

**OBSTACLES AND OPPORTUNITIES: THE  
EXPERIENCES OF FEMALE COUNCILLOR  
CANDIDATES IN METROPOLITAN VANCOUVER  
AND OTTAWA  
1999-2006**

By

Denisa Gavan-Koop

B.A. (Honours), University of Calgary, 2005

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS  
In the Faculty  
of  
Political Science

@ Denisa Gavan-Koop 2007  
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY  
Fall 2007

All rights reserved. This work may not be  
reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy  
or other means, without the permission of the author.

## **APPROVAL**

**Name:** Denisa Gavan  
**Degree:** Master of Arts, Department of Political Science  
**Title of Thesis:** Obstacles and Opportunities: The Experiences of  
Female Councillor Candidates in Metropolitan  
Vancouver and Ottawa – 1999-2007

**Examining Committee:**

**Chair:**

---

**Dr. Lynda Erickson, Professor**  
Department of Political Science

---

**Dr. Patrick Smith, Professor**  
Senior Supervisor  
Department of Political Science

---

**Dr. H Peter Oberlander, OC, Professor Emeritus**  
University British Columbia;  
Supervisor Adjunct Professor,  
Department of Political Science

---

**Dr. Caroline Andrew, Professor**  
External Examiner  
Department of Political Science, University of Ottawa

**Date Defended/Approved:**

---

December 6<sup>th</sup>, 2007



SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY

## Declaration of Partial Copyright Licence

The author, whose copyright is declared on the title page of this work, has granted to Simon Fraser University the right to lend this thesis, project or extended essay to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users.

The author has further granted permission to Simon Fraser University to keep or make a digital copy for use in its circulating collection (currently available to the public at the "Institutional Repository" link of the SFU Library website <[www.lib.sfu.ca](http://www.lib.sfu.ca)> at: <<http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/handle/1892/112>>) and, without changing the content, to translate the thesis/project or extended essays, if technically possible, to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation of the digital work.

The author has further agreed that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by either the author or the Dean of Graduate Studies.

It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without the author's written permission.

Permission for public performance, or limited permission for private scholarly use, of any multimedia materials forming part of this work, may have been granted by the author. This information may be found on the separately catalogued multimedia material and in the signed Partial Copyright Licence.

While licensing SFU to permit the above uses, the author retains copyright in the thesis, project or extended essays, including the right to change the work for subsequent purposes, including editing and publishing the work in whole or in part, and licensing other parties, as the author may desire.

The original Partial Copyright Licence attesting to these terms, and signed by this author, may be found in the original bound copy of this work, retained in the Simon Fraser University Archive.

Simon Fraser University Library  
Burnaby, BC, Canada



**SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY**  
**THINKING OF THE WORLD**

## STATEMENT OF ETHICS APPROVAL

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

(a) Human research ethics approval from the Simon Fraser University Office of Research Ethics,

or

(b) Advance approval of the animal care protocol from the University Animal Care Committee of Simon Fraser University;

or has conducted the research

(c) as a co-investigator, in a research project approved in advance,

or

(d) as a member of a course approved in advance for minimal risk human research, by the Office of Research Ethics.

A copy of the approval letter has been filed at the Theses Office of the University Library at the time of submission of this thesis or project.

The original application for approval and letter of approval are filed with the relevant offices. Inquiries may be directed to those authorities.

Bennett Library  
Simon Fraser University  
Burnaby, BC, Canada

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis explores the electoral representation of female councillors in municipal politics in two major Canadian regions: Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa from 1999 to 2006. Certain obstacles and opportunities affect the number of female candidates that campaign for local office and are elected to municipal councils. I argue that the size of the electoral jurisdiction, the presence of political parties, and the presence of campaign finance regulations are three key variables that shape the opportunities of female candidates when contesting municipal office.

The thesis demonstrates that the experiences of women candidates are profoundly impacted by the contexts within which they contest local office and that these contexts must be accounted for when assessing the representation of women at the municipal level.

**Keywords:**

**Gender, Local Politics, Canada**

*For:*

*My mom, dad, grandma (“mamáita”)*

*and Royce*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Arriving at the end of my Masters program is the result of the inexhaustible encouragement, good humour and unfailing support of my loving husband Royce Koop. Thank you for believing in me and patiently standing beside me. The MA program was quite a rollercoaster ride, but you helped me hang on tight.

I am deeply indebted to Paddy Smith for his help and encouragement in writing this thesis. Paddy showed me the fascinating world of local politics and made me believe one person can really make a difference. I have come to admire his commitment to his community and “doing what’s right” and have greatly appreciated his kindness and guidance over the past year. I am also indebted to the professors’ without whose influence I would never have entered graduate school, Dr. Harasymiw and Dr. Coleman at the University of Calgary, both of whose guidance and encouragement helped me along the way.

To everyone that agreed to be interviewed for my study, my grateful thanks for your time and insight.

The department of political science at Simon Fraser University is also very lucky to have such kind and capable administrative staff in the form of Laura Sparrow, Eliza So, Sherry Lloyd and Lynn Kool. I am especially grateful to Laura for her help during the end of my first year as a graduate student. Thanks for helping me see that there’s sunshine at the end of a cloudy day.

I want to thank my parents, Carmen Gavan and Adrian Gavan and my grandmother (“mamaita”) Didi who have helped me get to where I am today. They have passed onto me their love, their faith and their ethics. They made me believe that with hard work and dedication anything is possible. I am deeply grateful for everything they have given me and all the opportunities they have afforded to me.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval .....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Ackowldgements.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Tables .....	ix
List of Figures.....	x
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
Independent Variables.....	4
Thesis Structure.....	11
Chapter 2 The Presence of Women in Canadian Politics and the Theory of Representation .....	13
Chapter Objective.....	13
Theoretical Background .....	13
Women in Canadian Politics.....	17
Obstacles to the Participation of Women in Municipal Government .....	26
The Advantages of the Presence of Women in Municipal Politics.....	30
CONCLUSION .....	30
Chapter 3 Methodology .....	33
Chapter Objective.....	33
Municipalities in Study: Problems And Limitations .....	33
Interivew Candidates: Problems and Limitations.....	37
Analytical Structure .....	39
Chapter 4 The Gender Representation of Women and Size of Municipality .....	40
Chapter Objective.....	40
Literature Review .....	40
Women In Small, Medium And Large Municipalities In Metropolitan Vancouver And Ottawa.....	45
Small Municipalities .....	47

Large and Medium Municipalities.....	49
Conclusion .....	55
Chapter 5 The Gender Representation of Women and Municipal Political Parties .....	58
Chapter Objective.....	58
Literature Analysis .....	59
Women in Political Parties: International And National Perspective.....	61
Political Parties In Metropolitan Vancouver And Their Absence In Ottawa .....	65
The Inclusion of Women In Municipal Political Parties.....	67
Municipal Political Parties as Agents of Opportunity for Women .....	69
Municipal Political Parties Providing Obstacles for Women.....	72
Conclusion .....	77
Chapter 6 The Gender Representation of Women and Municipal Campaign Financing.....	79
Chapter Objective.....	79
Literature Review .....	79
Municipal Election Campaign Regulations.....	84
Female Politicians And Municipal Campaign Finance In British Columbia And Ontario .....	86
Conclusion.....	94
Chapter 7 Conclusion .....	96
Size of Electoral Jurisdiction .....	96
Presence and Absence Of Municipal Political Parties .....	97
Campaign Finance Regime.....	98
Conclusion.....	99
Appendix A.....	101
Appendix B Consent Form:.....	110
Bibliography .....	112

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 - Population of Six Municipalities in Metropolitan Vancouver .....	7
Table 1.2 – Population of Nine Ottawa Wards Pre-Amalgamation and Post-Amalgamation.....	7
Table 2.1 - Women in Politics: International Comparison.....	18
Table 2.2 - Women in the Canadian Parliament Since 1984 .....	20
Table 2.3 Women in the Legislative Assembly in British Columbia from 1983 to 2005 .....	21
Table 2.4 Women in Each Provincial Legislature from 1978 to 2007 .....	22
Table 2.5 - Male/Female Municipal Statistics, 2006 .....	24
Table 2.6 - Women on the Greater Vancouver Regional District Municipal Councils.....	25
Table 2.7 - Women on the Fraser Valley RD Municipal Councils .....	26
Table 4.3 – Average Percentage of Females on Council and Average of Female Councillors in the Metropolitan Vancouver and the City of Ottawa (1996-2005).....	46
Table 5.1 Major Municipal Political Parties in the Lower Mainland .....	66
Table 5.2: Percentage of Female Candidates and Female Winners in Party Systems and No Party Systems (1996-2006).....	68

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Map of Metropolitan Vancouver.....	34
Figure 1.2: Map of the Wards in the City of Ottawa (Post-Amalgamation) .....	37
Figure 4.1: Percentage of Female Candidates by Population in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa.....	45
Figure 4.2: Percentage of Female Winners by Population in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa .....	46

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines gender representation in municipal politics in two major Canadian regions: Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa. This study suggests that there are certain obstacles and opportunities that affect the number of female candidates that campaign for council and the number of women that are elected as municipal councillors. The study examines three factors that appear to impact as both obstacles and opportunities for females in municipal politics – the size of electoral jurisdiction, the presence of political parties and campaign finance regulations.

There is a perception that it is easier for women to achieve electoral success in municipal government than in other levels of government. This is based on the belief that there are less challenging obstacles that female candidates must overcome at the local level (Smith, 2006: 19-21). Despite advancements, however, “significant barriers remain to women’s substantive representation in formal areas of political deliberation and decision-making” (Trimble and Arscott, 2003: 45). The plateau reached in the number of women in Canadian politics in the 21 century presents an interesting dilemma. We remain “still counting” the number of female politicians in the absence of the achievement of equality.

For women to achieve equality in the legislatures according to Linda Trimble and Jane Arscott, women need to comprise 60 percent or even higher. Currently in Canada this goal has not been reached. (Trimble and Arscott, 2003: 126). There are currently 64

female Members of Parliament (20.8 percent) in the House of Commons<sup>1</sup>. Women currently comprise 20.2 percent of members of provincial legislatures in Canada.<sup>2</sup> At the local level, there are currently 16.7 percent female mayors and 26.3 percent female councillors.<sup>3</sup>

The rich data available on women in politics demonstrate that females remain substantially underrepresented in public office compared to other countries. Internationally, Canada is not progressive in electing women to the ranks of political office. Women comprise just 20.8 per cent of members of Parliament, placing Canada 48th out of 148 countries for the percentage of women in national politics.<sup>4</sup> And with women's representation in local government standing at 21.7 percent, Canada lags behind Chile at 48 percent, Sweden at 42 percent, Bolivia at 34 percent and Finland at 31 percent (Maclean, 2005).

