

# **Women and Visible Minority Representation on Vancouver's City Council**

**by**

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B.A. (Hons.), Linfield College, 2017

Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

in the  
Department of Political Science  
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY  
Spring 2020

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## Ethics Statement

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this work, has obtained, for the research described in this work, either:

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## **Abstract**

The 2018 municipal elections highlighted that visible minorities, particularly visible minority women, are underrepresented in Vancouver's politics; yet, in terms of population, visible minorities outnumber white Vancouverites. I examine to what extent and how socioeconomic and political factors derived from the supply and demand literature contribute to the underrepresentation or lack thereof of women and visible minorities. A supply-side problem results in the lack of women and minority representation when there are not enough "qualified" women and visible minorities running for office. A demand-side problem occurs when party officials act as gatekeepers discouraging women and visible minorities from running for office. I answer this question using a combination of the statistical analysis of secondary data on candidates from 2005 to 2018 and a content analysis of data derived from semi-structured interviews with incumbent city councilors and municipal party officials involved in candidate recruitment. Results show that women are not underrepresented in the Vancouver city council. In fact, women have the best chance of winning as long as they are white women. Visible minorities are underrepresented because there are not enough "qualified" visible minority candidates running. Those who run not only have less socioeconomic resources than white candidates but also experience party officials serving as gatekeepers.

**Keywords:** electoral representation; gender; diversity; candidate recruitment; supply and demand

## **Dedication**

To my grandma, Daw Khin Myint, who fiercely supports me in all my political ventures and loves me unconditionally.

To my Burmese, Karen, and Mon ancestors who continue to exist and remain resilient despite colonizers' countless attempts to erase us.

To all the women of Myanmar who sacrificed their lives and stood up against authoritarian leaders.

I owe you everything.

## **Acknowledgments**

First, I would like to thank Dr. Eline de Rooij, Dr. Aude-Claire Fourot, and Dr. Andy Heard for their willing guidance and support during my time at Simon Fraser University. I would also like to thank Dr. Jeannette Ashe for supporting my passion for women's political representation. In addition, I am grateful for the participants who provided their valuable insight on the topic of gender and ethnic representation in the municipal politics of Vancouver. Thanks to Dr. Ng, Ben, and Ruth for always reminding me to be gentle with myself and teaching me the importance of mental health. Last but not least, I extend my deepest thanks and appreciation to the brave women of Myanmar who have sacrificed their lives to speak up for the truth and stand up against the tyrants. These women are missing, murdered, raped, tortured, and imprisoned just because they choose to be in politics. They knew the consequences, but they refused to be silenced anyway. I am forever in awe of your courage and will always be inspired by your activism. I am resilient because of you, thank you.

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# Chapter 1.

## Introduction

The aim of this research is to study the representation of women and visible minorities or lack thereof in local elections in the city of Vancouver. As of 2019, only 29 percent of women are elected to the Canadian federal government (Parliament of Canada 2019). When it comes to provincial representation, British Columbia (BC) is in the lead with 36 percent women. Yet, when it comes to municipal governments across Canada, only 16 percent of mayors and 26 percent of city councilors are women (Equal Voice 2014). The presence of women holding political offices has increased significantly within the past century (Clark 1991, CAWP 2018). However, men still outnumber women in political representation across different countries. Even in the case of municipal elections in Vancouver, one of the most diverse cities in BC, only 43 women compared to 76 men ran for office in the 2014 municipal elections (City of Vancouver 2014). Only 14 out of these 43 women were visible minorities. Almost 50 percent of people elected were women (12 out of 27 available positions); however, only one of them was a visible minority (City of Vancouver 2014). Visible minority women are not the only ones who are being underrepresented in the city's municipal elections. Despite belonging to the gender which has been historically advantaged in elections, only three visible minority men were elected compared to twelve white men in the 2014 municipal elections (City of Vancouver 2014).

This underrepresentation issue is very problematic because although visible minorities outnumber white Vancouverites, there exists a pattern of visible minority people not holding office in municipal elections for the past decade while white candidates were consistently elected (City of Vancouver 2018). As of 2016, the visible minority Vancouverites outnumber white Vancouverites, the former population consisting of 341,600 individuals while the latter contains only 336,680 (Statistics Canada). There are only 147,470 white female Vancouverites compared to 180,965 visible minority women according to 2016 City of Vancouver Population Census Data (Statistics Canada).

My research focuses on how candidate recruitment, campaign processes, and parties serving as gatekeepers influence the representation or lack thereof of women and visible minorities in the city of Vancouver. It will not look at the voter preferences for particular candidates over others since the voter choice aspect of electoral representation is beyond the scope of this study.

I chose to study the Vancouver municipal elections because even when outnumbered by visible minorities in terms of population, almost all positions were won by white candidates. There is also not much literature on municipal elections in Canadian political science in comparison to higher profile provincial or national elections (for an exception, see Bird 2005, Bird 2011, Smith and Walks 2013, Spicer et al. 2017), especially regarding visible minority candidacy (for an exception, see Black 2000, Black 2009, Black 2011, Black and Hicks 2006, Cody 2005, Siemiatycki 2011).

Little literature exists on the party activities employed during the candidate recruitment period for municipal elections in Canada (for an exception, see Andrew 2008). Nevertheless, for the population of Vancouverites to be fairly represented, we need to find out why women and visible minorities are not running or winning as much compared to men and white candidates in municipal elections, and whether party activities are impacting their representation. This research will help parties and the public understand more about behind the scenes procedures of municipal elections. This study will also contribute to further research on how parties in Vancouver and urban cities with similar demographics can strive towards a more balanced and representative municipal government.

## **1.1. Background on Vancouver's Municipal Elections**

Before moving on to the literature review, it is important to know some general information about the Vancouver municipal elections. The positions to be voted for are as follows: one mayor, ten councilors, seven park board commissioners, and nine school board trustees (Hagiwara 2018). The Vancouver municipal elections are run by three entities: the city's Election Office, Elections BC, and the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing. The City's Election Office is responsible for nominations, voting, and election results. Elections BC oversees campaign financing and advertising rules. It also has the

chief responsibility for registering voters. The Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing is in charge of legislative changes (Hagiwara 2018).

Generally, the nomination process in Vancouver local politics is not very transparent to the public. Vancouver is one of the few Canadian cities with an at-large election system that is known for being very discriminatory towards visible minorities (Packer 1982, Scarrow 1999, Taebel 1978). Vancouver's at-large electoral system is also heavily influenced by local political parties. The at-large system is an electoral system in which members of a city council are elected by the entire city electorate. In other words, all voters are offered the same candidates to choose from and are allowed to cast the same number of votes as the number of available seats (Trounstine and Valdini 2008).

Literature has shown that elected officials in at-large elections are more likely to represent functional, economic, or policy interests rather than representing the preferences of geographically concentrated voters such as racial minorities, ethnic minorities, and low-income communities (Cole 1974, Heilig and Mundt 1983, Karnig and Welch 1982, Langbein et al. 1996, Vedlitz and Johnson 1982, Welch and Bledsoe 1988). Therefore, at-large electoral systems like the city of Vancouver's increase the discrimination experienced by visible minority candidates whose campaigns might often appeal more to minority voters. For instance, the current at-large system of Vancouver means that there are no wards within the city and all eligible voters vote for all ten city councilors. The top ten candidates who get the most votes are elected to the city council (City of Vancouver 2004). If Vancouver were to have a ward system, it would have 14 city councilors and voters would choose one councilor for their respective ward (City of Vancouver 2004).

At-large elections are more likely to exclude visible minority candidates from the electoral office by favoring candidates with Anglo-Saxon and Northern European surnames (Byrne and Pueschel 1974, Heilig and Mundt 1984, Lieske 1989). In addition, in at-large elections, each candidate has to compete against all other candidates, including those from her own party, which increases the possibility of vote splitting. In addition, since candidates have to appeal to all eligible voters in the city, campaigning requires significant resources including time and finances (Lieske 1989). All these aspects of at-large electoral systems disadvantages women and visible minority

candidates. Prontzos (as quoted in News1130, 2011) states that especially in the case of Vancouver, at-large systems are discouraging for marginalized candidates since most candidates are wealthy and from affluent neighborhoods, such as Kerrisdale. Voices from areas like the Downtown Eastside or Commercial Drive are not commonly represented on Vancouver's city council (idem).

In order to become a candidate for municipal elections in Vancouver, there are several requirements. General requirements as stated by the City of Vancouver are as follows: (1) be 18 years of age or older on general voting day, (2) be a Canadian citizen, (3) have lived in BC for at least 6 months immediately before the nomination date, and (4) not be disqualified by law from being nominated, elected, or holding office (2018). Once an individual fulfills these four primary requirements, he or she is eligible to vote or become a candidate.

However, there are other mandatory steps that need to be taken in order to achieve candidacy. Self-nomination does not make a prospective candidate obtain candidacy in Vancouver municipal elections. In addition to fulfilling the four basic requirements, prospective candidates for local offices need to be nominated by a minimum of 25 eligible electors. Whether an individual chooses to run affiliated with a party or independently, he or she will have to complete a nomination package. This package must include signatures from eligible electors, a deposit of one hundred Canadian Dollars, and a solemn declaration that he or she is eligible to run, will take office if elected, and is aware of financial requirements administered by Elections BC (Hagiwara 2018). In British Columbia, eligible electors are voters or individuals involved with elector organizations, also known as civic political parties, which “endorse or intend to endorse a candidate or candidates” (Government of B.C. 2018).

One can form his or her own political party but forming a political party does not mean that your party's candidates will be on the ballot during local elections (Elections BC 2018). Only when political parties are registered to participate in the municipal elections, are the party candidates allowed to have their names on the ballot. In order to be registered, a party needs to have a membership of at least fifty electors at the time of nomination (Hagiwara 2018). This, in addition to the one hundred dollars deposit, might serve a deterrent for visible minorities from forming and registering for their own political parties since a registered party requires expensive resources such as an appointed

financial agent and an appointed auditor at the party's expenses (Elections BC 2018). Individuals can run as independent candidates by securing 25 signatures from eligible electors; however, they will still be responsible for all expenses that come with campaigning in an at-large system in addition to having virtually no chance of winning a seat on the council. Since 2005, there has been no independent city councilor elected in Vancouver.

## **1.2. Definition of the Key Terms**

"Party activities" during the recruitment and election period can be defined as continuous help and support from party officials for the party's chosen candidates throughout their campaigns (Butler and Preece 2016, 842). Party activities that encourage or discourage candidates from successfully running for local office include four components: a request to run, help with campaign strategy, help with fundraising, and help with securing endorsements (idem: 842, 843).

According to the definition provided by Statistics Canada, "visible minority" means "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color" (2017). This term is exclusively used in Canada whereas the term "minority" is more universally used. "Minority," in the United States, usually refers to "four major racial and ethnic groups: African Americans, American Indians, and Alaska Natives, Asians, and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics" in America (Population Reference Bureau 1999). In this research, I will be using the terms "visible minority" and "minority" interchangeably but will be adhering to the definition of "visible minority" by Statistics Canada for both terms. As this project only explores Canadian local politics demographic categories defined by the Canadian government are more suitable. For this project, I determine the visible minority status of councilor candidates from their self-identification.

## Chapter 2.

### Theoretical Framework

Scholars have been using supply and demand to explain the electoral makeup of different legislatures since the 1960s (Ranney 1965). In the 1990s, this supply and demand framework became a popular way to address the underrepresentation of women (Norris and Lovenduski 1993, 1995). The term “supply” refers to applicants wishing to pursue a political career with factors such as ambition, motivation, and resources (Fox and Lawless 2004). The term “demand” refers to the process of party officials recruiting candidates based on their perceptions of who would make ideal candidates (Norris and Lovenduski 1995). A supply-side problem results in the lack of women and visible minority representation when there are not enough “qualified” women and visible minorities (i.e. those who have high social, economic, or political status) running for office. A demand-side problem occurs when party officials act as gatekeepers, impeding women and visible minorities from obtaining nomination as political candidates or running a successful campaign. Some factors such as incumbency, familial ties, and professional backgrounds serve as both supply-side and demand-side factors (Norris and Lovenduski 1993).

Although the research was inspired by the supply and demand arguments of women and visible minority representation in electoral politics, many socioeconomic and political factors can count as both supply-side and demand-side factors. One example is occupation; it counts as a supply-side factor in terms of contributing to the economic status of candidates, and as a demand-side factor as parties have a higher demand for and actively recruit candidates who belong to traditional professional networks in business, legal, or non-profit sectors (Sanbonmatsu 2006). Therefore, I will consider factors known to impact electoral representation from both sides of the arguments and analyze whether some of these factors contribute more to explaining the underrepresentation of women and visible minorities in Vancouver’s municipal elections compared to others.

