of symbolic claims to Indo-Canadians because they saw Indo-Canadians' support shift towards Conservatives. This shift was particularly noted for the 2011 general election

when the Conservatives won majority of the seats in House of Commons (Baily et al., 2011; Flanagan 2011).

Mixed claims by the NDP in the Punjabi advertisements increased by four percentage points, and symbolic claims decreased by nearly four percentage points as well. In fact, the NDP makes more substantive claims in Punjabi than in mainstream newspapers for the campaign periods of 2004, 2011, and 2015 and makes more substantive claims than the other parties. The NDP makes 18 percentage points more mixed claims than the Liberals and 17 percentage points more than the Conservatives in Punjabi newspapers. The exclusion of 2006 and 2008 had only a slight impact on the percentage of Conservatives' claims.

The exclusion of the 2006 and 2008 advertisements had no impact on my conclusions. There are more symbolic claims than mixed claims and substantive claims in both mainstream and Punjabi newspapers. The Liberals make slightly more substantive claims in mainstream than in Punjabi newspapers. However, both the Liberals and the NDP make more substantive and mixed claims (combined) in Punjabi newspapers than the Conservatives.

Table 5-2. Percentage of Types of Representation Claims without 2006 and 2008 Data per Party

Claims	Mainstream						Punjabi					
	<i>CPC</i>	<i>CPC (3 yrs)</i>	<i>Libs</i>	<i>Libs (3 yrs)</i>	<i>NDP</i>	<i>NDP (3 yrs)</i>	<i>CPC</i>	<i>CPC (3 yrs)</i>	<i>Libs</i>	<i>Libs (3 yrs)</i>	<i>NDP</i>	<i>NDP (3 yrs)</i>
Mixed	14	11	12	15	23	21	10	12	19	11	25	29
Substantive	8	13	8	12	0	0	0	0	4	5	0	0
Symbolic	78	77	80	73	77	79	90	88	77	84	75	71
Total (N)	100(74)	100(56)	100(49)	100(33)	100(22)	100(17)	100(31)	100(25)	100(48)	100(37)	100(8)	100(7)

Chapter 6.

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first presents the five key findings that stem from the analysis in Chapter 5. The second section discusses the implications of these findings and addresses the lack of data on Indo-Canadians. The third section suggests some future considerations to further test the hypotheses of my study. Lastly, an overall summary concludes the paper.

6.1. Five Key Findings

First, all political parties make more symbolic than substantive claims in both Punjabi and mainstreams newspapers. I had set out to examine whether in Canada there were observable differences between the representation claims made by political parties to Indo-Canadian voters and typical voters. The theoretical works of various scholars (Rohrschneider, 2002; Saward, 2010; Schnur, 2010) suggest that a party's partisans are likely to be targeted with more substantive claims than non-aligned voters. I expanded this argument beyond partisans and non-aligned voters to include the section of the electoral consisting of people of colour, who are perceived to be culturally different from the parties' typical base (Euro-Canadians) and thus peripheral to the party. All parties therefore seemed likely to make more symbolic claims to Indo-Canadians than to typical voters. I found slight support for this hypothesis, but the subject needs to be explored further.

The political advertisements in both mainstream and Punjabi newspapers include more symbolic than substantive claims. This is likely because the targets are voters in general. In other words, riding-level claim making is aimed to encompass everyone in the general electorate. Partisans or identified supporters in these ridings are likely to receive direct mail, emails, and calls from their respective parties.

Second, I found support for my hypothesis that the parties of the left are more likely to make substantive claims in Punjabi newspapers than the Conservatives. The literature review suggested that visible minorities have an enduring affiliation with the

Liberals and parties of the left in general (Bilodeau & Kanji, 2010; Erickson & Laycock, 2014; Harrell, 2013). If the parties of the left are aware of this affiliation, then they are likely to see Indo-Canadians as aligned voters and thus are likely to make more substantive claims.

A 2004 pre-writ Conservative advertisement in a Punjabi paper also recognizes Indo-Canadians' affiliation with the Liberals: "YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE LIBERAL TO BE CANADIAN" (*Indo-Canadian Times*, 2004). This is a play on the word *liberal*; the message could be that you don't need to be a Liberal supporter to be Canadian, but it actually states that you don't have to have liberal values to fit into Canadian society. Without delving into the many assumptions this advertisement makes, it is clear that Conservatives see visible minorities as Liberal leaning. This also reveals that Conservatives see Indo-Canadians as peripheral to their aligned voters. Therefore, and as expected, the NDP and the Liberals did make more substantive claims to Indo-Canadians than the Conservatives. The NDP made more mixed claims to Indo-Canadians than the Conservatives.