Although studies completed between 1980 and 1997 found a substantial increase in female representation at the municipal level (Kushner, Siegel and Stanwick, 2000: 547), women have not reached equal representation with their male counterparts in municipal politics. Elizabeth Gidengil and Richard Vengroff's study of gender representation in Quebec's municipal politics offers an explanation for the low number of women elected to office; "Too often women achieve, at best, a token presence and the more desirable the council seat, the more likely the presence is to remain at token levels" (Gidengill and Vengroff, 1997: 537).

---

<sup>1</sup> See Table 2.2 (page 19)

<sup>2</sup> See Table 2.4 (page 21)

<sup>3</sup> See Table 2.5 (page 22-23)

<sup>4</sup> See Table 2.1 (page 16)

There are alternative explanations as to why it is easier for females to enter municipal politics and why being a municipal councillor or mayor is more attractive to women. It is suggested that local elected office does not involve the same dislocations as federal or provincial office and the time demands are not as heavy for municipal politicians so as to make work and family more compatible (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997: 514). Other factors that encourage females to enter municipal politics include the lower cost of municipal campaigns compared to provincial or federal campaigns and less time commitments for local councillors creating an advantage for women with families (Kushner, Siegel and Stanwick, 2000: 546). Caroline Andrew, in her study of women in Canadian politics, credits the increased involvement of women in municipal politics with the growing familiarity with the structure of local office and the increase of nonpartisan involvement. The author argues that women's increasing involvement in organizations like shelters for battered women, food banks and sexual assault crisis centres has brought women into contact with local government and municipal policy and have made women see the importance of municipal government (Andrew, 1995: 99).

The larger literature on women in municipal politics, however, leads us to believe that "where power is, women are not" (Vallance, 1982: 218). In other words, women often become candidates in communities where council membership is the least desirable, thus avoiding demanding competition with male counterparts. The "cosmopolitanism hypothesis" predicts that women will have more success at getting elected to local office in larger cities due to their diverse population and progressive politics (Gidengill and Vengroff, 1997: 517). According to this hypothesis more women should be elected in larger cities such as Vancouver and Ottawa and fewer women should be elected in small

to medium sized electoral units such as White Rock, Port Moody and in the Ottawa ward of Rideau-Vanier.

The literature on the electoral representation of women in politics highlights the obstacles that hinder women from achieving equality in the political arena. Many hypotheses advance certain expectations of where we should be seeing more women getting elected and why. These explanations also demonstrate how social-economic obstacles contribute to the marginalization of women, preventing them from entering into the political realm.

Based on an analysis of women in politics in Canada, this study has determined that there is a gap in the number of females that are elected to municipal, provincial and federal politics, with females being significantly underrepresented at the national level of government. Further study is needed to determine the nature and impact of such obstacles and the effects that they have on females entering municipal politics. The remainder of this chapter introduces three key variables and the reasons why these factors, acting as both obstacles and opportunities, deserve further study. These key variables are: the size of municipality, the presence and absence of municipal political parties and the role of campaign financing.

## **Independent Variables**

The first variable examined in the thesis is the size of municipality. This variable focuses on whether female candidates have a greater chance of success in small, medium or electoral jurisdictions. The main questions addressed are: does the size of electoral unit affect the number of female candidates for municipal office and does the size of municipality affect the success of female candidates?



The cosmopolitan hypothesis argues that more women should be elected in bigger cities due to their large and diverse population, progressive politics and acceptance of women in positions of authority (Gidengill and Vengroff, 1997: 517). If this hypothesis is correct more female councillors should get elected in large electoral units and fewer female councillors in smaller electoral units. Preliminary analysis, however, suggests the opposite. In small and medium size electoral units in Metropolitan Vancouver women make up 50% or more of the municipal councils. In contrast, large electoral jurisdictions such as Vancouver have fewer female councillors. For example, on the Port Moody city council, there are currently 4 female and 2 male councillors; in Lions Bay there are currently 3 female and 1 male councillors; and in Langley city there are currently 3 female and 3 male councillors. Comparatively, in the last municipal election in 2005 Vancouver elected 4 female councillors and 6 male councillors. These observations suggest that size of municipality does affect the number of women that are elected to municipal council. These are only preliminary observations, however. This thesis provides a detailed and thorough analysis of how size of municipality acts as both an obstacle and opportunity for females candidates.

The thesis examines large electoral jurisdictions in Metropolitan Vancouver (more than 100,000), medium electoral jurisdictions (50,000 – 100,000) and small electoral jurisdictions (less than 50,000) based on population statistics from the 2001 Canada census report.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the thesis examines large wards (more than 30,000), medium wards (10,000-30,000) and small wards (less than 10,000) based on population

---

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix A for a complete background and a map of each of the electoral jurisdictions in Metropolitan Vancouver focused on in this study.

statistics from the 2001 Canada census report.<sup>6</sup> Specifically, the thesis examines six electoral districts in Metropolitan Vancouver from 1999-2005. This timeframe captures three municipal elections (1999, 2002 and 2005). The study also looks at six wards in the Ottawa region before and after the 2001 Ottawa regional amalgamation: five large wards (more than 50,000) and one medium ward (30,000-50,000). The timeframe of this study captures three local elections (2000, 2003 and 2006).

Six electoral jurisdictions in Metropolitan Vancouver and six wards in the City of Ottawa were examined in terms of whether local governing size affect the percentage of women running for municipal council, the percentage of successful women that ran for council and the number of women elected as councillor compared to men. Quantitative techniques were utilized in this chapter to determine the relative effects of the size of local government unit. Data was also collected from secondary resources to determine the number of elected females and number of female candidates for municipal council in both city regions. Tables 1.1 and 1.2 lists the electoral jurisdictions used in the study, the population for each electoral unit and the size of each city. Table 1.1 lists the population in each electoral unit examined in Metropolitan Vancouver and Table 1.2 lists the wards in the city of Ottawa pre-amalgamation and post-amalgamation used in the study.

---

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix A for a complete background and a map of each of the wards in the City of Ottawa focused on in this study.

**Table 1.1 - Population of Six Municipalities in Metropolitan Vancouver<sup>7</sup>**

City	Population 2001	Population 2006	Percent Growth 2001-2006	Size
Vancouver	545,671	578,041	5.9	Large
Surrey	347,820	394,976	13.6	Large
Burnaby	193,954	202,799	4.6	Medium
Delta	96,950	96,723	-0.2	Medium
Port Coquitlam	51,257	52,687	2.8	Medium
Port Moody	23,816	27,512	15.5	Small

**Table 1.2 – Population of Nine Ottawa Wards Pre-Amalgamation and Post-Amalgamation<sup>8</sup>**

City	Population 1996 Pre-Amalgamation	Population 2001	Population 2006 Post-Amalgamation	Percent Growth 2001-2006	Size (Based on 2001 statistics)
Ottawa	721,136	774,072	877,300	13.3	Large
Bell-South Nepean	44,720 <sup>9</sup>	-----	-----	-----	-----
Barrhaven	-----	32,125	38,329	19.3	Large
Kanata	47,909 <sup>10</sup>	-----	-----	-----	-----
Kanata South	-----	38,350	41,853	-----	Large
Kanata North	-----	17,665	26,330	49.0	Medium
Gloucester-Southgate	44,900	44,405	47,388	8.1	Large
Kitchissippi	36,215	36,800	39,414	7.1	Large
River	41,139	44,665	49,552	10.9	Large

Ottawa currently has a ward system with 23 wards and BC municipalities are all at-large electoral jurisdictions.

The second independent variable in the study is the presence of political parties at the municipal level of government. In Metropolitan Vancouver there are some municipalities where political parties are present. For example, municipal candidates

<sup>7</sup> Statistics on population in British Columbia accessed from “British Columbia Municipal District 2006 Census Total Population Results”: [http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/cen06/mun\\_rd.asp](http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/cen06/mun_rd.asp) (Accessed Nov 6, 2007). Population statistics in Ontario accessed from

<sup>8</sup> Statistics on population in Ontario accessed from City of Ottawa website, “Population and Household estimates by new ward, July 1, 2006” [http://ottawa.ca/city\\_services/statistics/census/new\\_ward/ph\\_estimate\\_en.shtml](http://ottawa.ca/city_services/statistics/census/new_ward/ph_estimate_en.shtml) (Accessed Nov 6, 2007) and by the Social Planning Council of Ottawa “A Profile of Ottawa Population: Demographic Report 1996-2001” (November 2002).

<sup>9</sup> Prior to the amalgamation the Barrhaven ward was known as the ward of Bell-South Nepean

<sup>10</sup> Prior to the amalgamation there was only the Kanata ward, after the amalgamation the ward split into Kanata North and Kanata South

running for office in Vancouver, Surrey, Burnaby, Port Coquitlam, Delta and Port Moody may be representatives of a municipal political party.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, the Ottawa region does not have municipal parties.

There exists differing opinions as to whether political parties act to encourage or hinder women in getting elected to local government. In party systems, a woman must convince the gatekeepers that she is the “right” candidate to carry successfully the party banner (Erickson, 1993: 68). Others have argued that nonpartisan elections may actually create a barrier for women because candidates must rely on name recognition and financial resources (Welch and Karnig, 1979: 485). Political parties may give female candidates name recognition when she is identified with a certain political party brand.

Preliminary analysis shows that fewer women are elected in electoral jurisdictions where parties are a feature of the political landscape. In the city of Vancouver, the results of the past three local elections show that four women or fewer were elected to council out of ten councillor positions. The municipalities of Burnaby, Coquitlam and Delta also had an under representation of women on municipal council. The exception is the municipality of Surrey, British Columbia’s second largest municipality, where women have dominated council for the past three elections.

Vancouver and its surrounding municipalities and Ottawa and its surrounding wards provide an excellent comparison to investigate this phenomenon. The preliminary analysis suggests that political parties do encourage the success of female candidates. This particular section will utilize qualitative and quantitative analysis to determine the extent to which this variable shapes the electoral success of female candidates. Interviews

---

<sup>11</sup> See Table 5.1 (page 60) for a complete list of political parties in Metropolitan Vancouver.

were conducted with a number of successful and unsuccessful female councillor candidates to determine the extent to which political parties act as opportunities and obstacles. Interviews were conducted in six electoral units in Metropolitan Vancouver and six wards in the city of Ottawa.<sup>12</sup> In Metropolitan Vancouver, interviews were conducted in three large municipalities: Vancouver, Surrey, Burnaby; three medium municipalities: Delta, Port Coquitlam and one small municipality: Port Moody. In the City of Ottawa interviews were conducted in five large wards: Barrhaven, Kanata South, Gloucester-Southgate, Kitchissippi and River and one medium ward: Kanata North.