I will be studying both winning and losing candidates who ran for the city councilor position in elections between 2005 and 2018. I look at both elected and non-

elected candidates because studies that include only winners do not allow researchers to compare the traits of the electorally successful and unsuccessful (Ashe 2017). Only studies that include both winning and losing candidates allow for proper comparisons between the two groups (Ashe 2017). Ideally, to fully capture the effect of supply and demand factors on political representation, three groups of individuals such as all persons eligible to become candidates, all persons recruited, and all persons elected should be studied. Since it is impossible to study the first group of individuals comprehensively due to data collection limitations, I choose to analyze the experiences of the latter two groups.

I will study the following factors that contribute to candidates' chances of winning: candidates' social, economic, and professional backgrounds as well as visible political experiences such as incumbency and party affiliation. Although age, education, and political ideology are also factors that contribute to the recruitment and campaigning processes, this study will exclude them simply due to the lack of data available.

## 2.1. Socioeconomic Factors

According to some scholars, given an opportunity to compete for the same office under equitable background and circumstances, women have as good of a chance at winning as men (Black and Erickson 2000, Burrell 1994, Sanbonmatsu 2006, Spicer et al. 2017, Wicks and Lang-Dion 2007). The problem of underrepresentation of women and visible minorities stems from the lower number of such candidates. Research has repeatedly shown that candidates who have higher socioeconomic status reap more advantages when running for office since they are not deterred by the costs and requirements necessary for electoral campaigns (Black and Erickson 2000, Putnam 1976). Political candidates often come from **legal, business, or non-profit professional backgrounds** (Sanbonmatsu 2006).

Black and Erickson (2000) also state a compensation model. According to this model, women need to have strong socioeconomic and political backgrounds, i.e. higher social profiles, than men in order to be successful. Women must compensate by possessing higher accomplishments than men to cancel out the negative gendered notions traditionally associated with women's candidacies. Merely matching men's credentials is not enough (idem). As a result, female candidates often have more

socioeconomic resources compared to their male counterparts who do not have to compensate for negative gender stereotyping (Black and Erickson 2000, Fowlkes 1984). Fox and Lawless (2004) also agree that female candidates tend to be more qualified than men and consequently, women who win are also more qualified than men who do.

Another factor that impacts women's chances of getting elected is **how they portray themselves during campaigns in relation to their families**. For men, portraying themselves as family men gives them an advantage in appealing to potential voters. However, for women, if they portray themselves as family-oriented in their candidate profiles, it will hurt their electoral chances as mothers and housekeepers are not typically desired as political leaders (Black and Erickson 2000). This is a unique factor where women do not need to match the profile of men (Black and Erickson 2000).

For women to be recruited by party officials, women must possess similar resources as their male counterparts (Black and Erickson 2000). Simard (1984) states that women must have **traditionally masculine characteristics and qualities** such as **established social and financial networks** in order to succeed in the recruitment stage. As a result, the characteristics and qualifications of women who are recruited by party officials and are electorally successful will resemble those of elected men (Chapman 1993). Regarding professional backgrounds, individuals working in business, law, and non-profits are known to be recruited more, or at least, have more networking access to political candidacy (Sanbonmatsu 2006).

Significant **time commitment** and **financial demands** of a political campaign and being in office might serve as deterrents for women and visible minorities (Fox and Lawless 2004). Many traditional political activities such as social events, party meetings, fundraising, public speaking, and door knocking, etc. affect women and visible minorities more negatively as such candidates generally have less time and financial resources compared to white men (Bird 2005, Fox et al. 2001). This makes party officials hesitant from recruiting women and visible minorities as many parties require significant money and time commitment from their candidates, from as early as primary races within the party to throughout the campaigning period.

Even in contemporary times, women are still more likely than their male spouses to spend time tending to childcare and household chores (Burns et al. 2001, McGlen and

O'Connor 1998, Fox and Lawless 2004). For example, female candidates might experience more stress regarding childcare, home help, and spending time away from family compared to men as they face greater personal constraints from home and family life (Norris and Lovenduski 1993). Therefore, ***motherhood*** and ***household chores*** serve as barriers for women from being desired as ideal candidates by party officials.

## 2.2. Political Factors

Some scholars believe that the party demand for a specific type of candidate best captures why women and minorities are underrepresented (Ashe 2017, Cheng and Tavits 2010, Evans 2011, Holland 1987, Niven 2006, Shepherd-Robinson and Lovenduski 2002, Tremblay and Pelletier 2001). A factor detrimental to women's chances of winning is ***incumbency***. Because of the patriarchal history and traditions of politics, women were and are still less likely than men to be incumbents (Sanbonmatsu 2006). Recent research has shown that factors that contribute to the underrepresentation of women such as incumbency and ***personal characteristics*** also contribute to that of visible minorities in local politics (Siemiatycki 2011).

Evidence has shown that most electoral races tend to favor incumbents who are usually white, male or both; incumbents enjoy the advantage of often being re-elected and many incumbents in political offices are men (Burrell 1994, Desposato and Petrocik 2003, Sanbonmatsu 2006, Spicer et al. 2017). This results in political parties acting as gatekeepers discouraging women and visible minorities from entering politics. This contributes to the low representation of women and visible minorities in politics (Broockman 2014, Crowder-Meyer 2013, Fox and Lawless 2010, Sanbonmatsu et al. 2009).

It is critical to look at party officials' gatekeeping activities to understand the electoral underrepresentation of women and visible minorities. To win a party nomination, candidates have to be selected by recruitment personnel. Thus, such party officials are in control of the candidate pipeline, including women and visible minority candidates (Norris and Lovenduski 1993). Some ways in which gatekeeping can affect women and visible minorities are ***encouraging or discouraging*** them to run, and ***actively recruiting or leaving out*** these candidates from the recruitment process (Fox and Lawless 2004). Many political parties are still controlled by male recruitment

officials, reaffirming *the old boys' club notion of politics* and making women feel uncomfortable to participate in electoral politics (Cheng and Tavits 2010). This *lack of women in gatekeeping roles* also influences aspiring women to think that they are not qualified enough to run (Cheng and Tavits 2010, Costantini 1990). Ashe (2017) even goes on to argue that political parties are the major distributors of traditional masculinity in that recruitment personnel practice sexist gatekeeping activities, ranging from gender stereotyping to sexual harassment.

Women and visible minority candidates will require more resources such as *support from family members and mentors* to succeed electorally (Norris and Lovenduski 1993). As visible minority candidates in Canada are subject to old colonial stereotypes and may be viewed by party officials as not qualified for office (Bird 2005), additional support networks are necessary for these candidates to better navigate the electoral processes of recruitment and campaign periods. Norris and Lovenduski mention that female candidates are more likely than men to have *family members who had previously run for political office* (1993).

*Party policies* can also play an important role in supporting and encouraging women and visible minority candidates through their recruitment process (Erickson 1997). According to Crowder-Meyer (2013), party officials who use *traditional recruitment networks* are more likely to recruit candidates who fit the traditional masculine image of an "ideal" candidate. Even when parties are not intentionally keeping out women from the recruitment process, they might still be contributing to negative gatekeeping towards women and visible minorities as such populations often require more encouragement to pursue the electoral office (Bledsoe and Herring 1990, Moncrief et al. 2001).

### 2.3. Hypotheses

This study will provide insights into women and visible minority representation in Vancouver municipal elections while at the same time, use empirical evidence to evaluate the existing literature on race, gender, and electoral representation. The four hypotheses that will be tested are:

- (1) There is an underrepresentation of women and visible minorities on the Vancouver city council because party activities employed by local political party elites discourage them from obtaining candidacy.
- (2) There is an underrepresentation of women and visible minorities elected to the Vancouver city council because there exists a lack of such qualified candidates running in municipal elections.
- (3) Per Black and Erickson's compensation model, women who run have better socioeconomic and political backgrounds than men.
- (4) Per Black and Erickson's compensation model, visible minorities who run have better socioeconomic and political backgrounds than white candidates.

In the second hypothesis, qualified candidates mean that candidates who have socioeconomic and political backgrounds as well as personal characteristics desired by parties.

## **Chapter 3.**

### **Data and Methods**

This research is a mixed-method study using a combination of the statistical analysis of secondary data on candidates and a content analysis of data derived from semi-structured interviews with a small number of incumbent city councilors and a party official. The following subsections describe each approach in detail including data collection, population, sample, variables when applicable, and methods of data analysis.

#### **3.1. Content Analysis of Semi-Structured Interview Data**

Because it is very difficult to evaluate nontransparent party policies and procedures using quantitative analysis, I choose to apply qualitative research methods to assess the validity of my first hypothesis. Through these interviews, I am able to better understand party impact on candidates' nomination and electoral success. Using the data obtained from semi-structured interviews with three city councilors and a party official who are familiar with the recruitment and nomination processes, I will supplement the regression results in the quantitative section. The interviews are of minimal risk according to Simon Fraser University's Research Ethics Board guidelines as the interviewees are political elites and not of vulnerable populations (SFU Office of Research Ethics). The reason for interviewing both party officials and city councilors is because it would be beneficial for the research to interview individuals who are involved with the recruitment process and also those who were recruited to run as political candidates. In addition, some local political parties are very small and hence do not have individuals concerned with recruiting in particular. In such cases, political candidates running with these small parties are the only individuals who can provide insight into recruitment.

Since I interviewed both city councilors and recruitment personnel from local political parties, I developed two different sets of interview questions. City councilors were recruited through the Chief of Staff to Vancouver's Mayor. Party officials were recruited either from the official websites and social media pages of Vancouver's political parties available to the public or by asking councilors after the interview to put me in

touch with relevant people. I emailed potential participants to recruit them for interviews. I also requested my interviewees to ask other potential interviewees to get in touch with me.<sup>1</sup> Each interview lasted from thirty minutes to an hour. The interviews were recorded after obtaining consent from the interviewees. In addition, they could choose whether they want to remain unnamed. In the results section, I will reveal only the positions and gender of the interviewees when I am directly quoting them. I will not reveal any identifiable information such as their name, race, and party affiliation. I typed up the transcripts and then, used NVivo software to analyze audio recordings. Questions aimed to determine what each interviewee perceives an ideal candidate should be, his or her party's current recruitment and nomination policies, and various consequences that the recruitment process may have on candidates of different gender and ethnic backgrounds.

### **3.2. Qualitative Data Coding**

Once the interviews were conducted and recorded, I transcribed them into Word documents. Then, the transcripts were coded into different themes and sub-themes related to the argument that there is an underrepresentation of women and visible minorities in the Vancouver city council because party activities employed by local political party elites discourages them from obtaining candidacy. Qualitative data is coded into four main themes: financial resources, non-financial resources, personal factors, and political factors. These themes were derived from the supply and demand literature, from both sides of the argument.

The first theme, financial resources, is further coded into compensation and campaign funding. Compensation is a factor that impacts the representation of women and visible minorities since they tend to have less monetary resources according to supply and demand literature and thus, will not run for the electoral office if the position is not well-compensated. Campaign funding is also a theme of interest since how parties fund their candidates and whether the ways of funding differ based on gender, race, or both will be helpful for the analysis.

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<sup>1</sup> The complete research ethics package including the consent form templates, study details, interview guides for city councilors and recruitment personnel, and the initial contact email scripts can be found in the appendix.