Third, although the Liberals and NDP make more substantive claims in the Punjabi newspapers than the Conservatives, the scope of the claims is narrow and strongly tied to emotive appeals. The substantive claims are mainly focused on immigration policy and depict Conservatives as anti-immigration (e.g., [Liberal ad] "Stop Harper! Your Citizenship is in Danger"). These emotive appeals can be regarded as fear mongering or outright threats (e.g., "Citizenship in Danger"). Emotive appeals can arouse anger, frustration, disgust, sadness, and in some cases shame–guilt (Neuman et al., 2010, pp. 12,15) and thereby negatively impact voters. The Liberals' and NDP's substantive claims in Punjabi papers lack policy proposals on the environment and infrastructure, yet these are present in their mainstream advertisements, limiting the engagement with Indo-Canadian voters to immigration and some social benefits.

Blais (2005) asserted that pro-immigration voters are likely to support Liberals. However, the use of the fear factor in campaigns casts doubt on whether the immigration policy in itself is important, as Blais suggested. Historically, immigration from Asia was undesirable to the Canadian state, and measures such as the *Continuous Journey* legislation were enacted as ways to block immigration from India (Buchignani, 1985, p. 23). This bias remained intact until 1967, when race and place of origin were removed

as qualifiers. I question the assertion that immigration policy is important to Indo-Canadians in terms of migration only. I argue instead that a political party's immigration policy stance is indicative of the party's inclusiveness and acceptance of visible minorities in general. Therefore, positive, pro-immigration symbolic claims about immigration are as important as substantive claims. For this reason, the assurance of policy actions that will fix the immigration system, and slogans such as "Better is Always Possible" and "Diversity is Canada's Strength" are likely to resonate with Indo-Canadians along with pro-immigration policy rhetoric.

Fourth, *mixed claims* are more prevalent in political advertisements than has been recognized in the scholarship on claim making. These claims are not the same as a policy having substantive and symbolic value to a voter. *Mixed claims* have a separate feature because they contain emotive appeals and substantive policy claims in the same advertisement. I found two main types of emotive appeals in these advertisements. In one type, the element of fear and/or threat is used to expose the opponent's weakness, then a substantive claim is made to set up one's party as a better alternative. The second type highlights the party's credibility in terms of its capacity to serve, especially its record on the issue being presented. For example, the NDP claims that "Conservatives cut reunification visas" and "the Liberal government left Canada's immigration system buckling under 800,000 backlogged applications," but the NDP "led the fight to cement family reunification" and "introduced the Visitor Visa Fairness Act" (see Figure 4-11). In this example, the NDP's capacity to serve is based on the party's record on immigration policy and perhaps shows the NDP's ability to institute public policies. Essentially, mixed claims tap into voters' expressive and instrumental motivations by presenting a concern that voters might have and addressing it with a policy.

Fifth, credibility appeals comprise the largest proportion of symbolic claims. Interestingly, the Conservatives make more credibility appeals in mainstream newspaper advertisements, whereas the Liberals and NDP make more credibility appeals in Punjabi newspaper advertisements. To a large extent, credibility appeals are used to persuade and gain trust. In these advertisements, ethos and pathos are used more often than logos (factual logic). The ethos appeals communicate about the candidate's location of residence, education, experience, and track record, and the pathos appeals work on emotions to connect with voters. The Conservatives use ethos appeals in Punjabi

papers to show their record on immigration, perhaps because they feel they need to build credibility with Indo-Canadians on this policy. The Liberals' and NDP's ethos appeals emphasize the candidates' education, experience, and community service, and as mentioned earlier, they had higher numbers of credibility claims in Punjabi than in mainstream newspapers. This indicates the parties of the left are trying to gain the trust of Indo-Canadian voters. Overall, all parties use pathos appeals to connect with the electorate, but the use of negative advertisements against the Conservatives on immigration is prevalent.

6.2. Implications

There are two main implications of these findings. First, due to the lack of data on Indo-Canadians' preferences, the main political parties are making representation claims based on perceptions which may or may not be correct. I argue this approach is based on the perceived differences between the two electorates (mainstream versus Indo-Canadian). Indo-Canadians are tied to the cultural enclaves where more immigration is desired. By making these assumptions, the claim makers end up highlighting and/or imposing an issue that may or may not matter.

Moreover, without a knowledge of Indo-Canadians' preferences, the substantive claims remain limited to a few public policy areas (e.g., immigration). I contend that this is why there are very few substantive or symbolic claims on the economy, the environment, and infrastructure (e.g., local development) in the Punjabi newspaper advertisements. The default for claim making becomes immigration policy and, to a lesser extent, policies on taxation and social security benefits.