The final variable examined is the role of municipal campaign financing. This thesis makes a comparison between a regulated system of campaign finance in Ontario and an unregulated system of campaign finance in British Columbia. Metropolitan Vancouver and the city of Ottawa provide a good comparison because they are both socially diverse and economically vibrant regions. British Columbia is unique because it is one of the few provinces in Canada that has not implemented regulations, other than limited disclosure rules, that govern election campaign finance like those at the provincial and federal level. Ottawa has a regulated election campaign finance regime at the municipal and provincial level of government. These regulations, among others, provide restrictions on donations from individuals, corporations and unions and there are regulations on spending by candidates in each election.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix B to read the consent form submitted to each of the interview participants.

<sup>13</sup> The *Municipal Elections Act, 1996* provides the rules and regulations for municipal and school board elections. Individuals, trade unions and corporations are permitted to make contributions of up to \$750 in total to any candidate for all municipal office; however, there is a limit of \$2500 from all contributors for the office of the mayor of the city of Toronto. All candidates for council and regional council are governed by a spending limit of \$5000 plus 70 cents per voter. For more information, see the Municipal Elections 2006 Guide: <http://www.mah.gov.on.ca/Asset1432.aspx>

Linda Trimble and Jane Arscott, in their study of women in politics across Canada, argue that reformed election finance rules have made electoral competition more affordable for women (2003: 47). Many studies on campaign finance focus on the provincial and federal levels of government, often neglecting this topic at the municipal level. In Joseph Kushner, David Siegel and Hannah Stanwick's study on voting trends in Ontario's municipal elections from 1984 to 1994, they argue "at the provincial and federal levels, women may have less success at fund-raising if they lack lucrative contacts in the business world. They further explain that "finding backers at the local level is less a concern to many female municipal candidates" (Kushner, Siegel and Stanwick, 1997: 546). The authors state that at the municipal level females do not encounter problems related to campaign finance. They argue that these problems are minimal and do not shape the election of women to municipal government.

Preliminary analysis suggests that the unregulated campaign finance regime in BC municipalities may provide an obstacle for the electoral success of female candidates. Currently, a mayoral campaign in small and medium sized municipalities costs an average of \$50,000 and councillors' campaigns between \$5000 and \$8000 (Gavan and Smith, 2007: 16). In Vancouver, the most expensive campaign for councillor was during the 2005 local election. The candidate spent \$72,000. In the recent 2005 local election in the municipality of White Rock \$10,993.93 in donations were given by corporations to male candidates, compared to \$2910.43 that were given to female candidates by corporations. These observations suggest that campaign finance does shape the electoral success of female candidates in municipal politics. Further research and investigation will

determine whether campaign finance regime provides an obstacle for female candidates running for municipal office.

## **Thesis Structure**

The thesis is divided into six main sections which explore the above considerations in more depth. The *first* section introduces the study of the representation of women in municipal politics and a brief introduction to the three independent variables that are examined throughout the thesis. The *second* section provides an overview of methodology and how qualitative and quantitative methods will be used in the thesis. The *third, fourth and fifth* sections investigate how the size of municipalities, the presence of parties and the presence of a campaign finance regime affect the electoral representation of women in local politics in two large Canadian city regions. Specifically, the thesis examines the number and percentage of women elected as councillors compared to men and the percentage of female candidates who ran for the position of councillor. The *sixth and last section* of the thesis offers conclusions on the major findings of the study, and an evaluation of the determinants of electoral success for female candidates in municipal politics. The thesis also provides a comparative framework through which to conduct future research on the electoral representation of women in municipal politics.

The thesis is an up-to-date study of women in municipal politics while building on past studies that focus on women in local politics. *Second*, the thesis will examine the effect of campaign finance regulations on the success of female candidates in Metropolitan Vancouver and the City of Ottawa. Recent studies on women in municipal politics have not investigated the effect of the electoral finance regime on female candidates. British Columbia is one of the few provinces in Canada that has not

implemented regulations on donations and expenses of candidates at the municipal level. *Third*, a major feature of the thesis is the comparison between Metropolitan Vancouver and the city of Ottawa. The distinctive features of Metropolitan Vancouver are: its unregulated electoral finance regime, the presence of political parties in some of its municipalities, and the absence of a ward system. Comparatively, Ottawa and its surrounding wards are regulated by an electoral finance regime; there is an absence of parties and an absence of the ward system. This comparison provides a opportunity to investigate the effect of political parties, size of municipality and campaign finance regime on the electoral representation of women in municipal politics.

The following chapter provides an analysis of the presence of women in municipal, federal and provincial politics. It also explores the presence of females in politics in comparative international perspective to provide context for the discussion.



## **CHAPTER 2**

# **THE PRESENCE OF WOMEN IN CANADIAN POLITICS AND THE THEORY OF REPRESENTATION**

### **Chapter Objective**

In this chapter, an analysis of the presence of women in Canadian politics is presented. This includes an assessment of women in municipal politics, but also examines electoral representation of women in provincial and federal politics in Canada. To provide some content for this discussion, an international perspective of women in politics is presented. Before this, however, a theoretical background on democratic participation and the inclusion of women in the political forum is presented. This helps with identifying the obstacles and opportunities that females encounter in the political arena.

### **Theoretical Background**

It is suggested that it is easier for women to enter municipal politics than provincial and federal politics due to the different demands placed on municipal politicians (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997: 514). Some factors that encourage females to enter municipal politics include the lower cost of municipal campaigns compared to provincial or federal campaigns and fewer time commitments for local councillors thus creating an advantage for women with families (Kushner, Siegel and Stanwick, 1997: 546). Women's involvement in municipal politics is also attributed to their increased

familiarity with its structure and the non-partisan traditions which still predominate in municipal politics in Canada (Andrew, 1995: 99).

The literature on women in municipal politics suggests there are certain indicators that point to where there should be more women or fewer women. One such indicator suggests “where power is, women are not” (Vallance, 1982: 218-9).” Elisabeth Gidengil and Richard Vengroff, in their study of women’s representation of the municipal level in Quebec over the 1985-1995 period, argue that female politicians should face less intense political competition from their male counterparts when campaigning for councillor, since a seat on council typically lacks the power, status and financial benefits of other political office (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997: 514). According to this indicator there should be fewer female mayors in Canada and more female councillors.

The “cosmopolitanism hypothesis” predicts that women will have more success at getting elected to local office in larger cities due to its diverse population and ‘more progressive’ politics (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997: 514). According to this hypothesis, more women should be elected in larger cities such as Vancouver and Ottawa and fewer women should be elected in small to medium sized cities such as White Rock, Port Moody or Maple Ridge.

Louise Chappell, in her study of feminist engagement with political institutions in Australia and Canada, explains that a feminist’s choice of political action has to do with the influence of political institutions (Chappell, 2003: 6). Institutions can provide obstacles to advancement or can provide opportunities. The author examined political behaviour, specifically political opportunity structure (POS) and how feminists in Canada and Australia take advantage of existing opportunities or take initiatives to create

opportunities. According to Chappell, feminists decide to pursue their political agenda based on the perceived accessibility of the institution. She states that in Canada there is an enshrined equality guarantee in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms which encourages Canadian feminists to pursue their interests through litigation. Other feminists have found advantages in lobbying through an umbrella organization –such as the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) (Chappell, 2003: 6). In Australia, there is a tolerance for gender equality in the bureaucracy which has caused feminists to focus on a “femocrat strategy.” (Chappell, 2003: 6) This strategy began in the 1970s when feminists entered the bureaucracy to work as internal advocates on feminist policy issues such as in the women’s affairs agency in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (Chappell, 2003: 28-29).

Women are considered to be an underrepresented portion of the population when it comes to their involvement in politics. Some authors suggest that the under representation of women at all levels of politics creates a “democratic deficit” in our democracy (Canadian Federation of Municipalities, 2007). It is considered a democratic deficit because when there is low female representation in government arenas there is a loss of “insights and expertise” of half of the population (Canadian Federation of Municipalities, 2007). Rosabeth Moss Kantor, in her study of the effect of minority persons in group life, suggests that when women account for one third or more of a group’s members, their presence will become meaningful because they are able to form alliances and affect culture and interaction of the group (Kantor, 1977: 968). Much of the major arguments surrounding the democratic deficit are what Anne Phillips has called “demands for political presence”. In other words, demands for the equal representation of

women with men; demands for a more even-handed balance between different ethnic groups; and demands for the political inclusion of groups that have come to see themselves as marginalized or silenced or excluded (Phillips, 1995: 5).

Joseph F. Zimmerman, in his study on how electoral systems impact women and minorities, states that the underrepresentation of women and other members of minority groups results in three distinct undesirable consequences: important issues that effect minority groups receive little or no consideration during the policy-making process; minorities may become alienated from the political system and display less respect for laws enacted; and the fracturing of national unity (Zimmerman, 1994: 1). Arendt Lijphart addresses the political representation of non-class difference. To this end he argues that, “majority rule is not only undemocratic but also dangerous, because minorities that are continually denied access to power will feel excluded and discriminated against and will lose their allegiance to the regime (Lijphart, 1984: 22-3). Lijphart repeatedly stresses the unfairness of majoritarianism when applied to plural societies where the winner-takes-all practices are perceived as both dangerous and undemocratic. Robert Dahl suggests several criteria to test the health of a democracy. (Dahl, 1989: 108) One such criterium is how a community provides adequate and equal opportunity for effective participation in decisions that effect the community.

Demands for fixing the present disequilibrium with the underrepresentation of women can be seen in policies that encourage the transformation of political institutions and policies that encourage more fundamental changes in social and economic conditions. For example, explicit policy that seeks to transform institutional mechanisms of representation that remedy a malaise in rules and procedures in how individuals get

elected to office. Due to the presence of certain obstacles that female candidates encounter, institutional reform is perceived to help “level the playing field” between females and males. Opponents of such initiatives perceive that the “free market of politics is sufficiently guaranteed by the procedure of one person, one vote” (Phillips, 1995: 13). Joseph Schumpeter asserted that we must “leave it to every populus to define himself[sic]” (Schumpeter, 1947: 143). Schumpeter suggested that the best possible way for a community to represent itself is to allow its citizens to choose. Inevitably, minority groups would be excluded based on the fact that they don’t constitute a majority.

## **Women in Canadian Politics**

Canada is currently ranked 48<sup>th</sup> out of 148 countries in the number of women that are elected to federal office. 20.8 per cent of 308 Members of Parliament elected in Canada (64 MPs) are female. Canada’s Parliamentary gender gap has remained highly stable over the past decade and more with the representation of females around 20 per cent from 1997 to present. Table 2.2 examines the number of women in the Canadian Parliament since 1984. Although there has been an increase in the number of women Members of Parliament, in 2006, only 20.8% of elected members of Parliament were women. Table 2.1 looks at the number of females elected to the highest level of office in 48 countries. Canada is ranked at 48 out of 148 countries. Internationally, Canada is not becoming more gender equitable in electing women to the ranks of federal political office.