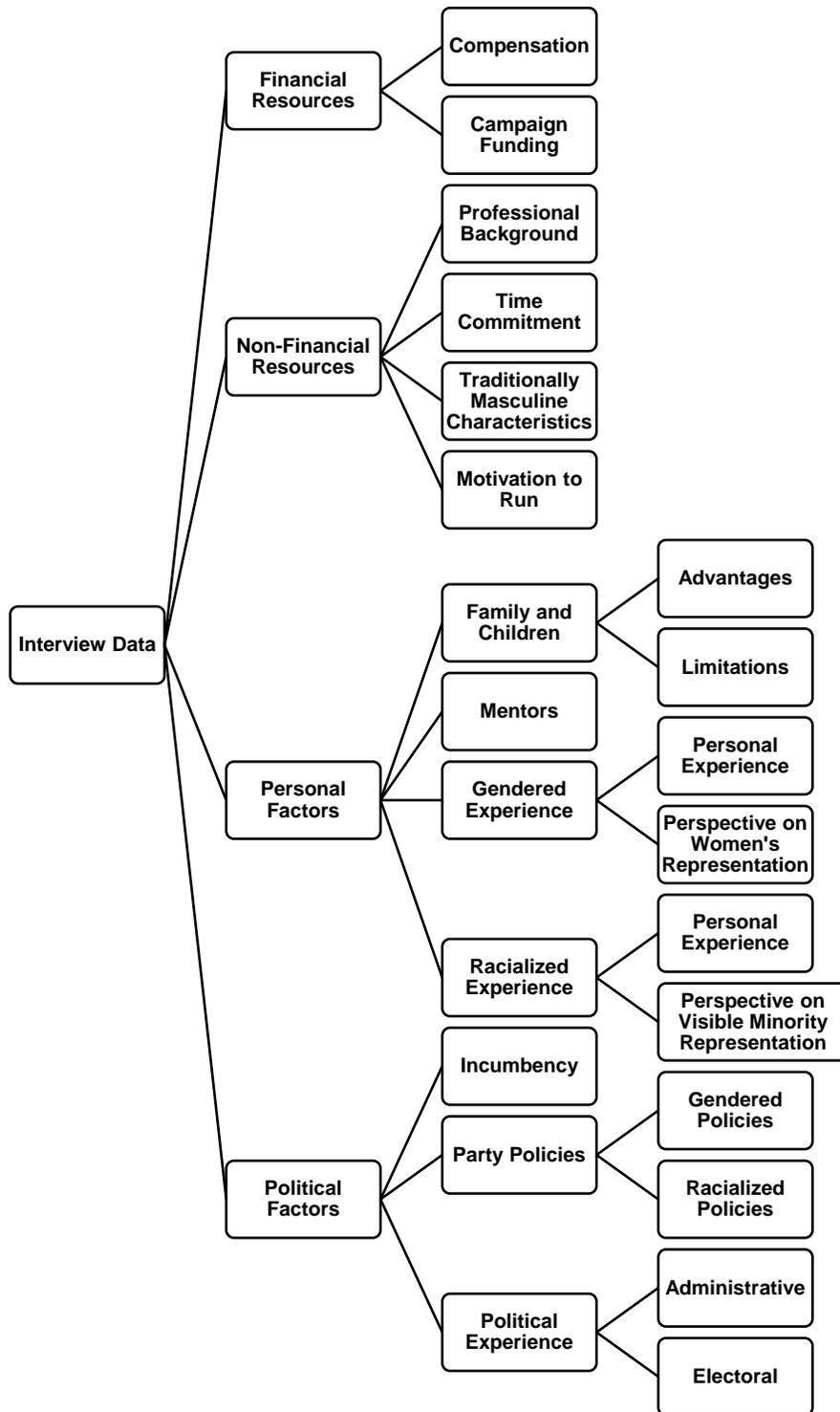
The second theme, non-financial resources, is coded into four different sub-themes, namely professional background, time commitment, traditionally masculine characteristics, and motivation to run. Evidence has shown that most electoral races tend to favor incumbents who are usually white, male or both; incumbents enjoy the advantage of often being re-elected and many incumbents in political offices are men (Burrell 1994, Desposato and Petrocik 2003, Sanbonmatsu 2006, Spicer et al. 2017). The characteristics and qualifications of women recruited by party officials resemble those of elected men who are usually white, wealthy, expressive in terms of political knowledge, well-known among sociopolitical networks, and professionals in either business, law, or non-profits (Chapman 1993, Norris and Lovenduski 1993, Simard 1984).

The third theme, personal factors, is divided into four sub-themes: family and children, mentors, gendered experience, and racialized experience. As shown in Figure 1, family and children is further broken down into two sub-themes, advantages and limitations. These sub-themes will help determine whether the family and children or lack thereof of councilor candidates contribute to the candidates' electoral success or not. I also analyze data related to mentorship candidates might have received at any stage of their political journey.

Gendered experience is further divided into two categories. The first category is called personal experience and the second, perspective on women's representation. Similarly, racialized experience is divided into two categories: personal experience and perspective on visible minority representation. Both in terms of gender and visible minority status, the interviewees' experience while in office or serving as a recruitment official matters because it is crucial to know whether there are any gendered or racialized challenges that might deter women and visible minority candidates during the recruitment process. How the interviewees think of women and visible minority representation also matters since their perspectives might impact diversity-related policy making which will, in turn, impact future candidates' decision to run and chances to get elected.

Finally, the fourth main theme, political factors, is divided into three sub-themes. These sub-themes are called incumbency, party policies, and political experience. Party policies is further divided into two categories: gendered policies and racialized policies.

Together, these sub-themes can help me analyze if the political parties are actively working on more diversity and inclusion regarding women and visible minorities by having tangible programs or policies in place. Political experience is further broken down into two categories – administrative and electoral. Whether through administrative or electoral channels, it is easier for candidates to become politically mobilized if they are introduced to politics at an early age and thus, have built-in networks with political parties. Such candidates who have made a name for themselves within local political networks are in demand by political parties. Figure 1 shows the hierarchical coding tree applied to the interview data.



**Figure 1. Hierarchical Coding Tree of Interview Data**

### 3.3. Quantitative Data Coding

The sample of this research includes all candidates who ran for the Vancouver city council from 2005 to 2018. I purposively selected to study candidates who ran in elections between 2005 and 2018, because detailed candidate profiles from which I extract data were not available before 2005. The 2017 by-election candidates were not included in the study as the by-elections are structurally different from regular municipal elections, electing only one councilor to serve for less than one full term. The total number of candidates in my sample (N) is 227.<sup>2</sup>

To obtain demographic data on the candidates, I use Candidate Profiles from the City of Vancouver Elections files available to the general public on the city website<sup>3</sup> (City of Vancouver 2018). First, I analyzed the candidate profiles archived on the City of Vancouver's public website. I looked for and recorded the following information in an Excel database for each candidate: name, gender, race, the election year, the affluence of the neighborhood he or she resides in, mentions of family or marital status, occupation, incumbency, and party name, and election outcome.

Once I exhausted the candidate profiles, I turned to the official party websites and candidate campaign websites to fill in the information still missing from the Excel candidate database. After this second step, I went over the nomination papers signed by each candidate to further complete the database. Finally, to fill in the final gaps, I looked at each candidate's social media profiles on three platforms, namely LinkedIn, Facebook, and Twitter when possible. However, there were still some missing data for lesser-known candidates with lower chances of winning. Successful or well-known candidates provided complete candidate profiles compared to others.

I use multivariate logistic regressions to predict and compare the probability of the following four groups being elected: white men, visible minority men, white women, and visible minority women. I use Stata to run the regressions. As explained in the

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<sup>2</sup> Two first nations candidates who ran for the council were omitted as this study only compares visible minority and white candidates. Both candidates were not elected.

<sup>3</sup> <https://vancouver.ca/your-government/civic-elections.aspx>

theory section, I expect to find that women and visible minority candidates are overqualified but still have lower chances of winning.

Now, I will discuss the decision-making process behind the coding of independent variables. For the affluent neighborhood variable, I consulted two popular news sources in Vancouver, namely Vancouver Sun and Narcity Vancouver, to identify which neighborhoods are the richest neighborhoods in the city of Vancouver. I coded the following neighborhoods as affluent: Shaughnessy, Kerrisdale, Kitsilano, Point Grey, South Vancouver, Arbutus, South Granville, Coal Harbour, West End, Downtown Vancouver, and Yaletown. All other neighborhoods were coded as not affluent. This variable measures the socioeconomic background of candidates because wealthier candidates are more likely to be able to afford to live in affluent neighborhoods. I used the candidate profiles and nomination papers of all candidates to obtain the postal code of their residence. However, for 2005, none of the candidate nomination papers were available whereas I was able to access some for those who ran in 2008 and 2011. For all these three election years, there were candidates who publicly mentioned their neighborhoods in the candidate profiles. For the tests and regressions in the paper, the Don't Know's are analyzed together with the Not Affluent since there is no significant difference in the results (see appendix for calculations where Don't Know observations are dropped or analyzed as a separate category).

When it comes to candidates' political parties, I created a variable called party name. Here, I categorize political parties into five groups, Vision Vancouver, NPA, Green Party of Vancouver, COPE, and Other Parties plus Independents. I decided to combine candidates who belong to other parties than the major ones with independent candidates since these candidates have virtually very little to no chances of winning the election compared to the four established parties. Candidates running for established parties have better access to socioeconomic resources such as publicity and funding as well as political connections.

Candidates who were not incumbent in any municipal office at the time of election are coded as 0, and candidates who were incumbent in any municipal political office at the time of the elections are coded as 1 on the incumbency variable. There were some limitations in finding out the marital status of all candidates. Therefore, candidates who mentioned their marital or parental status in either their candidate

profiles or public social media profiles are coded as 1. Others are coded as 0. This variable offers a glimpse into candidates' social background outside of politics.

Candidates' occupations are coded into five different categories. I coded all candidates who work in professional sectors such as the business, legal, or non-profit sector and who are also skilled workers as defined by the government of Canada as 0. I referred to the Government of Canada's National Occupational Classification job groups to determine which jobs qualify as skilled work. According to the Government of Canada, individuals who hold managerial jobs, professional jobs, or technical jobs and skilled trades are skilled workers (2018). Candidates who are professionals and unskilled workers are coded as 1. Non-professional and skilled workers are coded as 2. Non-professional and unskilled workers are coded as 3, and candidates with unknown occupations are coded as 4. Table 1 below lists all variables and their coding.

**Table 1. Variables and Respective Coding**

Variable Name	Coding
Elected (Dependent Variable)	1 = Elected, 0 = Not Elected
Female (Independent Variable)	1 = Female, 0 = Male
Visible Minority (Independent Variable)	1 = Visible Minority, 0 = White
Affluent Neighborhood	1 = Affluent, 0 = Not Affluent/Don't Know
Family or Marital Status	1 = Mentioned, 0 = Not Mentioned
Occupation	0 = Professional and Skilled Worker 1 = Professional and Unskilled Worker 2 = Non-Professional and Skilled Worker 3 = Non-Professional and Unskilled Worker 4 = Don't Know
Incumbency	1 = Incumbent, 0 = Not Incumbent
Party Name	0 = Vision Vancouver 1 = NPA 2 = Green 3 = COPE 4 = Others + Independent

Table 2 shows the summary statistics of all dichotomous variables. Of all candidates, 22 percent were elected. 38 percent were women and 31 percent, visible minorities. 27 percent lived in affluent neighborhoods, 30 percent stated familial or marital status, and 19 percent, incumbents.

**Table 2. Summary Statistics of All Dichotomous (0-1) Variables**

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation
Elected	227	0.22	0.42
Female	227	0.38	0.49
Visible Minority	227	0.31	0.46
Affluent Neighborhood	227	0.27	0.45
Family or Marital Status	227	0.30	0.46
Incumbency	227	0.19	0.40

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

Tables 3, 4, and 5 are the frequency tables of categorical variables, occupation, party name, and election year, respectively.

**Table 3. Frequency Table of Categorical Variable – Occupation**

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Professional and Skilled Worker	44	19
Professional and Unskilled Worker	58	26
Non-Professional and Skilled Worker	30	13
Non-Professional and Unskilled Worker	46	20
Don't Know	49	22
Total	227	100

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

In Table 4, candidates who belong to parties other than Vision, NPA, Green, or COPE are listed under Other Parties category, and independent candidates are listed separately. However, since virtually no one has been elected to the city council from other parties or independent candidates, I will combine these two categories into one when performing regressions.

**Table 4. Frequency Table of Categorical Variable – Party Name**

Party Name	Frequency	Percentage
Vision Vancouver	33	15
NPA	46	20
Green	9	4
COPE	20	9
Other Parties	50	22
Independent	69	30
Total	227	100

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

**Table 5. Frequency Table of Categorical Variable – Election Year**

Election Year	Frequency	Percentage
2005	36	16
2008	32	14
2011	41	18
2014	48	21
2018	70	31
Total	227	100

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

## **Chapter 4.**

### **Results**

#### **4.1. Qualitative Results**

I interviewed a recruitment official and three city councilors. All interviewees except one city councilor are women. Since the number of interviewees (4) is very few compared to the number of candidates analyzed in the quantitative section (227), the qualitative results are only to be taken as a supplementary component contributing to the overall analysis of which factors contribute to the underrepresentation of women and visible minorities on Vancouver's city council. Findings from these interviews are supplementary to the quantitative findings only and will not be fully generalizable to all city councilor candidates who have ever run in Vancouver municipal elections. However, the qualitative results provide in-depth information on interviewees' experiences with the factors influencing the recruitment and campaigning processes of Vancouver municipal politics. This allows for a deeper understanding of the socioeconomic and political factors analyzed later in the quantitative component of the project.

First, I analyze the interview data regarding financial resources. Being a city councilor is a full-time paid position. However, the salary did not apply to our party official interviewee. The recruitment personnel position within her party is a voluntary position. This lack of compensation acts as a barrier for her from spending as much time as she would like for candidate recruitment, resulting in mainly recruiting through her existing social networks. One councilor worked on the administrative side of politics before switching over to the electoral side. She had to begin with volunteer administrative positions when she first got involved in local politics. Similarly, another councilor also worked for his party on the administrative team so that he could remain engaged in local politics. His position was not entirely voluntary, but he was paid under the market rate for his work. This shows that parties usually require volunteer work from candidates and therefore, individuals who cannot volunteer, especially women and visible minorities due to their general lack of socioeconomic resources compared to white men, are at a disadvantage in the political process.

Information on campaign funding also confirms the argument that the recruitment process favors wealthy individuals. All councilors mentioned that they spent a significant amount of time fundraising during their campaigns. Except for one councilor's party that split the funds equally among all candidates, other parties did not show much financial support for their candidates. For instance, a councilor's party has a fee of \$1,500 for candidate applications in addition to a commitment that candidates will raise \$5,000. However, she said that her party has been discussing the topic of fundraising for the past decade.