Second, again due to the lack of data, the political preferences of Indo-Canadians are unknown, so it is difficult to determine whether any of the representative claims resonate. It is also not known whether Indo-Canadian partisanship plays a role in how representation claims are perceived. For example, if Indo-Canadians are Liberal leaning, as the literature has suggested, then they are likely to view the Liberals' claims more positively than the Conservatives' claims. Currently, no such data exist. One way to find out would be by directly engaging with the subgroup through conducting interviews, surveys, and/or focus groups. Without this type of data, I suggest that any type of claim making is at risk of having an adverse effect. For one, a greater emphasis

on cultural enclaves can make the electorate feel foreign, excluded from the mainstream. Also, the claim maker may not be addressing the actual concerns of the electorate. It is very possible that Indo-Canadians' concerns are not that different from mainstream voters' concerns (e.g., lower taxes, good-paying jobs, opportunities for youth, skill development, protecting the environment). hence, a lack of knowledge about voter preferences can further affect the political parties' ability to represent a diverse electorate properly

6.3. Future Research Suggestions

This study could be improved by including image analysis. The cliché that “a picture is worth thousand words” stands true for political advertisements. Prime Minister Trudeau's embracing of candidates contrasts with the approaches of the other two leaders, who are seen at a podium or shaking hands with voters. As Corrigan-Brown (2012) stated, images along with text convey meaning about social and political issues and have an impact on citizens' understanding of events (p. 133). The Liberal leader's embrace of a person of colour in Figure 6-1 conveys a message of acceptance, inclusivity, and unity. However, the image itself does not tell the whole story. The accompanying text lists the candidate's education (MBA and law degree), notes that he has been a member of the Liberal Party for 10 years, and cites his community service. The leader's embrace in the advertisement adds to the candidate's credibility and simultaneously shows the Liberal Party's inclusivity.



Figure 6-1. Images of Party Leaders Interacting with the Public

The addition of television and radio advertisements would also lead to a more comprehensive and exhaustive review of the data. Over the past five elections, political parties spent over \$155 million in mass media-mediated campaigns, and of this, \$133 million were spent on radio and television advertisements. Another approximately \$25 million were spent on other types of media advertisements, including newspaper advertisements. The addition of television and radio advertisements would enhance the study's validity, particularly regarding the NDP's claims, as the NDP had fewer unique advertisements than the Conservatives and Liberals in both newspaper types. The addition of radio and television advertisements may also help to verify the inconclusive results in Chapter 5 regarding the Liberals' use of more symbolic claims with Punjabi voters than mainstream voters in the 2004, 2011, and 2015 campaign periods. Overall, though, I do not expect different results because the target of these campaigns is the general public, regardless of the medium. Therefore, more symbolic than substantive claims would be expected.

It is vital to gather more data on Indo-Canadians and visible minorities in general. At a national level, a supplementary questionnaire and cluster sampling that targets regions with larger numbers of visible minorities could provide the desired information. However, I suggest the most effective method of collecting in-depth information would be focus groups. This task would be resource heavy, but it would provide an opportunity for visible minorities to have a voice, which is generally lacking in national surveys.

6.4. Conclusion

Citizen representation is central to representative democracy. The act of representing is a relational and performance-driven process, a noun and a verb (Rehfeld, 2010). I studied the representation claims of political parties/candidates during the past five federal election campaigns and found evidence that strategic claim making was part of the electioneering. Outreach to visible minorities is becoming prevalent amongst all parties. In fact, Flanagan (2011) identified “ethnic” voters as one of the pillars for Conservatives’ electoral success, replacing Québec voters. Strategically, the Conservatives made the “we share conservative values with you” pitch to Indo-Canadians, but the higher numbers of symbolic claims suggest Conservatives do not firmly believe Indo-Canadians are aligned voters. Perhaps this is why Conservatives have a higher number of credibility appeals in Punjabi advertisements than in mainstream advertisements.

The higher number of substantive claims by the Liberals and NDP indicates these parties are more likely than the Conservatives to view Indo-Canadians as their aligned voters. However, there are two main differences between the substantive claims made by the Liberals and the NDP to mainstream and Punjabi voters. The mainstream policy claims include a broader scope that addresses riding-level issues, healthcare, the environment, infrastructure, etc. The claims to Punjabi voters are restricted to immigration policy rhetoric and basic elements of social welfare and the economy. The second difference is the use of threats in negative advertisements against the Conservatives (e.g. “Your Citizenship is in Danger”). Immigration policy and related negative rhetoric are non-existent in the mainstream advertisements. Perhaps the political parties should place more emphasis on the similar needs of both electorates (e.g., the economy, the environment, social programs) rather than the perceived

differences. If this is not done, a large proportion of the Canadian population (i.e., visible minorities) will remain misrepresented.

The topic of representing a diverse electorate is complex and must take many factors into consideration, including the option of seeing Canadian society as one or as separated by the colour of voters' skins. It remains unclear whether Indo-Canadians or other visible minorities can be observed in isolation from the mainstream population. Whether it is possible to differentiate in this way after people have lived for many generations in Canada and participated in every sector of public life merits critical thought. This does not, however, mean historical discrimination against visible minorities has not shaped their identity within Canada. It is important for a claim maker to know and address these experiences symbolically and substantively wherever possible without further alienating visible minorities.

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