**Table 2.1 - Women in Politics: International Comparison<sup>14</sup>**

Rank	Country	Total # of Seats	Number of Women	Percentage of Women (%)
1	Rwanda	80	39	48.8
2	Sweden	349	158	45.3
3	Finland	200	84	42.0
4	Costa Rica	57	22	38.6
5	Norway	169	64	37.9
6	Denmark	179	66	36.9
7	Netherlands	150	55	36.7
8	Cuba	609	219	36.0
9	Argentina	257	90	35.0
10	Mozambique	250	87	34.8
11	Belgium	150	52	34.7
12	South Africa	400	131	32.8
13	Austria	183	59	32.2
14	Iceland	63	20	31.7
15	Germany	614	194	31.6
16	Burundi	118	36	30.5
17	United Rep. of Tanzania	319	97	30.4
18	Uganda	332	99	29.8
19	Peru	120	35	29.2
20	Belarus	110	32	29.1
21	Guyana	69	20	29.0
22	Andorra	28	8	28.6
23	The F.Y.R of Macedonia	120	34	28.3
24	Timor-Leste	65	18	27.7
25	Afghanistan	249	68	27.3
26	Namibia	78	21	26.9
27	Grenada	13	4	26.7
28	Vietnam	493	127	25.8
29	Iraq	275	70	25.5
30	Lao People's Democratic Rep.	115	29	25.2
31	Ecuador	100	25	25.0
32	Lithuania	141	35	24.8
33	Australia	150	37	24.7
34	Singapore	94	23	24.5
35	Liechtenstein	25	6	24.0
36	Lesotho	119	28	23.5
37	Honduras	128	30	23.4
38	Luxembourg	60	14	23.3
39	Tunisia	189	43	22.8
40	Mexico	500	113	22.6
41	Philippines	236	53	22.5
42	Bulgaria	240	53	22.1
43	Eritrea	150	33	22.0

<sup>14</sup> Inter-parliamentary Union: Women in Politics (World Classification) <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> (Accessed November 6, 2007)

Rank	Country	Total # of Seats	Number of Women	Percentage of Women (%)
43	Ethiopia	529	116	21.9
45	Estonia	101	22	21.8
46	Croatia	152	33	21.7
47	Pakistan	342	73	21.3
48	Canada	208	64	20.8

From the statistics above, Canada has not elected many women to the ranks of federal political office when compared to, for example, the Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Finland and Norway that are ranked within the top five countries of electing the most number of women to national office. Women make up just 20.8 per cent of current members of Parliament, placing Canada below other countries from the former Soviet bloc such as Bulgaria, from African countries such as Rwanda and Namibia, and South American countries such as Argentina, Costa Rica and Ecuador.

Rwanda has been very successful at increasing the number of women in elected office because of reform to the constitution and to the voting guidelines that guaranteed seats for women candidates (The Fawcett Society, 2006). Rwanda's success mirrors that of small countries in sub-Saharan Africa that have achieved significant increases in women's participation through the use of quota systems. The presence of females in politics in Scandinavian countries is attributed to the sustained pressure by women's groups within parties and the women's movement in general to increase the number of female candidates (The Fawcett Society 2006). In Nordic countries, political parties have explicitly adopted quota systems that guarantee 40 to 50 percent of the candidate list are women.

At the national level of government in Canada, over the last 22 years there has been an increase in the number of women elected to office. In 1984 there were 27 female Members of Parliament; currently there are 64 female Members of Parliament. From

1996 to 2007 there has been a plateau in the number of females elected to federal office, around the 20 percent mark. Table 2.4 examines the number of females Members of Parliament from 1984 to 2007.

**Table 2.2 - Women in the Canadian Parliament Since 1984<sup>15</sup>**

Year	Total Number of Seats	Seats Held by Women	Proportion of Seats Held by Women (%)
1984	282	27	9.6
1988	295	39	13.3
1993	295	53	18.0
1997	301	62	20.6
2000	301	62	20.6
2004	308	65	21.1
2006	308	64	20.8
<b>Average number of Female MPs Elected</b>	-----	<b>53</b>	<b>17.7</b>

When municipal governments in Canada are examined for gender representation, the majority of councillors and mayors elected are male. Women's representation in local government standing at 21.7 per cent, Canada lags behind Chile at 48 per cent, Sweden at 42 per cent, Bolivia at 34 per cent, Finland at 31 per cent, and the United Kingdom at 27 per cent (Maclean, "Municipal Governments Need More Women", 2005). This also puts Canada behind Sweden (45.3 per cent), Finland (37.5 per cent), Spain (36.0 per cent) and New Zealand (32.2 per cent) (Canadian Federation of Municipalities, 2006).

Although studies completed between 1980 and 1997 found a substantial increase in female representation at the municipal level, women have not reached anything beginning to approximate equal representation with their male counterparts in municipal politics (Kushner, Siegel, & Stanwick, 1997: 547). Research conducted by the international non-profit organization United Cities and Local Governments included 78

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/prb0562-e.htm> (Accessed April 1, 2007)



countries and 15,446 municipalities and found that only 9 per cent of mayors are female and 20.9 per cent of councillors were female. In this report they find that the formal participation of women in municipal politics was steadily increasing and they were able to identify quota systems as a decisive mechanism for the advancement of women. They also noted that quotas were not suitable unless accompanied by a cultural change which would allow improved living conditions for women (United Cities and Local Governments, 2005). Gidengil and Vengroff argue that “too often women achieve, at best, a token presence and the more desirable the council seat, the more likely the presence is to remain at token levels” (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997: 537).

Provincially, in 2005 there were 17 female Members of the BC Legislature that were female – or 21 percent of the provincial legislature. This is a decrease from a high of 28 percent in 1996 and lower than any BC legislature since 1986. Table 2.2 presents the number of female MLAs that were elected to the BC legislature from 1983 to 2005.

**Table 2.3 Women in the Legislative Assembly in British Columbia from 1983 to 2005<sup>16</sup>**

Year	Seats held by Women	Percentage of Seats held by Women (%)
1983	6	10.5
1986	9	13.0
1991	19	25.5
1996	21	28
2001	19	24
2005	17	21.5
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>15.1</b>	<b>20.4</b>

When compared to other Canadian provincial legislatures British Columbia and Ontario rank very differently. BC is in the upper one-quarter, but women still only make up one in five of all Members of the Legislative Assembly. In Ontario, women only

<sup>16</sup> Information was collected from the BC Elections website:  
<http://www.elections.bc.ca/elections/elections-results.htm#C> (Accessed October 21, 2007)

comprise about 15 percent of the Legislature. Table 2.3 presents information on the number of seats held by female MLAs across Canada from 1978 to 2001.

**Table 2.4 Women in Each Provincial Legislature from 1978 to 2007**

Province	1978 No. of Women	Percent	1998 No. of Women	Percent	2001 No. of Women	Percent	2007 No. of Women	Percent
British Columbia	9	3.4	19	24	19	24	17	21
Alberta	2	2.6	22	26.5	17	20	12	14
Saskatchewan	1	1.6	13	22.4	13	22.2	13	22.4
Manitoba	1	1.8	11	19.3	14	25	18	31.5
Ontario	6	4.8	18	13.8	17	26	27	25
Quebec	5	4.5	27	21.6	29	23	29	23
Newfoundland/ Labrador	1	1.9	8	16.7	8	17	11	23
New Brunswick	2	3.4	8	14.5	10	18	10	15
P.E.I.	2	6.3	4	14.8	6	22	7	25.9
N.W.T.	0	0	2	8.3	2	10.5	3	15.7
<b>Average</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>5.4%</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>17.8%</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>19.5%</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>20.2%</b>

Local government is perceived to be more accessible to women, but surprisingly little attention has been paid to women's representation in municipal politics (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997: 514). Literature on women in politics tends to focus on the provincial and federal levels of government and women in municipal politics are given little scholarly attention (Literature on the topic of women in politics include: Arend and Chandler, 1996; MacIvor, 1996 and Trimble and Arscott, 2003). Elisabeth Gidengil and Richard Vengroff, two leading scholars on gender and politics, believe that there are a number of factors that make municipal politics more accessible to females than provincial and federal politics. Among other factors, they indicate that being involved in local government allows females mayors and councillors to be close to their home, the work schedule is more compatible with work and family, females are better able to gather

resources to campaign locally and less intense competition (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997: 514).

This perspective would lead us to believe that there are a greater number of female mayors and municipal councillors than females present in other levels of government. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) reported in 2006 that women make up 52 per cent of the Canadian population but only 21.7 per cent of municipal councils in Canada. At 21.7 per cent, Canada's municipal councils have a higher percentage of female representation than the House of Commons (20.7 per cent). However, the FCM reports that of the 152 communities surveyed in 2004, 86 per cent did not have an equal number of men and women on council and 14 per cent reported they had no women on municipal council (Canadian Federation of Municipalities, 2006).

The United Nations defines 30 per cent as the minimal percentage of women required for government to reflect the needs and concerns of women. Currently in Canada, women represent 13.5 per cent of mayors and 23.2 per cent of councillors. For Canadian municipalities to reach the 30 per cent goal would mean that roughly 2,024 more women need to be elected as mayors or councillors in the next two years. Linda Trimble and Jane Arscott indicate that the process to increase the electoral representation of women in politics in the last 15 years has been stalled at the 20 per cent mark (Trimble and Arscott, 2003: 49). Table one provides a provincial comparison on the number of female councillors, mayors and Chief Administrative officers in comparison to males in 2006.

**Table 2.5 - Male/Female Municipal Statistics, 2006**

Province	Mayors (Male/ Female)	Percentage of Female Mayors (%)	Councillors (Male/ Female)	Percentage of Female Councillors (%)	CAOs (Male/ Female)	Percentage of Female CAOs (%)
Alberta	288/59	17	1178/373	24.0	184/163	47
British Columbia	150/37	19.8	822/377	31.4	143/39	21
Saskatchewan	745/65	8.0	3203/508	13.7	264/539	67
Manitoba	191/8	4.0	859/126	12.8	94/103	52.3
Ontario	380/63	14.2	2157/656	23.3	277/163	37
Quebec	1033/154	13.0	5679/1901	25.1	530/662	55.5
New Brunswick	90/15	14.3	403/137	25.4	49/54	52.4
Nova Scotia	52/4	7.1	293/87	22.9	45/10	18.2
Prince Edward Island	63/12	16	273/109	28.5	25/50	66.7
Newfoundland	227/52	18.6	985/371	27.4	68/215	76.0
Northwest Territories	17/6	26	74/51	40.8	15/6	28.6
Nunavut	20/5	21.7	92/54	37	21/3	12.5
Yukon Territories	5/3	37.5	21/9	30	7/1	12.5
<b>AVERAGE</b>		<b>16.7%</b>		<b>26.3%</b>		<b>42.0%</b>

When the gender gap is analysed in Metropolitan Vancouver and Fraser Valley Regional District it is evident that males outnumber female councillors and female mayors in the last three municipal elections. While women have strong representation in some municipalities such as Surrey, Delta and Port Moody, males outnumber females in big municipalities such as Vancouver and Burnaby. Statistics show that up to the most recent 2005 municipal elections, 125 mayors were male, while only 30 females were mayors. Males also dominate councils, with 547 male councillors elected and 270 female councillors elected (33.05 per cent). In seven municipalities, there was no female representation on either council or as mayor. There were no councils with solely female representation.