"Do we charge a large fee for people to get in... or do we instead as a party choose the best candidate, and then the party raises some money to finance their campaign?"

All councilors agreed that fundraising is a challenging part of the campaigning process as not everyone is comfortable asking for money.

Secondly, I analyze how candidates' non-financial resources impact the recruitment and campaigning process in Vancouver municipal politics. The party official mentioned that all candidates she has recruited had professional backgrounds and networks relevant to elective office. All of these candidates were employed or active in activism or administrative political positions. Regarding the incumbents interviewed, one councilor's professional background is in non-profit, and the other two were employed in both business and non-profit sectors. Interview data suggests that all councilors interviewed belong to a business, non-profit, or both. As the party official recruits candidates through professional networks, this makes the recruitment process easier for individuals with relevant professional backgrounds to become candidates.

In terms of time commitment, the recruitment official noted that potential candidates need to have very flexible time availability in order to be recruited. As detailed in the theory section, campaigning and serving as a city councilor requires an immense amount of time. One councilor noted that his campaign required all of his time, energy, and focus, and as a result, it was very difficult to remain employed and financially support himself during that period. The candidate also added that now that he is in office, a full council workday can last from 8:30 am to 11:00 pm. Because of such time demands, it is very difficult for women to be in electoral politics as they are generally expected to balance household duties and professional life.

Interview data were analyzed to see whether traditionally masculine characteristics influenced the recruitment process for candidates. The party official stated that she recruited candidates through networks that are a natural fit towards electoral careers such as activist, political, and non-profit networks. Name recognition in Vancouver is also a must for individuals to be recruited. The party official also stated that in the last election, most individuals who wanted to be candidates took initiative and reached out to the party without being prompted. One councilor stated that most local parties are still being run like old boys' clubs, thereby discouraging women from becoming candidates. Another councilor also had a similar comment regarding her party's traditional image,

"It was characterized as a party of older men who were all Caucasian."

The third councilor also shared a similar experience with the traditional party image as his party membership consists of mostly older white men. In addition, he added that one of his competitors during the primary race was favored by party officials because that person is a man with a recognizable name in Vancouver and holds a prestigious job. He also noted that some political parties favor ruthless candidates who would do anything, including aggressive campaigning, to win. Interview data on traditionally masculine characteristics agree with the explanation that parties in Vancouver still favor recruiting candidates who fit the traditional image of an "ideal" candidate possessing name recognition, professional networks, political experience, and financial resources similar to that of white men who have won in the past.

When asked about how motivation to run for council impacts the representation problem, I find that incumbency status and recruitment officials played a key role. Two councilors mentioned that support and encouragement from party officials motivated them to run. One of them particularly mentioned that although male recruitment officials asked her to run, they were not adamant enough and it took a woman recruitment official to finally convince her to become a candidate. These examples show that party gatekeepers control the pipeline of candidates by encouraging certain individuals to run.

Next, I will discuss the personal factors that influence the representation of women and visible minorities in local electoral processes. The first personal factor is family including children. The party official began the interview by saying that she comes from a family very engaged in civic politics. Two councilors stated that motherhood has

impacted their experience with both recruitment and serving on the council. During recruitment, one's party was very supportive of mothers by offering childcare and family-friendly environments during events. However, when she attended public events as a candidate, she was often heckled by people for bringing her children along. She also reflected that she refused to become a candidate initially as she thought her priority was to spend time with her children. Motherhood still impacts her political career after the elections. She finds it deters her from performing the councilor position at the full potential.

"I say no to attending a lot of events because I want to prioritize spending time with my family and still, I work very long hours... I was warned about it but still, it is harder than I expected."

Another councilor echoes the above sentiment that motherhood serves as a burden for women's political careers. There is no maternity leave or allocated nursing breaks for city councilors. Thus, it would be impossible for women without family members or a support system that would share childcare responsibilities to be political candidates, let alone serve as city councilors. However, the family does not always negatively impact candidates during recruitment. Two councilors came from politically connected families, and this political legacy provided invaluable networks through which they got recruited by party officials. Therefore, I can conclude that the recruitment process is biased against women because of its inconsiderate treatment of mothers, yet positively biased when it comes to individuals with immediate family members in politics.

The next personal factor I will discuss is the gendered experience of interviewees during and after the recruitment process. The party official mentioned that her party was different from mainstream parties in that it did not want to prioritize male candidates in recruitment. She also stated that as a recruiter who is a woman, she prefers to work with female candidates personally. As mentioned previously, one councilor was successfully recruited by a woman recruiter. These examples show how much gender representation matters during the recruitment process. Another councilor also confirmed this by saying women's representation starts with encouraging women to run as men are more likely to become self-started candidates compared to women. All interviewees, except one councilor, think that more women representation is needed in Vancouver politics. Gender underrepresentation is not considered as a serious issue when parties operate in an old boys' club fashion. However, this councilor argues that since his party already

has a strong women's representation, gender underrepresentation is a non-issue as of now for his party.

Next, I will discuss the racialized experiences of the interviewees in local politics. The recruitment official mentions that most of the time, white men think that they are more capable candidates than women, particularly women of color, do. She acknowledged that the current city council is too white, confirming Vancouver's historical alienation of visible minorities from electoral politics. However, she said that she would not recruit a person solely based on visible minority status. She also mentioned that women of color significantly undersell themselves to recruiters compared to all other candidates, contributing to the underrepresentation of visible minorities in Vancouver politics.

One councilor suggested that a change in the electoral system would help ameliorate the current underrepresentation.

"I think there are some systemic changes we could make including... a proportional representation system."

Another mentioned that her party has the traditional image of being run by older white men, and it has a negative impact on the recruitment of visible minority candidates. Meanwhile, the third councilor disagreed that there is a racial underrepresentation among city councilor candidates. He believes that the recruitment process does not have a white-centric perspective and visible minority candidates did not make the cut based on their performance during campaigns. Most of this discussion on racialized experiences of interviewees support the argument that the recruitment process and policies deter visible minorities from entering local politics.

Finally, I will discuss how political factors influence the candidate recruitment process for women and visible minorities. Both the party official and a councilor answered that incumbency gives candidates an edge as it brings more recognition and the reputation of being more politically adept compared to non-incumbent candidates. When asked about racialized party policies, only the party official stated that their party policies always prioritize people whose motivation is around racial justice. In terms of gendered party policies, only one councilor had a definitive answer: her party has an equity policy in place that ensures at least half of the candidates are women. All three councilors had experience in the administrative side of politics before they were recruited

as candidates for their parties. Both female councilors have a better electoral success record compared to the male councilor in terms of the numbers of wins and losses in local elections. The party official also recruits potential candidates through traditional networks as discussed above, resulting in unintentional gatekeeping. Interview data on political factors support the argument that female candidates share better political qualifications as their male counterparts; the two female councilors interviewed share similar professional backgrounds in non-profit and business and more political experience compared to the male councilor.

According to the interviewees, the biggest barriers that deter candidates from being recruited or successfully running a campaign are financial resources, time availability, name recognition, not belonging to the party's sociopolitical networks, and motherhood. Although these barriers, except motherhood, are not specifically impacting candidates of certain genders or races, women and visible minorities suffer the consequences more direly. However, there are also some positive aspects of the recruitment process in Vancouver municipal politics. For instance, the party official repeatedly mentioned how her party is always in a process of making electoral politics more accessible for marginalized populations. Most interviewees agreed that gender and visible minority status still serve as major disadvantages in the recruitment process for councilor candidates, and all candidates acknowledged that the recruitment process is a different experience for women and visible minorities compared to that of white men. Table 6 shows whether each interviewee mentioned the corresponding factors as influential to the electoral representation of women and visible minorities on the Vancouver city council. Table 7 explains which factors influenced the councilor interviewees' personal experience with recruitment and campaigning processes.

**Table 6. Factors Considered as Influential to Councilor Candidates' Recruitment and Campaigning Processes by Interviewees**

Factors	Party Official	Female Councilor (1)	Female Councilor (2)	Male Councilor
Financial Resources				
- Compensation	Yes	No	No	Yes
- Campaign Funding	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Non-Financial Resources				
- Professional Background	No	Yes	Yes	No
- Time Commitment	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
- Traditionally Masculine Characteristics	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
- Motivation to Run	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Personal Factors				
- Family and Children	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
- Mentors	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
- Gendered Experience	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
- Racialized Experience	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Political Factors				
- Incumbency	No	No	Yes	No
- Party Policies	Yes	Yes	No	No
- Political Experience	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: data collected by the author during personal interviews.

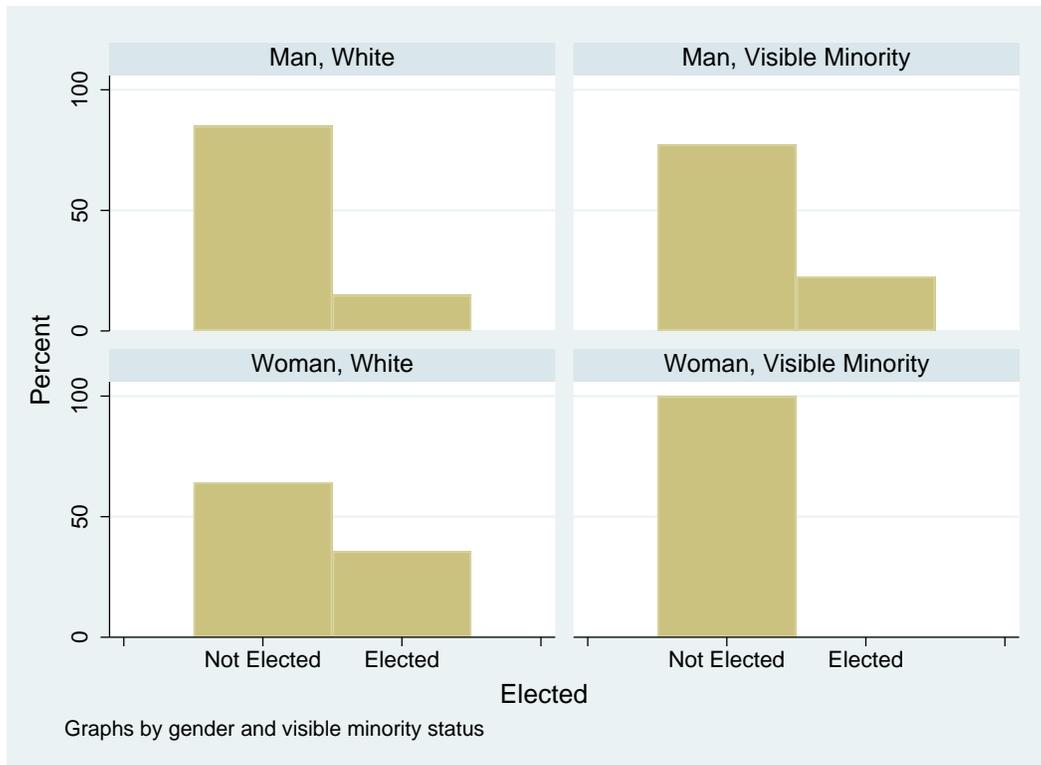
**Table 7. Factors that Influenced Councilor Interviewees' Personal Experience with Recruitment and Campaigning Processes**

Factors	Female Councilor (1)	Female Councilor (2)	Male Councilor
Financial Resources			
- Compensation	No	No	Yes
- Campaign Funding	No	Yes	Yes
Non-Financial Resources			
- Professional Background	Yes	Yes	No
- Time Commitment	Yes	No	Yes
- Traditionally Masculine Characteristics	No	Yes	Yes
- Motivation to Run	Yes	Yes	Yes
Personal Factors			
- Family and Children	Yes	Yes	Yes
- Mentors	Yes	Yes	Yes
- Gendered Experience	Yes	Yes	No
- Racialized Experience	No	No	No
Political Factors			
- Incumbency	No	Yes	No
- Party Policies	Yes	No	No
- Political Experience	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: data collected by the author during personal interviews.

## 4.2. Quantitative Results

To better understand whether visible minority candidates suffered in terms of representation in Vancouver's electoral history, I compare the socioeconomic and political backgrounds between white candidates and visible minorities. From Figure 2, we can see that of all white male candidates who ran for Vancouver's city council, 15 percent were elected. Of all visible minority male candidates, 23 percent won. White female candidates did the best among the four candidate groups as 36 percent of this group won their seats on the city council. However, unlike white women, visible minority women who ran for the council did not enjoy any success at all. In fact, they were the least successful of the four candidate groups as no visible minority woman was elected to the Vancouver City Council since 2005.