**Table 2.6 -Women on the Greater Vancouver Regional District Municipal Councils<sup>17</sup>**

Municipality	Female Councillors 1999 (%)	Female Councillors 2002 (%)	Female Councillors 2005 (%)	Average (%)
Anmore	20	20	20	20
Belcarra	20	20	20	20
Bowen Island	N/A	28.6	42.9	35.7
Burnaby	27.3	18.2	9.1	22.2
Coquitlam	44.4	44.4	33.3	40.7
Delta	57.1	42.9	44.4	45.0
Langley City	42.9	42.9	42.9	42.9
Langley Township	33.3	33.3	11.1	25.9
Lions Bay	60.0	60.0	60.0	60.0
Maple Ridge	42.9	42.9	28.6	38.1
New Westminster	14.3	14.3	28.6	19.0
North Van City	28.6	28.6	28.6	28.6
North Van District	42.9	42.9	28.6	33.3
Pitt Meadows	57.1	42.7	42.7	47.6
Port Coquitlam	0.0	14.3	14.3	9.5
Port Moody	42.9	42.9	57.1	47.6
Richmond	22.2	33.3	44.4	33.3

<sup>17</sup> Information gathered from: Smith, Patrick. "Gendering Local Government in British Columbia: Opportunities and Obstacles in Metropolitan Vancouver." *Pacific Northwest Political Science Association*. Bend, Oregon, 2006

Municipality	Female Councillors 1999 (%)	Female Councillors 2002 (%)	Female Councillors 2005 (%)	Average (%)
Surrey	55.5	55.5	66.6	59.3
Vancouver	27.3	18.1	36.4	27.3
West Vancouver	14.3	28.6	42.9	28.6
White Rock	42.9	42.9	42.9	42.9
<b>GVRD Averages</b>	<b>35.1</b>	<b>33.1</b>	<b>35.7</b>	<b>34.6</b>

**Table 2.7 - Women on the Fraser Valley RD Municipal Councils<sup>18</sup>**

Municipality	Female Councillors 1999 (%)	Female Councillors 2002 (%)	Female Councillors 2005 (%)	Average (%)
Abbotsford	11.1	22.2	33.3	22.2
Chilliwack	28.6	28.6	42.7	33.3
Harrison Hot Springs	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0
Hope	14.3	42.7	28.6	28.5
Kent	20.0	20.0	14.3	18.1
Mission	28.6	28.6	28.6	28.6
<b>Fraser Valley RD Averages</b>	<b>20.6</b>	<b>27.0</b>	<b>27.9</b>	<b>25.0</b>

**Table 2.8 – Women on the City of Ottawa Council (Pre-Amalgamation and Post-Amalgamation)<sup>19</sup>**

Year	Number of Wards	Number Female Mayors	Number of Female Councillors	Percentage of Female Councillors
2000	21	0	6	28.6
2003	21	0	6	28.6
2006	23	0	7	30.4
<b>Average</b>	<b>21.6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>29.2</b>

### **Obstacles to the Participation of Women in Municipal Government**

These statistics suggest that males and females have different degrees of success in the political arena. What accounts for the difference in the electoral representation of

<sup>18</sup> Information gathered from: Smith, Patrick. "Gendering Local Government in British Columbia: Opportunities and Obstacles in Metropolitan Vancouver." *Pacific Northwest Political Science Association*. Bend, Oregon, 2006. 1-28

<sup>19</sup> Election Results for the 2006 and 2003 municipal election were gathered from the City of Ottawa website: [http://ottawa.ca/city\\_hall/elections/](http://ottawa.ca/city_hall/elections/) (accessed October 21, 2007). Election Results for the 2000 election results

males and females? It is suggested that females and males face different obstacles. These obstacles impact women when entering the political arena.

The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM), the premier voice of 1400 municipalities on local governance issues and concerns, are very active in increasing female representation in municipal politics and understanding the obstacles preventing women from entering the municipal political arena. In 2005 the FCM established the Standing Committee on Increasing Women's Participation in Municipal Government. The purpose of the committee was to seek and support initiatives to increase women's political participation in municipal government. The FCM, with the support of The Status of Women Canada, launched a project entitled "*Increasing Women's Participation in Municipal Decision Making*" to identify obstacles that exist preventing women from becoming formally involved in municipal politics. There were five obstacles identified by the report: (1) municipalities and women's groups do not have established working networks; (2) municipality does not reach out to involve women in the consultation process; (3) lack of practical supports for women (childcare, transportation); (4) not enough information available to women about municipal services; (5) and lack of support from the municipality for more inclusive policies and practices. (Canadian Federation of Municipalities, 2006: 28). Other obstacles that were identified by the report included women are not taught to be leaders; lack of women's groups in the community and the lack of "technical culture" – roads and wastewater management (Canadian Federation of Municipalities, 2006: 28).

Having identified obstacles to women's participation, the FCMs report entitled "*Getting to 30% by 2026*" identified constructive policies and initiatives to increase the

number of women in municipal politics. The report included specific initiatives to be taken by councils to encourage women to become formally involved in municipal politics. The contributors to the project came from across Canada and they provided many views and assessments on the issue. The key initiatives suggested including municipal public education campaigns to facilitate broader community involvement in upcoming elections, campaign schools to help train and familiarize women with the political skills, strategies and tactics necessary for running and winning a campaign; encouraging local community organizations and municipal leaders to help female candidates run for election; the dissemination of information to women about the process of running for municipal elections; and shortening the length of electoral terms to better suit the needs of local people, their schedules and the need for work-life balance (Canadian Federation of Municipalities , 2006: 7).

Research on the obstacles preventing women from participating in local government was conducted across Canada and was done with the hope that by understanding the issues that prevent women from participating, most such obstacles could be overcome. The Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women created a similar project entitled "*Untapped Resources: Women in Local Government Project*" in October 2005. In Nova Scotia, only 21.7 percent of councillors are women (the third lowest in Canada) 7 percent of warden and mayors and only 14.5 per cent of chief administrators (the lowest in Canada). Their research concluded that there are three overwhelming themes that create impediments to women's participation in municipal government decision-making: the lack of awareness of the importance of municipal government in day-to-day lives; the lack of understanding of the gendered nature of



public institutions and the decisions that emerge from them; and socio-economic factors (Nova Scotia Advisory Council of Women 2005: 9-13). They strongly argue that women are an “untapped resource” for municipal government because they are active in their communities and they represent an important source of skills, information and knowledge about local issues. Nova Scotia lags behind the rest of Canada and much of the rest of the world, but womens’ participation in local government will only promote and strengthen democracy (Nova Scotia Advisory Council of Women, 2005: 34)

Patrick Smith’s paper titled “Gendering Government” provides a qualitative analysis on the electoral representation of women in British Columbia. His is one of the first studies conducted examining the participation of females in BC. He provides insight into some of the obstacles that women contend with at the municipal level as well as some of the opportunities that are available. Smith’s analysis focuses on the roles of campaign finance, emerging local political party structures and other features in local contexts to better understand the opportunities and obstacles at the municipal level. The main focus in the paper is to “identify the nature of the local governing gender gap”, but he asserts that more qualitative and quantitative analysis needs to be conducted to try to identify the nature of the gender gap in British Columbia. Institutional reform alone, he argues, is not sufficient to end political representational gender gaps (Smith 2006, 15). Rather, electoral systems, the role of parties, campaign finance regimes and quota policies all play a role in minimizing the gender gap provincially and nationally. This view is best summarized by Jane Freeman, “for parity to become a reality, it seems that both formal institutional structures and informal norms and traditions surrounding candidate selections must change” (Freeman 2001: 114).

## **The Advantages of the Presence of Women in Municipal Politics**

What is gained by the presence of women in politics? Trimble and Arscott's analysis of women in Canadian politics is guided by the belief that change can be made by and for women through formal institutions of political power. They argue that women bring something different to the table, "electing more women creates the possibility that women's presence will alter behaviour in legislative settings and policy outcomes in legislation (Trimble & Arscott, 2003: 126). Women have fundamentally different experiences than men and are able to bring different perspectives to the political realm. Trimble and Arscott explain that these differences include physiological factors (reproduction, childbearing), the social construction of gender in Canadian society (socialization, roles, income, and dependency on the stated based on sex), the sexual division of labour, gendered role expectations, unequal pay and continued responsibility for child care and domestic duties (Trimble and Arscott, 2003: 126).

While Trimble and Arscott believe that women, once elected to office, will engaged in gender-based representation, many activists and scholars question the extent to which female politicians "once elected, will act in the interests of women" (Young, 1997: 89-90). Lisa Young in her research on feminists and party politics argues that the interests of women are as varied and diverse as women themselves. Policy perspectives and demands among women do come into conflict (Young, 1997: 90 ). It would, therefore, be a fallacy to infer that all women will advance the interests of females equally in legislatures.

## **Conclusion**

The participation of females in Canadian politics is placed at 48 out of 148 countries and lags behind Chile, Sweden, Finland and the United Kingdom. Municipally,

the electoral representation of women in the Vancouver local government lags behind Finland, Belgium, Mozambique and Rwanda. However, there is a higher electoral representation of females in municipal politics than at any other level of government in Canada. Many studies indicate that there are obstacles for women entering the political arena such as a lack of finances, the absence of working networks and the lack of knowledge on how municipal governments operate. Many women perceive entering into the political forum as a very challenging endeavour and without the proper support and information many women choose not to enter municipal politics. The participation of policy making and budget planning brings different perspectives to the table and creates a more inclusive atmosphere.

There are, however, opportunities for women who choose to enter the political arena. Quota policies and other institutional changes, found within the party structures may allow for greater inclusion of women in politics and provide mechanisms to increase the number of women who get elected. Non-governmental organizations such as the Federation of Canadian Municipalities and women's organizations such as The Status of Women Canada conduct important studies and provide workable solutions to increasing the number of women in the political arena. The absence of women in politics, however, does create a disproportionate representation of the population and the erosion of democracy.

The following chapter discusses the methodology utilized in the study with an overview of the quantitative and qualitative methods used to explore the representation of women at the local level. A brief overview will also be given on why Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa were chosen as the main focus on this study. Chapters 4, 5 and 6

focus on how the size of electoral jurisdiction, presence of political parties and campaign finance regime affects female councillor candidates.

## **CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY**

### **Chapter Objective**

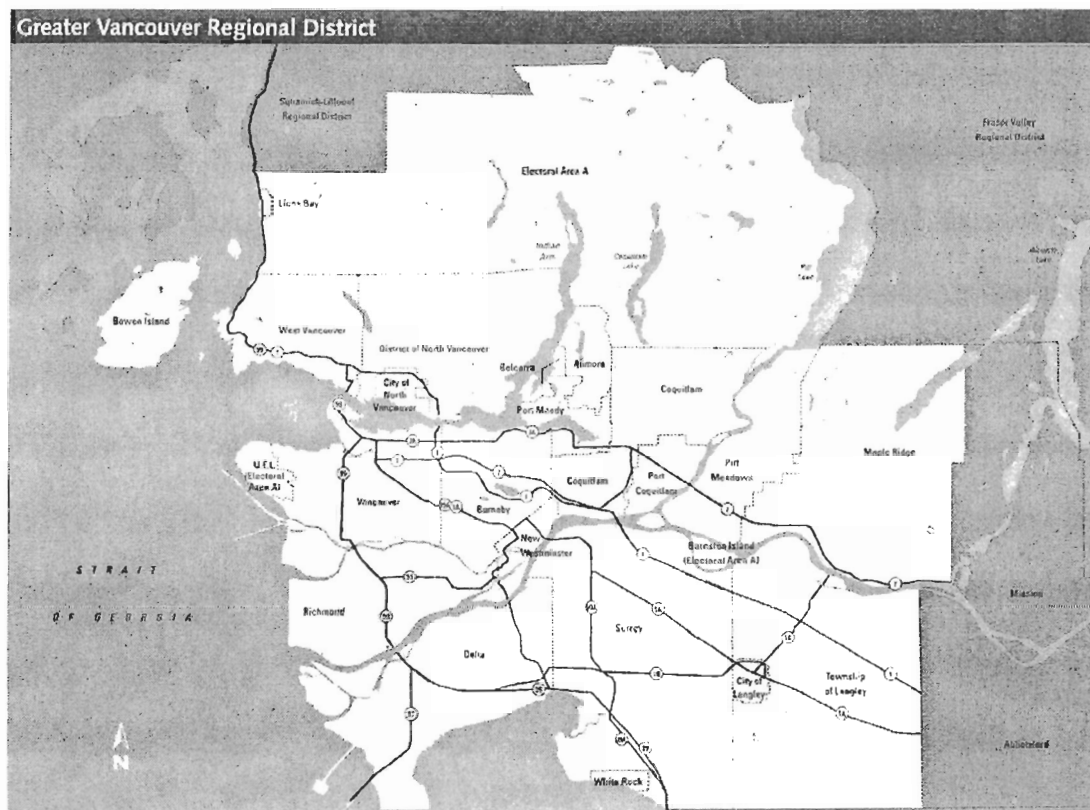
This chapter outlines the methodology used in this thesis. It explores how quantitative and qualitative research methods are employed in the thesis, specifically, where and how the majority of the statistics were collected, how campaign finance data was collected and how a limited number of elite interviews were conducted. It also outlines why municipalities in Metropolitan Vancouver and some recently amalgamated wards in the city of Ottawa were chosen as case studies. This chapter also outlines the methodology used in this thesis and the problems and limitations present in the study.

### **Municipalities in Study: Problems and Limitations**

British Columbia is divided into 27 regional districts and one Island Trusts, which are further subdivided into 157 municipalities of various types. According to a study by Kennedy Stewart and Patrick Smith that describes the local-multilevel governing in BC, there are 42 village municipalities (normally with less than 2500 population), 15 towns (2500-5000 population), 47 district municipalities (generally large geographic areas with low population density) and 47 cities (population over 5000). In addition there are 164 unincorporated electoral areas where direct elections are held to choose representatives on regional district councils (Kennedy and Smith: 2008). The eastern portion of BC's *Lower Mainland* is within the Fraser Valley Regional District, consisting of six

municipalities: Abbotsford, Chilliwack, Mission, Hope, Kent and Harrison Hot Springs as well as eight unincorporated 'electoral areas'. There are twenty-one municipalities in the Greater Vancouver Regional District – at the larger end from Vancouver Surrey, Burnaby, Anmore, Lions Bay and Belcarra (723). Eight of British Columbia's biggest municipalities are in this largest metropolitan region. Collectively the GVRD has 157 council seats – including Mayoral positions. In total, there are 193 municipal council (including mayoral) seats in BC's *Lower Mainland*: 153 in the 21 Greater Vancouver municipalities; and 40 across the rest of the Fraser Valley. Municipal elections in B.C are held every three years, but were once held annually or bi-annually. Figure 1.1 displays the major electoral jurisdictions in Metropolitan Vancouver.

**Figure 1.1: Map of Metropolitan Vancouver**



Ottawa was the second area in Ontario to have regional government structures, after the creation of Metro Toronto. The regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton was created on January 1, 1969, which brought together 16 municipalities. Later, the number of municipalities in the Ottawa-Carleton region was reduced to 11. A number of commissions were created in the Ottawa-Carleton region to deal with increased responsibilities and powers at the regional level. In 1991, the position of Regional Chair was created and later in 1994 the direct election of regional councillors was adopted. Caroline Andrew explains in her study of the evaluation of municipal reform in Ottawa-Gatineau that “the constant increase in regional responsibilities, ongoing dissatisfaction in the Ottawa area about duplication, lack of planning and lack of consultation” led to the creation of a new structure for local government (Andrew, 2006, 77). On January 1, 2001, the amalgamated city of Ottawa was created. The Ottawa transition team, headed by Claude Bennett, ex-municipal councillor in Ottawa and provincial politician, was intent on creating a “new model of municipal government, paring it down to the essential services and installing a more entrepreneurial spirit (Gervais, 2001: 10). The final recommendations of the transition team involved enhancing the role of councillors, paying them more and having more staff support. The amalgamation created 21 wards, this number was later increased to 23 in 2003. Each is represented by one councillor. One mayor is elected to represent the city of Ottawa. Municipal elections in Ontario are also held every three years. In Andrew’s evaluation of the amalgamation, she states that the structure provides opportunities and mechanisms to planning and direct development, but only time will tell if major political actors are interested in the potential for broader

politics and a coordinated vision of urban development (Andrew, 2001: 92). Figure 1.2 is an image of the wards in the city of Ottawa after the 2001 amalgamation.

This study includes six municipalities in Metropolitan Vancouver and six wards in the recently amalgamated City of Ottawa. Table 1 display all the municipalities and wards that were included in the study and the population of each in the 2001 and 2006 Canada Census results. Population statistics were collected from the 2001 Census gatherings because it provides the perfect mid-point population statistics for the years under investigation. The thesis investigates municipal election results and campaign finance statements filed by each candidate in the City of Ottawa from 2000-2006. In Metropolitan Vancouver election results and campaign finance statements filed by each candidate from 1999-2005 are investigated. Given the difficulty of preforming a comprehensive study of all municipalities in British Columbia and Ontario, six municipalities ranging from small to large were chosen from Metropolitan Vancouver and six wards in the City of Ottawa were chosen as the basis for analysis.



**Figure 1.2: Map of the Wards in the City of Ottawa (Post-Amalgamation)**



### Wards in the City of Ottawa

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Orleans Ward (Ward 1)               | Rideau Vanier Ward (Ward 12)           |
| Innes Ward (Ward 2)                 | Rideau-Rockcliffe Ward (Ward 13)       |
| Barrhaven Ward (Ward 3)             | Somerset Ward (Ward 14)                |
| Kanata North Ward (Ward 4)          | Kitchissippi Ward (Ward 15)            |
| West Carleton Ward (Ward 5)         | River Ward (Ward 16)                   |
| Sittsville-Kanata Ward (Ward 6)     | Alta Vista Ward (Ward 17)              |
| Bay Ward (Ward 7)                   | Capital Ward (Ward 18)                 |
| College Ward (Ward 8)               | Cumberland Ward (Ward 19)              |
| Knoxdale-Merivale Ward              | (Ward 9) Osgoode Ward (Ward 20)        |
| Gloucester-Southgate Ward (Ward 10) | Rideau-Goulbourn Ward (Ward 21)        |
| Beacon Hill-Cyrville Ward (Ward 11) | Gloucester-South Nepean Ward (Ward 22) |
|                                     | Kanata South Ward (Ward 23)            |

### Interview Candidates: Problems and Limitations

The thesis also has a significant qualitative component. From early June 2007 to early September 2007, 20 structured interviews were conducted with female councillors and councillor candidates from the most recent municipal elections in Ottawa and Greater Vancouver. 10 interviews were conducted in six municipalities in Metropolitan Vancouver: Vancouver, Burnaby, Surrey, Delta, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody. 6 of the 10 interviews were conducted with sitting female councillors and 4 interviews were

conducted with unsuccessful female councillor candidates. 10 more interviews were conducted in six wards in the City of Ottawa: Barrhaven, Kanata North, Gloucester-Southgate, Kitchissippi, River and Kanata South. 5 of the 10 interviews were conducted with sitting female councillor candidates and 3 with unsuccessful female councillor candidates.

It was important to interview both sitting female councillors and unsuccessful female councillor candidates because they provide different perspectives on their experiences during the campaign. Some of the interviews conducted in the Lower Mainland were in person and where this was not possible, some were conducted by telephone. All the interviews conducted in the City of Ottawa were telephone interviews. A total of thirty-one different councillors candidates were approached in both Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa, I was able to interview 20 female candidates in both regions.

These interviews lasted thirty to forty minutes and included questions on their experience with campaigning in their municipalities, their experience with the campaign finance regime in their province and their experience with the presence or absence of political parties in their municipality. Discussions regarding networks and resources, general perception of the role of women in municipal politics, perceived obstacles for women in municipal politics and opportunities for women in municipal politics were also discussed. (See Appendix A for Consent Form)

It was easier to solicit and conduct interviews in some British Columbia municipalities than other municipalities. Conducting interviews in Port Coquitlam was very difficult. Currently there is only one sitting female on Port Coquitlam's city council

and she declined to be interviewed. The municipality of Port Coquitlam is facing some political turmoil due to the recent controversy surrounding the Mayor Scott Young<sup>20</sup>. The media has been vigilant in covering the case and a tremendous amount of provincial and national media publicity has focused on Port Coquitlam. It was very difficult to obtain an interview with the sitting female councillor in this municipality due to this incident.