**Figure 2. Histogram of Councilor Candidates by Gender and Visible Minority Status**

Note: N (White Men) = 87, N (Visible Minority Men) = 53, N (White Women) = 70, N (Visible Minority Women) = 17

#### 4.2.1. T-Test and Chi-Square Test Results

In Table 8, I present the t-test results of dichotomous variables by gender. There is one statistically significant result, namely incumbency. Women were also more likely to be incumbent at the time of the elections than men (26% vs. 15%). This result is statistically significant at a  $p < 0.05$  significance level. None of the other differences were statistically significant; however, it is worth mentioning that female candidates are more likely to live in affluent neighborhoods than their male counterparts. They are still less likely than men to run as an independent candidate. This finding suggests that men are more likely to run for Vancouver city council than women despite lacking popular party support or socioeconomic resources compared to women.

**Table 8. T-Test of Dichotomous Variables by Gender**

	Men (mean)	Women (mean)	Difference
Affluent Neighborhood	0.24	0.33	-0.10
Mention of Marital or Parental Status	0.31	0.28	0.03
Incumbency	0.15	0.26	-0.11**
Independent	0.34	0.25	0.08

Note: \*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01, N=227

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

In Table 9, I present the t-test results of dichotomous variables by the visible minority status. There are two statistically significant results, affluent neighborhood, and independent. Visible minority candidates were much less likely to reside in affluent neighborhoods than white candidates (14% vs. 33%). This result is statistically significant at a p<0.01 significance level. Visible minority candidates are also much less likely to run as independent candidates. This result is statistically significant at a p<0.05 significance level.

**Table 9. T-Test of Dichotomous Variables by Visible Minority Status**

	White (mean)	Visible Minority (mean)	Difference
Affluent Neighborhood	0.33	0.14	0.19***
Mention of Marital or Parental Status	0.29	0.30	-0.01
Incumbency	0.22	0.14	0.07
Independent	0.34	0.21	0.13**

Note: \*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01, N=227

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

In Table 10, I present the results of a chi-square test of candidate's party affiliation by their gender. Among all female candidates, 47 percent ran either as independent candidates or with other parties. Overall, women are seemingly more likely to run for the established political parties than men, except for the Vision Party of Vancouver which has almost equal representation for both men and women.

Among the four established political parties, all had more men than women running for city council except for the Green Party. As mentioned in Table 10, the Green

Party of Vancouver's councilor candidates consist of 56 percent women. Men made up a majority, 66 percent, of the total independents and candidates running for lesser known parties.

**Table 10. Chi-Square Test of Candidates' Party Affiliation by Gender**

Party Name	Male			Female			Total		
	Row %	Column %	N	Row %	Column %	N	Row %	Column %	N
Vision Vancouver	64%	15%	21	36%	14%	12	100%	15%	33
NPA	57%	19%	26	43%	23%	20	100%	20%	46
Green	44%	3%	4	56%	6%	5	100%	4%	9
COPE	55%	8%	11	45%	10%	9	100%	9%	20
Others + Independent	66%	56%	78	34%	47%	41	100%	52%	119
Total	62%	100%	140	38%	100%	87	100%	100%	100

Chi-square test (4) = 2.83

Note: \*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01, N=227

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

Table 11 shows that all parties ran more white candidates than visible minorities even though the population of Vancouver is majorly comprised of visible minority residents. Among the four most established local political parties, Vision Vancouver has the best visible minority representation with 21 percent of all visible minority candidates running. COPE has the lowest visible minority representation as 11 percent of white candidates ran with COPE while only 4 percent of all visible minorities did.

Among the four established political parties, all had more white than visible minority candidates running for city council. The party with the largest visible minority candidate percentage is the Vision Vancouver party. 45 percent of its candidate population is made up of visible minorities (Table 11). White candidates made up a majority, 70 percent, of the total independents and candidates running for lesser known parties. The party with the lowest visible minority representation is COPE. Only 15 percent of COPE's candidates were visible minorities.

**Table 11. Chi-Square Test of Candidates' Party Affiliation by Visible Minority Status**

Party Name	White			Visible Minority			Total		
	Row %	Column %	N	Row %	Column %	N	Row %	Column %	N
Vision Vancouver	55%	11%	18	45%	21%	15	100%	15%	33
NPA	74%	22%	34	26%	17%	12	100%	20%	46
Green	56%	3%	5	44%	6%	4	100%	4%	9
COPE	85%	11%	17	15%	4%	3	100%	9%	20
Others + Independent	70%	53%	83	30%	51%	36	100%	52%	119
Total	69%	100%	157	31%	100%	70	100%	100%	100

Chi-square test (4) = 6.95

Note: \*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01, N=227

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

According to Table 12, relatively more men than women are professional and skilled workers, with 23 percent of all men and only 14 percent of all women belonging to this category. Female candidates are more likely to have nonprofessional and unskilled occupations (23 percent) compared to men (19 percent). The percentage of men (21 percent) who did not list their occupation is similar to that of women (22 percent). The biggest difference between women and men lie in the professional unskilled category (33 percent vs. 21 percent). The results for this chi-square test are significant at a p<0.10 significance level.

**Table 12. Chi-Square Test of Candidates' Occupation by Gender**

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Prof. Skilled	23% (32)	14% (12)	19% (44)
Prof. Unskilled	21% (29)	33% (29)	26% (58)
Non-Prof. Skilled	16% (23)	8% (7)	13% (30)
Non-Prof. Unskilled	19% (26)	23% (20)	20% (46)
Don't Know	21% (30)	22% (19)	22% (49)
Total	100% (140)	100% (87)	100% (227)

Chi-square test (4) = 8.99\*

Note: \*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01, N=227

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

In Table 13, white candidates are much more likely to report their occupations with 25 percent of all white candidates not listing their professional background compared to 13 percent of all visible minority candidates who did the same. Among those who declared their occupations, the percentages of professional and skilled workers were similar for white and visible minority candidates (20 and 19 percent respectively). Visible minority candidates are also much more likely to have nonprofessional and unskilled occupations (29 percent) compared to white candidates (17 percent). The results for this chi-square test are significant at a  $p < 0.10$  significance level.

**Table 13. Chi-Square Test of Candidates' Occupation by Visible Minority Status**

Occupation	White	Visible Minority	Total
Prof. Skilled	20% (31)	19% (13)	20% (45)
Prof. Unskilled	24% (38)	29% (20)	26% (58)
Non-Prof. Skilled	14% (22)	11% (8)	13% (30)
Non-Prof. Unskilled	17% (26)	29% (20)	20% (46)
Don't Know	25% (40)	13% (9)	22% (50)
Total	100% (157)	100% (70)	100% (227)

Chi-square test (4) = 7.66

Note: \* $p < 0.10$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ , N=227

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

The t-test and chi-square test results show that women have stronger socioeconomic and political backgrounds than men, except in terms of professional background where more men have professional and skilled occupations, but more women have professional and unskilled jobs. The latter leads to mixed results in determining candidates' socioeconomic backgrounds when occupation is considered since both professional skilled and professional unskilled jobs can contribute to strong financial resources. Visible minorities have weaker socioeconomic and political backgrounds overall compared to white candidates. The chi-square tests of the election year by candidates' gender and visible minority status, respectively, are included in the appendix since there is no statistically significant result.

### 4.2.2. Regression Results

To study the odds of female and visible minority candidates winning in the municipal elections, I ran four different logistic regression models (see Table 14). The first model shows the outcome of the logistics regression where I regress gender, visible minority, and election year, to predict the candidates' chances of winning the election. In the second model, I add the socioeconomic factors such as the affluence of the neighborhood candidates live in, candidates' public mention of marital or parental status, and their occupations. Then, in the third model, I look at political variables i.e. incumbency and party affiliation of councilor candidates together with gender, visible minority status, and winning the election. Finally, in the fourth model, I use all independent variables in the logistic regression. Since the N is small (N = 227) for this research, I indicate significance of the model estimates using p-values of < .10 (\*), < .05 (\*\*), and < .01 (\*\*\*). I did not test the interaction between gender and visible minority status since no visible minority woman was elected.

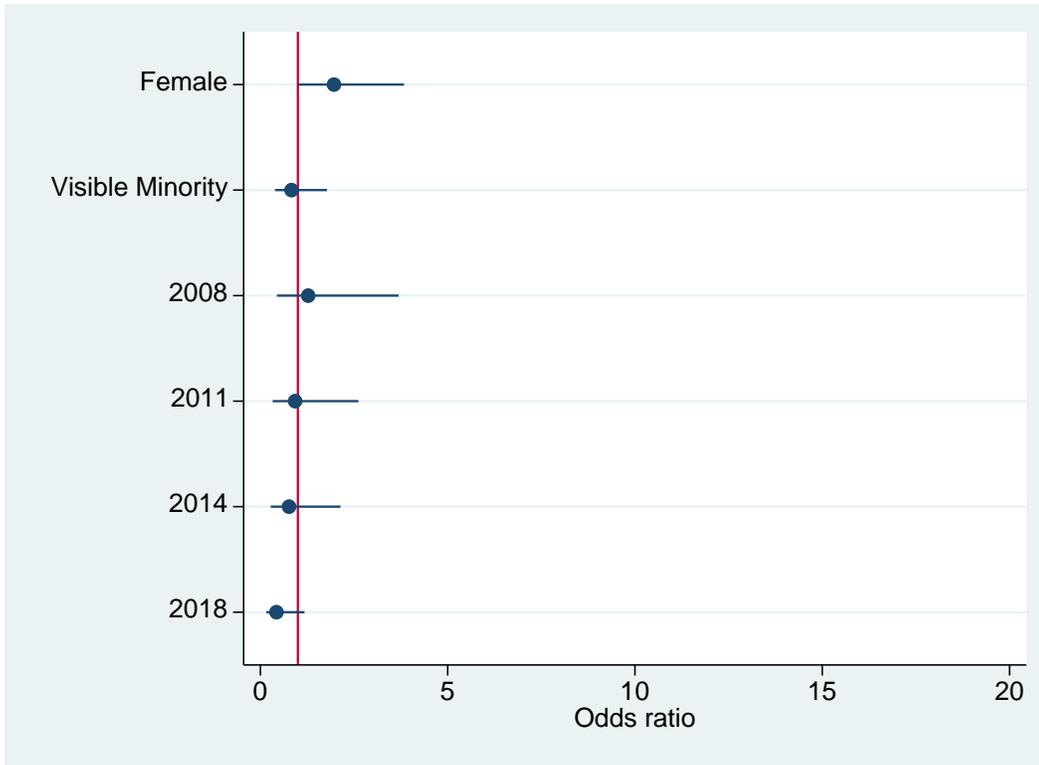
**Table 14. Logistic Regression Predicting Candidates' Being Elected**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Female	0.68 (0.34) **	0.72 (0.36) **	0.17 (0.54)	-0.04 (0.59)
Visible Minority	-0.18 (0.39)	-0.24 (0.42)	-0.93 (0.64)	-1.77 (0.83) **
Year:				
2005	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
2008	0.24 (0.54)	0.38 (0.57)	-0.31 (0.74)	-0.61 (0.80)
2011	-0.08 (0.53)	-0.09 (0.55)	-0.11 (0.74)	-0.37 (0.80)
2014	-0.27 (0.52)	-0.47 (0.56)	-0.94 (0.75)	-1.20 (0.83)
2018	-0.85 (0.51) *	-0.80 (0.54)	-0.19 (0.73)	-0.27 (0.26)
Affluent Neighborhood		-0.05 (0.40)		-1.32 (0.65) **
Mention of Marital or Parental Status		1.27 (0.36) ***		0.48 (0.54)
Occupation:				
Professional Skilled		Ref.		Ref.
Professional Unskilled		0.38 (0.54)		0.23 (0.75)
Non-Professional Skilled		0.06 (0.65)		-0.82 (0.94)
Non-Professional Unskilled		0.23 (0.57)		-0.29 (0.83)
Don't Know		0.22 (0.57)		0.37 (1.00)
Incumbency			1.77 (0.54) ***	1.72 (0.59) ***
Party Name:				
Vision Vancouver			Ref.	Ref.
NPA			-1.38 (0.63) **	-1.88 (0.77) **
Green			-0.21 (0.95)	-0.08 (1.01)
COPE			-2.55 (0.85) ***	-3.21 (0.98) ***
Others and Independent			-5.08 (1.18) ***	-5.83 (1.31) ***
N	227	227	227	227
Pseudo R2	0.04	0.10	0.50	0.53
-2loglikelihood (df)	229.62 (6)	216.18 (12)	120.30 (11)	112.16 (17)
LR chi2	9.74	23.19 **	119.06 ***	127.20 ***