## **Analytical Structure**

The experiences of female councillors and female councillor candidates from municipalities in British Columbia and from wards in Ontario will be compared and contrasted in each chapter. Each chapter provides a quantitative analysis of gathered statistics followed by qualitative analysis of women's experiences in British Columbia and Ontario during the last municipal election in 2005 in Metropolitan Vancouver and 2006 in Ottawa. By combining quantitative and qualitative analysis a better understanding of the obstacles and opportunities present can be better examined and understood.

The following chapters present the research results of the study, specifically how the size of electoral jurisdiction, presence of political parties and campaign finance regime affects female councillor candidates. Chapter 4 focuses on whether the size of electoral jurisdiction creates obstacles or opportunities for female councillor candidates in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa.

---

<sup>20</sup> Scott Young is facing charges of assaulting his ex-girlfriend and another man, criminal harassment and break-and-enter for alleged incident in early April 2007. He is also charged with breaching his court-ordered conditions. His council colleagues have twice asked for his resignation, but he has refused to step down. See for example, "Young's critics face second chance at mayor; Foes want embattled politician to resign" Matthew Ramsey *The Province* June 11, 2007, A12. (Accessed August 29, 2007)

## **CHAPTER 4**

# **THE GENDER REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AND SIZE OF MUNICIPALITY**

### **Chapter Objective**

This chapter explores how the size of municipality shapes the experiences of female councillor candidates and female councillors in Metropolitan Vancouver and in the City of Ottawa. In this chapter former studies that examine the issue within a Canadian and comparative context are assessed. In the first section, prior studies that examine the effect of the size of municipality on the electoral representation of women at the municipal level of government are analyzed. The final section of chapter two allows for an evaluation of how the size of municipality effects the electoral representation of women in local government through the quantitative and qualitative analysis described earlier in the thesis.

### **Literature Review**

The size of electoral jurisdiction influences the success of female candidates in municipal, provincial and federal politics. District magnitude (DM) is the term commonly used to refer to this aspect of electoral politics. The perception that size of municipality matters is based on past studies that confirm that women tend to get elected and are more apt to run in large municipalities than smaller municipalities. There is considerable research that confirms this observation and there are also many studies that call this observation into question. The “cosmopolitan hypothesis” argues that large electoral units

(like municipalities) have a diverse population, more progressive politics and a greater acceptance of women in politics making the likelihood of the election of women to public office greater (Gidengill and Vengroff, 1997: 517). In comparison, smaller municipalities are often found to have the opposite impact: they are less diverse and tend to reinforce the presence of males in politics.

Another argument that looks at why size of electoral jurisdictions influences a female candidates' decision to run is the "desirability hypothesis" (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997: 516). The argument follows that where council seats are more desirable, it is more competitive for women to run as candidates and are, therefore, less likely to get elected. This can lead one to believe that there are fewer female candidates campaigning for city councillor in larger municipalities than smaller municipalities. Smaller electoral jurisdictions such as Port Moody and the Gloucester-South Nepean ward in Ottawa would have a greater number of females serving as mayors or councillors than in larger electoral jurisdictions like Vancouver or the College ward.

Elisabeth Gidengil and Richard Vengroff's study of female candidates in Quebec's municipal election calls into question the extent to which female candidates achieve success in larger municipalities. In large cities, they argue, female candidates to city council are not able to transcend "tokenism" (Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997: 516). Nicholas Alozie and Lynne Manganaro developed the term "descriptive tokenism" to portray when a female presence is more symbolic than substantive (Alozie & Manganaro, 1993). The term holds two meanings. It can refer to a woman who is admitted to a group, because she is a woman, in response to outside pressure, or it can refer to when there are very few women in an exclusively male domain. In their study of

women's representation in Quebec's municipal politics, they expected to find that women's representation on councils is least likely to have advanced beyond token levels in larger cities. They qualify their assumption by stating "at the municipal level, power is a function of city size: the larger the city, the larger the budget, the more power and prestige associated with council membership, and the more significant the decision-making role. This means that elective office will be more desirable in larger cities, and women will face correspondingly more competition from men" (Gidengil & Vengroff, 1997: 516). Ann Karnig and Walter Oliver reinforce this argument with their study that explores the relationship between size of city and incidence of councilwomen. They found an inverse relationship "since women's representation is negatively related to prestige of office and since elected office in larger cities would carry more prestige" (Karnig & Oliver, 1976, 610).

A study investigating voting trends and electoral determinants in Ontario during the period of 1984 to 1994 considered the significance of size of municipality and the electoral representation of women. The researchers found that the highest proportion of female candidates was found in large municipalities rather than small municipalities (Kushner, Siegel, & Stanwick, 1997: 546). Their study concluded that gender does matter, but women only had a slight advantage in larger municipalities. This slight advantage translates to only 20 percent of all candidates in 1994. This is attributed to two reasons. First, women engage in block voting in favour of other women in large municipalities in order to support their own kind. Second, women who continue in local government gain name recognition and the advantage of incumbency. Nonetheless, the authors strongly argue, "smaller communities have failed to translate overall increases in

the number of female candidates into elected” (Kushner, Siegel, & Stanwick, 1997: 548). Their study seeks to show that the size of municipality is an important electoral determinant, but it is not the only factor that leads to an increase in female candidates or more elected females to city councillor. In combination with other variables the size of municipality does contribute to the electoral success of female candidates and why women tend to do better in larger municipalities and slightly worse in smaller municipalities.

Another perspective is that the more expensive campaigns are the less likely women are to run for local office (MacManus and Bullock. 1989: 33). The funding of a municipal campaign for mayor or city councillor increases as population of electoral district increases. Raising the appropriate funds to wage a successful campaign will hinder medium to low-income women in larger cities. A study conducted in Austin, Texas, however, revealed the opposite. Campaign financing in this setting did not handicap women (MacManus & Bullock, 1998: 12, 32-99). An alternative rationale why women were not hindered by campaign finance in Austin are the presence of women’s organizations that support female candidates in many different capacities. Organizations such as the League of Women’s Voters, the National Women’s Political Caucus and the American Association of University Women are excellent examples where female candidates are able to find information on how to conduct successful campaigns, raise money and volunteer assistance.

In Canada there are a few women’s organizations that provide assistance, training and mentorship to female candidates. The CFM describe campaign schools as an ideal place to start for females that are interested in campaigning for local public office, “it

familiarizes women with the political skills, strategies and techniques for running and winning a campaign (Canadian Federation of Municipalities, 2006: 5). An example of an on-line campaign school is “Equal Voice: Getting to the Gate” program which launched in February 2006. There are many campaigns schools across Canada such as the Campaign School at the University of British Columbia that takes place each year. An average fee of \$400.00 is required to attend this three-day intensive program, but hopeful candidates can meet and learn from female politicians and female political advisors about their own experiences and first-hand knowledge of campaign strategies and fundraising techniques.

There are other arguments that advance the claim that women have a greater chance of getting elected to local government in larger cities because the “eligibility pool” is greater than in smaller cities. Rob Darcy, Susan Welch and Janet Clark coined the “eligibility pool explanation” argument to explain that women’s representation has advanced furthest in cities with a high proportion of women employed in managerial and professional occupations (Darcy, Welch, & Clark, 1994: 104-118). Women in larger cities are less constrained by traditional gender roles and are socialized to believe that politics is not just a male domain. Financially, women in larger cities most closely approximate those of men. Women in larger cities are more likely to be available to serve in local government because they may have the financial means to replace her at home. If the eligibility pool hypothesis is valid, it should be expected that women’s representation is greater in larger municipalities than in smaller municipalities. There should also be fewer women represented in local government in smaller municipalities where there is expected to be fewer women with the qualities mentioned above.

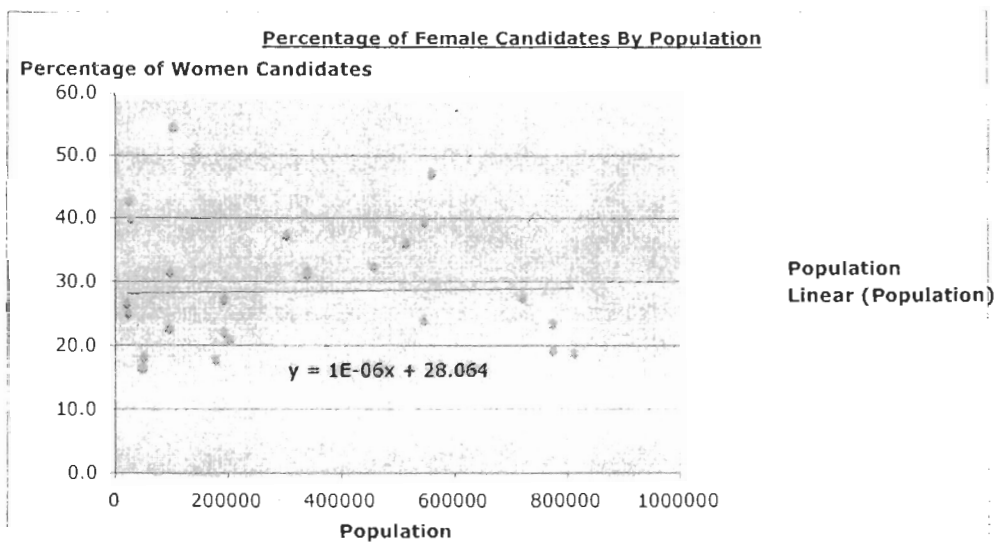


Past studies demonstrate that size of municipality is a valid variable to examine in terms of its effects on the electoral representation of women in municipal politics. Many studies have also argued that size of municipality is not the only factor that influences the increase of women in local government. Other factors include: incumbency, size of council, the desirability of the council seat and the eligibility pool of women in the municipality.