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

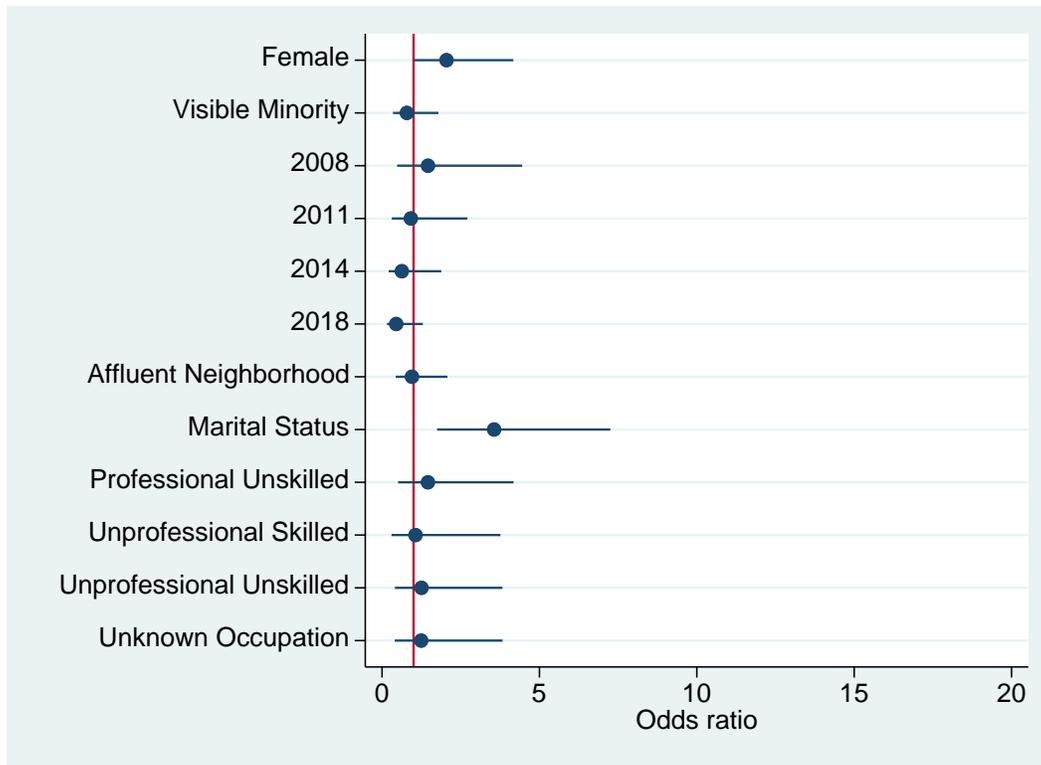
Note: \*p < 0.1, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01, The LR test is compared to the null model.

According to Model 1, the odds for women to win are (exp (0.68)) 1.95 times higher than for men in Vancouver municipal elections (see also Figure 3). This finding is statistically significant at a p<0.05 significance level. Thus, in general, women tend to fare better in city councilor elections than men in the city of Vancouver.



**Figure 3. Odds Ratio Plot for Model 1**

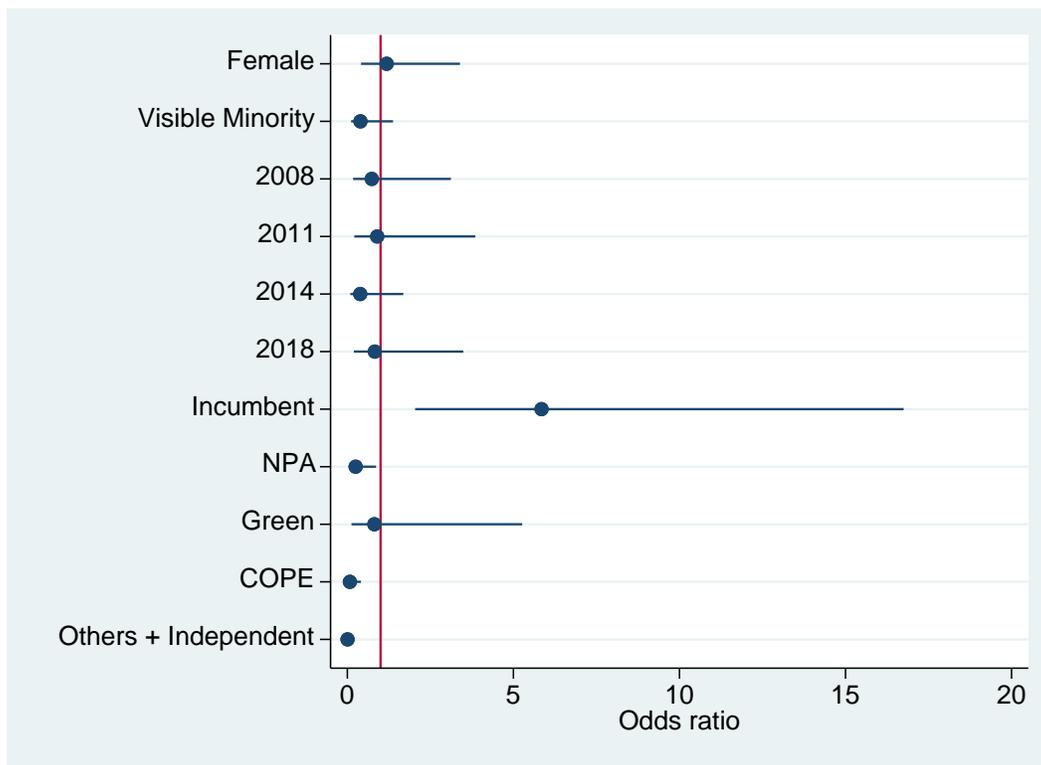
When socioeconomic factors in addition to gender and visible minority status are taken into consideration in Model 2, the odds for women to win are 2.06 times higher than for their male counterparts, all else equal (Figure 4). In the same model, there is another statistically significant finding. The odds for candidates who mention their marital or parental status publicly to win are 3.52 times higher than the odds for those who do not, all else equal. From Model 2, we can say that stating family ties publicly has a positive effect on city councilor candidates and that women are still more likely to win than men when socioeconomic factors are taken into consideration.



**Figure 4. Odds Ratio Plot for Model 2**

In Model 3, when political variables are taken into consideration along with gender and visible minority status, there are four statistically significant findings. The first one is the relationship between incumbency and being elected. When all else is equal, the odds for incumbent candidates to win are 5.94 times higher than the odds for their non-incumbent counterparts (Figure 5). This finding is statistically significant at a  $p < 0.01$  significance level. Secondly, the odds of winning for NPA candidates are 75 percent smaller than those from Vision Vancouver when all else is equal. This finding is statistically significant at a  $p < 0.05$  significance level. Third, candidates from COPE are 92 percent smaller than Vision Vancouver candidates when all else is equal. This finding is statistically significant at a  $p < 0.01$  significance level. Finally, the chances of candidates who belong to less established political parties (i.e. parties other than Vision Vancouver, NPA, Green Party of Vancouver, and COPE) and independent candidates to win are 99 percent smaller than candidates from Vision Vancouver when all else is equal (Figure 5). This finding is also statistically significant at a  $p < 0.01$  significance level. The findings from Model 3 are in line with existing electoral politics literature discussed in the theory section that incumbency plays a highly positive role in a candidate's chance of getting elected. The effect for women is small and no longer significant in this model

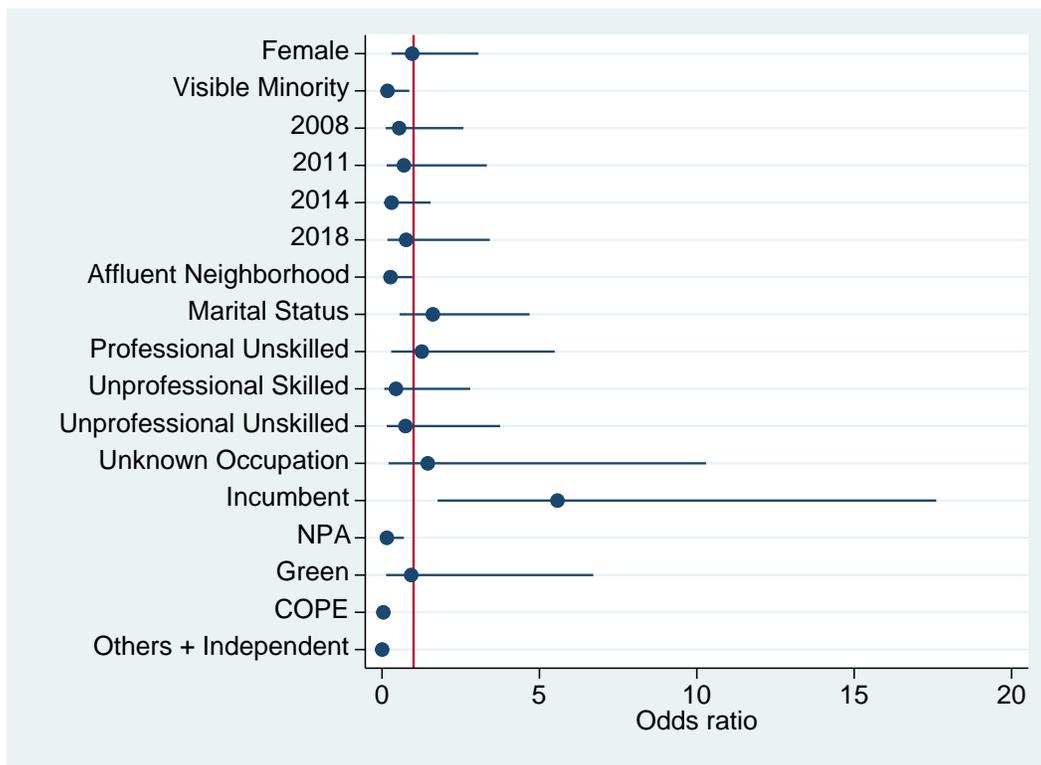
compared to the effect of incumbency. This is because female candidates are more likely to be already incumbents at the time of running according to the t-test results between candidates' gender and their socioeconomic variables (Table 8). They are also more likely to be candidates for Vision Vancouver (idem). These findings partially support the third hypothesis as women who run are more qualified than men considering socioeconomic and political factors with an exception of occupation data which shows mixed results. The findings regarding the relationship between candidates' election outcomes and their party affiliations also confirm the significant influence of Vision Vancouver in the city's municipal politics. City councilors from the Vision Vancouver party dominated Vancouver's city council until the 2018 elections when no Vision candidate was elected.



**Figure 5. Odds Ratio Plot for Model 3**

In the final model (Model 4), there are six statistically significant findings. First, the chances of visible minority candidates to win are 83 percent smaller than white candidates when all else is equal (Figure 6). This finding is statistically significant at a  $p < 0.05$  significance level. Secondly, the chances of candidates who lived in affluent neighborhoods to win are 73 percent smaller than those who did not when all else is equal. This finding is statistically significant at a  $p < 0.05$  significance level. Third,

candidates who were incumbent at the time of elections were 5.65 times more likely to win than non-incumbent candidates when all else is equal. This finding is statistically significant at a  $p < 0.01$  significance level. Next, the chances of candidates who belonged to the NPA were 85 percent smaller than those who belonged to Vision Vancouver when all else is equal. This finding is statistically significant at a  $p < 0.05$  significance level. In addition, candidates who belonged to COPE were 96 percent less likely to win than those from Vision Vancouver when all else is equal. This finding is statistically significant at a  $p < 0.01$  significance level. Finally, the chances of candidates who were representing less established political parties and independent candidates were virtually 100 percent smaller than candidates from Vision Vancouver. This finding is statistically significant at a  $p < 0.01$  significance level.



**Figure 6. Odds Ratio Plot for Model 4**

In general, visible minority candidates are much less likely to reside in affluent neighborhoods than white candidates, a socioeconomic factor in line with those who win the elections (Table 9). This finding rejects hypothesis 4 since these candidates overall have a lower socioeconomic status than white candidates, except for party affiliation.

For the gender portion of hypothesis 2, the statement that there is a lack of “qualified” women elected to the Vancouver city council is simply rejected as women fare the best in terms of electoral success according to Model 1 and elected female councilors have better socioeconomic backgrounds as well as political experience than men. However, results support hypothesis 3 that female candidates who run are generally more qualified than men.

## Chapter 5.

### Conclusion

In this project, I examined to what extent and how socioeconomic and political factors derived from the supply and demand literature on political representation contribute to the underrepresentation or lack thereof of women and visible minorities in Vancouver municipal politics, particularly on the Vancouver city council. A supply-side problem results in the lack of women and minority representation when there are not enough “qualified” women and visible minorities (i.e. those who have high social, economic, or political status) running for office. A demand-side problem occurs when party officials act as gatekeepers discouraging women and visible minorities from running for office.

I tested four hypotheses in this study. The first hypothesis is that there is an underrepresentation of women and visible minorities on the Vancouver city council because party activities employed by local political party elites discourage them from obtaining candidacy. Although white women have the best chance of getting elected, they still face gendered discrimination such as negative biases associated with motherhood. Visible minority candidates, regardless of their gender, face racialized discrimination such as traditional recruitment networks and not being actively sought after by recruitment officials. Interview data also strongly supported the idea that there is no demand for visible minority candidates by local political parties as most interviewees agreed that visible minority status still serves as a major disadvantage in the recruitment process.

Such gendered and racialized experiences contribute to the underrepresentation of women and visible minorities in Vancouver municipal politics. These findings partially support the first hypothesis for visible minorities. Since there is no underrepresentation of women on the city council, the first hypothesis does not hold for women.

The second hypothesis is that the electoral underrepresentation stems from a lack of qualified female and visible minority candidates running in municipal elections. The third hypothesis states that according to Black and Johnson’s compensation model, women who run have better socioeconomic and political backgrounds than men.

Similarly, the fourth hypothesis states that visible minorities who run have better socioeconomic and political backgrounds than men.

The second hypothesis is only partially supported (i.e. only for visible minority candidates) as female candidates running for Vancouver city council have stronger socioeconomic and political backgrounds than men, rejecting the idea that there are not enough “qualified” women running. In fact, data show that there is also no underrepresentation of women. Findings support the third hypothesis as women also tend to have relevant political experience before running, making them more qualified candidates compared to their male counterparts. In addition, I found that the incumbency factor particularly matters for women.

The fourth hypothesis is rejected as visible minority candidates have weaker socioeconomic and political backgrounds compared to their white counterparts. For instance, visible minority candidates face significant barriers such as financial resources, time availability, name recognition, and not belonging to the party’s sociopolitical networks.

Overall, I found that in Vancouver, gender underrepresentation is a less serious issue than visible minority underrepresentation. In fact, women have the best chance of getting elected as long as they are white women. Those who suffer the most during the recruitment and campaigning periods are visible minorities, especially visible minority women. For the past 15 years, no visible minority woman has been elected to Vancouver city council.

While researching theories on the electoral representation of women and visible minorities, I found that literature strongly suggests a connection between the type of municipal political system and gender and racial representation. I briefly discussed how the at-large electoral system of Vancouver might contribute to the underrepresentation problem. An interviewee also brought up the connection between at-large systems and women and visible minority underrepresentation. Therefore, further research on the role of different types of electoral systems on the representation of women and visible minority councilors in Vancouver municipal politics is recommended.

During the interview process, all women interviewees spoke to how existing women representation, whether it is being recruited by a woman party official or being

mentored by a woman politician, helped them become involved in local electoral politics. This link between the gender of party officials and mentors and women's representation in municipal politics is also recommended as further research. Due to the time constraint, I was only able to study women and visible minority representation on the city council. To get a more comprehensive evaluation of such representation in municipal politics, I recommend further research on this issue among the park board and school trustee candidates as it might provide different insights on whether women and visible minorities are more represented in less prestigious offices compared to the city council.

From both literature on municipal electoral representation and the research findings, especially from the interview data, it is apparent that there still is a long way to go for political parties in terms of ensuring the recruitment and campaigning processes are fully considerate of unique barriers faced by women and visible minorities. I hope that local political parties and policymakers will use the findings from this project to create more inclusive and accessible electoral processes to better represent women and visible minorities in Vancouver's municipal politics.

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# Appendix

## Study Details

### 1. Introduction

Project Title: "Candidate Recruitment in Vancouver Municipal Elections"

Principal Investigator: Bella Aung, Master's Student, Department of Political Science, Simon Fraser University.

Senior Supervisor: Dr. Eline de Rooij, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Simon Fraser University.

Location of Study: Vancouver, BC, Canada.

### 2. Summary of Proposed Research

The purpose of this research is to compare and evaluate the candidate recruitment process for different local political parties in the city of Vancouver. This research will be a mixed-method study using a combination of the statistical analysis of secondary data on candidates and a content analysis of data derived from semi-structured interviews with a small number of party officials as well as city councilors. The quantitative approach will allow me to test how different candidates have different probabilities of winning office depending on their qualifications. I will use Stata to run the regressions. I will supplement the regression results with the data obtained from semi-structured interviews with party officials who are in charge of the recruitment and nomination processes and city councilors. Each interview will last from one to one and a half hours. Questions will aim to determine what each interviewee perceives an ideal candidate should be, his or her party's current recruitment and nomination policies, and various consequences that the recruitment process may have on candidates of different gender and ethnic backgrounds.

### 3. Prospective Participants Information

Description of the study population: Participants include Vancouver's city councilors and municipal political party officials who are involved in the candidate recruitment and nomination process for their respective parties.

Inclusion criteria: Participants must be 19 years old and above and must either currently hold or have held a recruitment related position with a Vancouver municipal political party, or currently serve as a city councilor.

Exclusion criteria: Participants under 19 years old are excluded from this project.

Number of participants: The study will approximately target five to ten participants.

Time dedicated to participation: Each interview will last between one hour and one and a half hours.

### 4. Recruitment Methods

City councilors will be recruited through the Chief of Staff to Vancouver's Mayor. Party officials will be recruited either from the official websites and social media pages of Vancouver's political parties available to the public or by asking councilors after the interview to put me in touch with relevant people. The principal investigator will first email potential participants and may call if needed to recruit them for interviews. The recruitment email draft is submitted as a separate document to the SFU Office of Research Ethics. No incentive is offered for participation in this study.

### 5. Obtaining Consent

The principal investigator will provide all potential participants with a Consent Form at the beginning of the meeting to check whether they agree to be interviewed and/or recorded. It will be made clear before the interview process that participation is voluntary. Participants have the right to refuse to answer any questions and withdraw participation at any time if they wish. Participants who

agreed to be contacted for follow-up questions may be contacted by the principal investigator if necessary.

## 6. Potential Benefits

This research will help Vancouver political parties and the public understand more about the behind the scenes procedures of the municipal elections. It will also contribute to further research on how parties in Vancouver can strive towards a more balanced and representative municipal government.

## 7. Potential Risks

There are no foreseeable risks in participating in this research project as interviewees. Therefore, this project can be reviewed as minimal risk.

## 8. Risks to Researchers

There are no foreseeable risks for researchers in conducting this project. All interviews will take place in the Metro Vancouver area at a public venue of the interviewee's choice.

## 9. Participant Confidentiality Measures

The confidentiality of participants will be maintained by the following means:

- Password-protecting interview transcripts and audio recordings
- Storing the transcripts and recordings in secure SFU Vault
- Destroying audio recordings three years after the principal investigator's Master's project defense
- Keeping participants unnamed unless requested otherwise
- Not specifying the party that the participants are affiliated with, and only mentioning their position either as councilors or as recruitment officials

- In the event that interview data is uploaded to online repositories, all information that could identify the participants will be stripped off.

#### 10. Data Stewardship Plan

Raw data will be downloaded to the Principal Investigator's computer, which is password protected. All databases, transcripts, and audio files will also be password protected. Only the Principal Investigator and Senior Supervisor will have access to the interview data.

#### 11. Future Use of Data

The results of this research will be presented at a public project defense at Simon Fraser University. They might also be presented at academic conferences and published in peer-reviewed academic journals.

#### 12. Dissemination of Results

The research will be available to all participants upon completion. Participants will have to email the Principal Investigator at [...] to obtain their copy.

### **Consent Form for Councilors**

Candidate Recruitment in Vancouver Municipal Elections

Principal Investigator: Bella Aung

Master's Student

Political Science Department

[...]

Senior Supervisor: Dr. Eline de Rooij  
Associate Professor  
Political Science Department  
[...]

#### Invitation and Study Purpose

This research project is a requirement to complete the Master's Degree Program for the Principal Investigator. It aims to compare and evaluate the candidate recruitment process of different local political parties in the city of Vancouver. In order to examine this, conducting semi-structured interviews with city councilors is essential. Therefore, I would like you to participate in this study.

#### Voluntary Participation

Your participation is voluntary, and you have the right to refuse to participate in this study or to stop participating anytime during the interview.

#### Study Procedure

The interview consists of open-ended questions, and it will last between one hour and one and a half hours. Upon obtaining your permission, the interview will be recorded to better facilitate the processing of data. You have the right to say no to being recorded.

#### Potential Risks

There are no foreseeable risks for participating in this research project.

#### Potential Benefits

By participating, you will be contributing to the literature on how local political parties in Vancouver can strive towards a more balanced and representative municipal government.

## Compensation

You will not be compensated for your involvement in this research.

## Confidentiality

Your name and the party will not be released or used in the project without your consent. Only your position as a city councilor will be mentioned. Interview transcripts and recordings will be protected by a password and stored in SFU Vault, a secure encrypted online storage provided by SFU. Only the principal investigator and her project supervisor will have access to this data. In the event that interview data is uploaded to online repositories, all information that could identify the participants will be stripped off. - Password-protecting interview transcripts and audio recordings. Audio recordings will be destroyed three months after the principal investigator's Master's project defense.

## Study Results

The research will be available to all participants upon completion. You will have to email the Principal Investigator at [...] to obtain a copy.

## Questions

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to contact Bella Aung at [...].

## Complaints and Concerns

If you have any complaints or concerns as a participant of this research, you may contact Dr. Jeffrey Toward, Director, Office of Research Ethics, Simon Fraser University, at [...].

## Future Use of Data

The findings of the project will be presented at Simon Fraser University for a project defense and will potentially be published and/or presented in academic venues.

## Future Contact

If you agree to be contacted for follow-up interviews, the principal investigator may contact you in the future.

## Participant Consent and Signature

I consent to participate in this study.

YES  NO

I consent that the interview is recorded.

YES  NO

I wish to remain unnamed.

YES  NO

I agree to be contacted for follow-up interviews.

YES  NO

Participant Name      Participant Signature      Date (yyyy/mm/dd)

Principal Investigator Name      P.I. Signature      Date (yyyy/mm/dd)

## Consent Form for Recruitment Personnel

Candidate Recruitment in Vancouver Municipal Elections

Principal Investigator:      Bella Aung

Master's Student

Political Science Department

[...]

Senior Supervisor: Dr. Eline de Rooij  
Associate Professor  
Political Science Department  
[...]

#### Invitation and Study Purpose

This research project is a requirement to complete the Master's Degree Program for the Principal Investigator. It aims to compare and evaluate the candidate recruitment process of different local political parties in the city of Vancouver. In order to examine this, conducting semi-structured interviews with municipal party officials who are involved in candidate recruitment and nomination processes is essential. Therefore, I would like you to participate in this study.

#### Voluntary Participation

Your participation is voluntary, and you have the right to refuse to participate in this study or to stop participating anytime during the interview.

#### Study Procedure

The interview consists of open-ended questions, and it will last between one hour and one and a half hours. Upon obtaining your permission, the interview will be recorded to better facilitate the processing of data. You have the right to say no to being recorded.

#### Potential Risks

There are no foreseeable risks for participating in this research project.

#### Potential Benefits

By participating, you will be contributing to the literature on how local political parties in Vancouver can strive towards a more balanced and representative municipal government.

## Compensation

You will not be compensated for your involvement in this research.

## Confidentiality

Your name and the party will not be released or used in the project without your consent. Only your position title within your party will be mentioned. Interview transcripts and recordings will be protected by a password and stored in SFU Vault, a secure encrypted online storage provided by SFU. Only the principal investigator and her project supervisor will have access to this data. In the event that interview data is uploaded to online repositories, all information that could identify the participants will be stripped off. Audio recordings will be destroyed three months after the principal investigator's Master's project defense.

## Study Results

The research will be available to all participants upon completion. You will have to email the Principal Investigator at [...] to obtain a copy.

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If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to contact Bella Aung at [...].

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### Future Contact

If you agree to be contacted for follow-up interviews, the principal investigator may contact you in the future.

### Participant Consent and Signature

I consent to participate in this study.

YES  NO

I consent that the interview is recorded.

YES  NO

I wish to remain unnamed.

YES  NO

I agree to be contacted for follow-up interviews.

YES  NO

Participant Name      Participant Signature      Date (yyyy/mm/dd)

Principal Investigator Name      P.I. Signature      Date (yyyy/mm/dd)

### Initial Contact Email for Councilors

MM/DD/YYYY

Dear Councilor -----,

My name is Bella Aung and I am a Master's Student in Political Science at Simon Fraser University. I am writing to invite you to participate in a research project on the candidate recruitment process of local political parties in Vancouver municipal elections. The supervisor for this project is Dr. Eline de Rooij, an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, Simon Fraser University.

As a recently elected city councilor and given your experience with running for political office, I believe that you are ideally positioned to discuss this very important topic and I would love to chat with you and learn more about your point of view. In addition, your contribution will help Vancouver political parties and the public understand more about the behind the scenes procedures of the municipal elections. The interview will last between one hour and one and a half hours. Your participation is voluntary, and you have the right to skip any questions or stop participating at any moment. Your confidentiality will be maintained unless you specifically choose to reveal your identity in the research paper. Only my supervisor and I will have access to the interview data.

I would really love to set up an interview, preferably in person. I am flexible in terms of the venue and can meet you in a public space most convenient for you, including the city hall. Thank you again for your kind help, and I look forward to hearing from you!

Best Wishes,

Bella

Bella Aung

M.A. Political Science (Candidate)

Department of Political Science

Simon Fraser University

**Initial Contact Email for Recruitment Personnel**

MM/DD/YYYY

Dear -----,

My name is Bella Aung and I am a Master's Student in Political Science at Simon Fraser University. I am writing to invite you to participate in a research project on the candidate recruitment process of local political parties in Vancouver municipal elections. The supervisor for this project is Dr. Eline de

Rooij, an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, Simon Fraser University.

Because of your professional experience with this topic through your work with the ---- party, I would be very grateful if you meet me for an interview. Your contribution will help Vancouver political parties and the public understand more about the behind the scenes procedures of the municipal elections. The interview will last between one hour and one and a half hours. Your participation is voluntary, and you have the right to skip any questions or stop participating at any moment. Your confidentiality will be maintained unless you specifically choose to reveal your identity in the research paper. Only my supervisor and I will have access to the interview data.

If you agree to participate, please contact me at [...]. All interviews will take place in the Metro Vancouver area at a public venue of your choice. You can also meet me at SFU Burnaby Campus or at SFU Harbor Center Campus. Thank you very much for your time and for your consideration. I look forward to hearing from you.

Best Regards,

Bella Aung

M.A. Political Science (Candidate)

Department of Political Science

Simon Fraser University

### **Interview Guide for City Councilors**

1. Thank you for taking the time to chat with me. Will it be okay if I record this interview? We will start with a few quick questions about your professional background and how you became a councilor from there.

a. How do you think your professional background has helped in your journey of becoming an elected official at the Vancouver's city council?

2. How did you get involved with your political party?
  - a. What made you decide to run as a candidate with this political party, and how long have you been affiliated with this party?
  - b. Have you run for elected office with the same party before?
  - c. Have you held political office at any level of government?
  - d. Were you recruited to run for the councilor position specifically?
  - e. How much influence did the party have on your political journey?
  - f. Can you recall how the party reached out to you to recruit you as their councilor candidate?
3. In your opinion, what made you a good fit for the councilor position in the party's eyes?
  - a. Do you think your personal characteristics and qualifications made you a great councilor candidate for your party? Please explain.
  - b. How important is that a councilor candidate from your party has the following qualifications? (Follow up question to 2.a.)
    - i. has held local political office
    - ii. has been active in the party
    - iii. is a businessperson
    - iv. holds a university degree
    - v. speaks more than one language
    - vi. is a youth
    - vii. is financially well-off
    - viii. is a long-term resident of Vancouver

ix. is a community activist/volunteer

x. is well-known in Vancouver

c. Do you think your policy priorities in local politics made you a great councilor candidate for your party? Please explain.

d. As a recruited councilor candidate, what type of resources did your party offer to help with your campaign? I noticed that there were ----- councilor candidates who ran for the councilor position with your party. Was there any internal competition for the resources and support from your party among these candidates or were such resources distributed equally?

4. I have learned/read that ----- is your party's mission, and ----- and ----- are your party's core values. How do you continue to commit to these mission and core values now that you are serving in political office?

5. Let's talk about your party's history and election track record. I've noticed that -----candidates from your party were elected for the city councilor position during the last three elections. Among these three elections, the year ----- had the most success in terms of the number of councilors elected to the city council.

a. Why do you think your party was the most successful in that year?

b. Now that you are an elected official who has gone through both the recruitment process and serving on the city council, what do you think could be done to improve your party's track record of electing city councilors in the upcoming elections?

c. Do you intend to run for the city council again, with the same party or with a different party? If you were not to run for re-election, how likely are you to help your party identify a potential successor for your position?

6. From the most recent municipal elections, concerns were raised about the ethnic representativeness of Vancouver's elected officials. However,

improvements in gender representation have also been acknowledged. What are your thoughts on this topic?

a. Have you taken any action as an elected official to contribute to the representativeness and inclusiveness in the city's local politics? Can you give me some examples?

b. What has your party done to contribute to the representativeness and inclusiveness in its recruitment process for potential candidates?

c. Can you tell me what the party's current initiatives are, if any, to include women in the recruitment and/or nomination process?

d. What about your party's current initiatives, if there are any, to include visible minorities in the recruitment and/or nomination process?

e. Narrowing down your party's current initiatives to include visible minorities, do any of these initiatives specialize in visible minority women in the recruitment and/or nomination process?

f. From your personal experience with the recruitment process, could you tell me whether you think there are differences regarding recruiting white candidates and visible minority candidates?

g. What about the differences regarding recruiting male and female candidates, if you think there are any?

7. Let's conclude our conversation with some questions about your experience with the candidate recruitment process.

a. What was the most common challenge for you during candidate recruitment?

b. What would be your suggestions to address that challenge for future municipal elections?

c. What do you think your party's best strategies/approaches are in terms of the candidate recruitment process? Please discuss.

8. Would you mind answering a few short demographics questions? This will help me examine whether local parties share similar characteristics when it comes to personnel involved in recruitment. It is fine if you choose not to answer these questions.

- a. How old are you?
- b. What is/are your ethnic background(s)?
- c. What gender do you identify with?

Thank you very much for your time and contribution. I am very excited to have heard your experience both as a councilor candidate and now as an elected city councilor! Now that I have heard from an elected official's perspective, I am wondering if you know anyone from your party who could offer an administrative/logistics perspective of the candidate recruitment process that I could interview next. I will be happy to email you my research paper once I am finished with the thesis defense! Thanks again for your generous help!

### **Interview Guide for Recruitment Personnel**

1. Thank you for taking the time to chat with me. Will it be okay if I record this interview? We will start with a few quick questions about your professional background. What is your position within this political party, and how long have you worked in this position?
  - a. Could you briefly describe your main tasks and responsibilities?
  - b. Have you always held the same position at this party?
  - c. Have you had other professional experiences related to candidate recruitment and/or nomination in municipal elections?
  - d. Have you held political office at any level of government?
2. What does candidate recruitment generally look like for your party? Who is involved, and what kind of activities are employed?

a. How often is it that you or other party officials in charge of recruitment assigned a candidate to a specific position?

3. What are the main characteristics you look for in an ideal candidate?

a. Do you seek candidates with different characteristics and qualifications for different positions? (If yes, ask them to expand on this, and ask why the need for different qualities).

b. How important is that a candidate from your party has the following qualifications? (Follow up question to 2.a.)

i. has held local political office

ii. has been active in the party

iii. is a businessperson

iv. holds a university degree

v. speaks more than one language

vi. is a youth

vii. is financially well-off

viii. is a long-term resident of Vancouver

ix. is a community activist/volunteer

x. is well-known in Vancouver

4. Did your party's candidates for the city council highlight any specific policy priorities during the 2018 elections? Please list the top three.

5. What are your party's top three most important policy priorities in general? What are they? Please list the top three.

6. I have learned/read that ----- is your party's mission, and ----- and -----are your party's core values. How do elected officials from your party

continue to commit to these missions and core values while they are serving in political office?

7. Let's talk about your party's history and election track record. I've noticed that your party's candidates have done the best running for ----- position during the last three elections. (If the blank position is not councilor, ask a follow-up question on why councilor positions are not popular with the party's candidates). How satisfied are you in general with your party's performance in Vancouver municipal elections during your time with the party? Now, let's talk about your contribution to your party's candidate recruitment process.

- a. Which positions do candidates from your party run for the most?
- b. Do you prioritize recruitment for one position over another? Please explain.
- c. Was there a particularly good year for your party in terms of election results? Why do you think your party was the most successful in that year?
- d. Was there a particularly bad year for your party in terms of election results? Why do you think your party was the least successful in that year?
- e. What could be done to improve your party's performance in upcoming municipal elections?
- f. How often does an outgoing elected official from your party help identify a potential successor for his or her position?

8. From the most recent municipal elections, concerns were raised about the gender and ethnic representativeness of Vancouver's elected officials. What are your thoughts on this topic, and what has your party done to contribute to the representativeness and inclusiveness in its recruitment process?

- a. Can you tell me what the party's current initiatives are, if any, to include women in the recruitment and/or nomination process?
- b. What about your party's current initiatives, if there are any, to include visible minorities in the recruitment and/or nomination process?

c. Narrowing down your party's current initiatives to include visible minorities, do any of these initiatives specialize in visible minority women in the recruitment and/or nomination process?

d. Could you describe the similarities and differences regarding recruiting white women and visible minority women candidates?

e. Could you describe the similarities and differences regarding recruiting visible minority men and visible minority women candidates?

9. Let's conclude our conversation with some questions about your party's experience with candidate recruitment.

a. What is the most common challenge for your party regarding candidate recruitment?

b. What would be your strategies to address that challenge for future municipal elections?

c. What do you think your party's best strategies/approaches are in terms of the candidate recruitment process? Please discuss.

d. Do you have any recruitment related topics in mind that I haven't asked you yet and you would like to discuss?

10. Would you mind answering a few short demographics questions? This will help me examine whether local parties share similar characteristics when it comes to personnel involved in recruitment. It is fine if you choose not to answer these questions.

a. How old are you?

b. What is/are your ethnic background(s)?

c. What gender do you identify with?

Thank you very much for your time and contribution. Please feel free to email me if you'd like to obtain a copy of the research project when it is available.

## Quantitative Results

**Table A1: T-Test of Affluent Neighborhood Variable by Gender (DK dropped)**

	Men (mean)	Women (mean)	Difference
Affluent Neighborhood	0.26	0.35	-0.10

Note: \*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01, N=210

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

**Table A2: T-Test of Affluent Neighborhood Variable by Visible Minority Status (DK dropped)**

	White (mean)	Visible Minority (mean)	Difference
Affluent Neighborhood	0.36	0.16	0.20***

Note: \*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01, N=210

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

## Chi-Square Tests of Election Year by Gender and Visible Minority Status

According to Table A3, relatively more women ran than men in the 2018 elections, with 38 percent of all women running compared to 26 percent of all men. 2011 was the worst election year for women, with only 13 percent of all women running while 21 percent of all men ran. The association between election year and candidates' gender is not statistically significant.

**Table A3: Chi-Square Test of Election Year by Gender**

Election Year	Male	Female	Total
2005	14% (20)	18% (16)	16% (36)
2008	15% (21)	14% (12)	14% (32)
2011	21% (29)	13% (11)	18% (41)
2014	24% (33)	17% (15)	21% (48)
2018	26% (37)	38% (33)	31% (70)
Total	100% (140)	100% (87)	100% (227)

Chi-square test (4) = 5.52

Note: \*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01, N=227

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

In Table A4, the most recent 2018 elections saw the highest percentage of visible minority candidates, with 39 percent of all visible minority candidates since 2005. Visible minorities were most represented in candidacy in the 2018 elections, with 39 percent of all visible minorities running compared to 27 percent white. 2005 saw the worst visible minority representation among candidates as only 11 percent of all visible minorities ran

alongside 18 percent of white candidates. The association between election year and visible minority status is not statistically significant.

**Table A4: Chi-Square Test of Election Year by Visible Minority Status**

Election Year	White	Visible Minority	Total
2005	18% (28)	11% (8)	16% (36)
2008	15% (24)	11% (8)	14% (32)
2011	20% (32)	13% (9)	18% (41)
2014	19% (30)	26% (18)	21% (48)
2018	27% (43)	39% (27)	31% (70)
Total	100% (157)	100% (70)	100% (227)

Chi-square test (4) = 6.24

Note: \*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01, N=227

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

**Table A5: Logistic Regression Predicting Candidates' Being Elected (DK dropped as it predicts failure perfectly)<sup>4</sup>**

	Model 2	Model 4
	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Female	0.71 (0.37)*	-0.07 (0.60)
Visible Minority	-0.18 (0.43)	-1.76 (0.84)**
Year:		
2005	Ref.	Ref.
2008	0.41 (0.59)	-0.45 (0.83)
2011	0.02 (0.58)	-0.42 (0.81)
2014	-0.61 (0.57)	-1.20 (0.83)
2018	-0.96 (0.55)*	-0.36 (0.77)
Affluent Neighborhood:		
No	Ref.	Ref.
Yes	-0.14 (0.40)	-1.34 (0.65)**
DK	0 (empty)	0 (empty)
Mention of Marital or Parental Status	1.15 (0.37)***	0.41 (0.54)
Occupation:		
Professional Skilled	Ref.	Ref.
Professional Unskilled	0.31 (0.55)	0.07 (0.77)
Non-Professional Skilled	-0.11 (0.65)	-0.87 (0.94)
Non-Professional Unskilled	0.04 (0.58)	-0.37 (0.85)
Don't Know	0.24 (0.59)	0.35 (1.01)
Incumbency		1.65 (0.59)***
Party Name:		
Vision Vancouver		Ref.
NPA		-1.72 (0.78)**
Green		-0.04 (1.01)
COPE		-3.20 (0.98)***
Others and Independent		-5.67 (1.31)***
N	210	210
Pseudo R2	0.10	0.52
-2loglikelihood (df)	207.16 (12)	109.62 (17)
LR chi2	23.36**	120.91***

Source: data collected by the author from public websites.

Note: \*p < 0.1, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01, The LR test is compared to the null model.

<sup>4</sup> No candidate coded in the DK category of affluent neighborhood variable won the election.