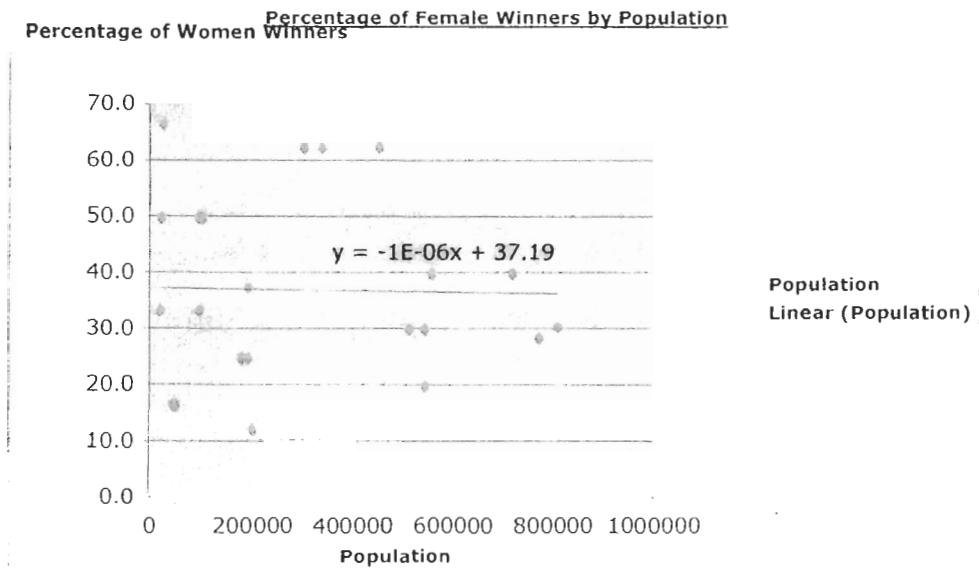
### Women In Small, Medium And Large Municipalities In Metropolitan Vancouver And Ottawa

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 summarize the percentages of unsuccessful female candidates and successful female candidates in relation to population of electoral jurisdiction examined in the study. The information shows that there is no correlation between the size of a municipality and female candidates. In other words, as population increases or decreases there is an absence of a corresponding increase or decrease in the percentage of female candidates or the percentage of females elected to council.

**Figure 4.1: Percentage of Female Candidates by Population in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa**



**Figure 4.2: Percentage of Female Winners by Population in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa**



Quantitatively, there is no relationship between size of municipality and the presence of females on council or the percentage of female councillor candidates. A qualitative analysis is, therefore, more appropriate in determining the obstacles and opportunities that exist for women in small, medium and large municipalities.

**Table 4.3 – Average Percentage of Females on Council and Average of Female Councillors in the Metropolitan Vancouver and the City of Ottawa (1996-2005)<sup>21</sup>**

Municipality	Size	Population	System	Average % Females on Council 1996-2005	Average % of Female Candidates for Council 1996-2005
Ottawa	Large	774,072	Independent	31.9	22.4
Vancouver	Large	583,267	Political Party	30.0	36.7
Surrey	Large	393,207	Political Party	62.5	33.3
Burnaby	Large	204,324	Political Party	25.2	22.1
Delta	Medium	102,655	Political Party	45.8	32.8
Port Coquitlam	Medium	57,562	Independent	12.8	33.7
Port Moody	Small	28,458	Independent	50.0	69.8

<sup>21</sup> Information for the table was gathered from the City of Ottawa website [www.ottawa.ca](http://www.ottawa.ca) and from the municipal websites of

Most of the women interviewed agreed that campaigning in a small electoral unit gave them more opportunities to campaign effectively, better fund their campaigns and connect with the voters. Big municipalities, however, created some difficulties for women. Through their experiences, many women believe that those obstacles could be overcome by being part of a political party. Many women who ran in big municipalities explained that their chances of success would have been minimal had they campaigned as an independent candidate. Some women, however, believe that size of municipality did not pose a problem for women and that both men and women face the same obstacles when campaigning in small and big municipalities and gender did not play a role.

### **Small Municipalities**

Nellie, an independent councillor in Port Moody, strongly believes that campaigning in a small electoral jurisdiction worked to her advantage. Because of the size of the municipality she was able to advertise more effectively in the recent 2005 civic election. She states, "...I just really canvassed my entire city in May (five months) before the election". However, she believes that both men and women faced the same problems in her municipality, "I would say smaller cities are easier, not only for women but for men as well. Geographically, you have a smaller area to cover, if you're knocking on doors, which I believe is my personal philosophy, there is no better vote getter than knocking on doors and talking to people". Nellie's networks included her friends and family. She explains how her sister helped her with some of the brochures, "I called up my sister and went over and designed a little tri-fold leaflet, she did all the formatting and I had a couple of photos taken. I went to the local printer and sent them out". Due to the small size of Nellie's electoral jurisdiction she was able to campaign five months prior to

the election, create her own brochures and advertising and use the help of her friends and family to successfully campaign in Port Moody.

Lisa, an independent councillor in Port Moody, campaigned with Nellie in the same election and had similar experiences. She stated that she canvassed her electoral jurisdiction and went door-knocking thirty days before the election, “I enjoyed the experience and it was really easy because I don’t live in such a big city like Surrey or Vancouver”. She credits her long history of involvement in the community as part of the reason for her success in the last civic election, “I’ve lived in Port Moody all my life and I was involved in the arts community from a very young age, so I think that helps a lot in getting to know people”. Her main network of support was her family. They helped her advertise and finance her campaign, “my family helped me fund my campaign and my dad helped me create brochures and lawn signs. He also helped me go door-to-door”. Due to the small size of her electoral jurisdiction, Lisa was able to campaign thirty days before the election and relied primarily on the help of her family.

Small electoral jurisdictions give women the opportunity to juggle other aspects of their busy lives such as work and home responsibilities. The two women interviewed from small electoral units in Metropolitan Vancouver held part-time jobs because of a councillor’s low pay.<sup>22</sup> They were also busy with other responsibilities in their lives such as their children and post-secondary education. Nellie describes how her council was very accommodating to a former female councillor, “typically, she would bring her kids to council. She’d be feeding one, someone would be burping the other one, and another

---

<sup>22</sup> For more information on mayor and council salaries, please see Kennedy Stewart and Patrick J. Smith’s article “Immature Policy Analysis: Eight Major Canadian Cities” in *Policy Analysis in Canada: The State of the Art* Laurent Dobuzinskis, Michael Howlett and David Laycock (eds), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

would be putting blocks out for the little guy. I was one who insisted, not that there was any opposition to it, that the kids are certainly welcomed to come. But it's hard; you can't always bring your kids to council meetings..." Gladys, a councillor candidate from the Kanata North ward, a medium electoral ward, believes that smaller electoral units allow female candidates to balance work and campaigning, "certainly it's easier in a smaller electoral unit; you can raise less money. Trying to juggle a job and campaigning is difficult".

This is contrasted by Irene's experience with campaigning in Delta, a medium electoral unit. She had previously thought being a councillor in a big city would compromise a female's responsibilities at home, "I would have thought that family would be a barrier but two councillors who were on for a long, long time proved me wrong. They both raised their families while they were on council and they're children are good, healthy citizens and well educated". Irene explains that most of the discrimination against female councillors with families came from the electorate, "...you hear the electorate, she shouldn't be running, she has children at home, but it didn't matter they managed. One didn't spend as much time at meetings in the evening and it was noticeable, but it worked for her and she was an extremely good councillor".

### **Large and Medium Municipalities**

Nellie<sup>23</sup> and Lisa's<sup>24</sup> experience campaigning in a small electoral unit is contrasted by Irene's experience as an incumbent independent candidate in Delta, a medium electoral unit in Metropolitan Vancouver. In the last election, due to a lack of funds, manpower and time, she needed to be strategic in how she utilized her limited

---

<sup>23</sup> Nellie is a councillor in Port Moody, a small electoral jurisdiction.

<sup>24</sup> Lisa is a councillor in Port Moody, a small electoral jurisdiction.

resources. She could not canvass the whole municipality because she only had three volunteers helping her and she didn't have much time. Therefore, she used a different strategy: "I would look at the previous poll results and where I hadn't done well I would go out to door knocking, I couldn't organize the traditional type of door knocking because the volunteers weren't experienced". Use of time effectively in a medium municipality was very important to Irene<sup>25</sup>, "you're looking at the previous polls to try to decide where you will spend your time and trying to take account of the issues...." For Irene, campaigning in a medium municipality created obstacles, but her incumbency and name recognition made campaigning less difficult.

Emily, a councillor candidate who, like Irene, campaigned in Delta, echoes Irene's thoughts on how much easier it is for women to campaign in a small municipality. Based on the experiences of her colleague who campaigned in Surrey, Metropolitan Vancouver's second largest electoral jurisdiction, she became familiar with some of the difficulties associated with campaigning in a large electoral unit. She witnessed how much more difficult it was for female councillors campaigning in Surrey; "...we came into Surrey sometimes. It was the first time I actually thought that the ward system might not be a bad idea". Emily later explained why she thought that small electoral units would be an advantage for women, "you really get to know your area, your people, so I would think that it's a lot easier in a smaller community". Martha, an incumbent independent councillor in Surrey, experienced difficulties campaigning as an independent in Surrey. She states, "it's just more, you know, feasible, if you have a smaller area that you have to target to communicate with voters". Louise, a councillor candidate in Vancouver, and

---

<sup>25</sup> Irene is a councillor in Delta, a medium electoral jurisdiction.

Emily<sup>26</sup> both saw some of the benefits with the introduction of the ward system in Metropolitan Vancouver. They both believed it would help bring better representation to females in municipal politics and it would allow for women to campaign more effectively by decreasing the size of the electoral units. Emily states, “in smaller cities women are more known in their communities; if you have a ward system I think it’s possible to run as an individual. We tried to get ward systems, you get women who come up from the grassroots that don’t have a lot of money and don’t have the resources...our last ballot, I think that ninety people were on that ballot, you know, there is no way you can get recognized just by your name alone, you have to get tied to something that people know.”

Several female councillors in large electoral jurisdictions in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa encountered obstacles while campaigning in the last civic election. Martha<sup>27</sup>, who was previously part of a political party in Surrey, had run as an independent in the last three elections, found that it was becoming increasingly difficult to reach all the electorate and campaign effectively. She states, “...it’s becoming more and more difficult as the city expands and so many areas are open for development. Many areas are multicultural; there is a language barrier that’s making it more difficult to run as an independent. She goes on to explain, “Being an independent candidate in a large municipality creates an obstacle with communicating with her electorate, “I’ve probably raised \$65,000 which was a lot of hard work and I only reached them by brochure, only a quarter and then you’re competing with team that are running \$800,000.00 dollar campaigns”.

---

<sup>26</sup> Emily is a councillor candidate who campaigned in Delta, a medium electoral unit in Metropolitan Vancouver.

<sup>27</sup> Martha is a councillor in Surrey, a large electoral jurisdiction in Metropolitan Vancouver.

Although Doris, the incumbent councillor from the Kanata North ward in Ottawa experienced some difficulty with campaigning, incumbency was a huge factor for her success in the recent civic election. Her ward experienced a population boom of 49 percent between 2001 and 2006 (see Table 1.2). As her ward increased in size, so did her strategies and type of resources used, “it’s definitely harder raising money in a bigger ward, but that just means you have to change the way you reach the people in your ward”. Doris had previously served in local public office as mayor and councillor for twenty-six years. She explained that she enjoyed going door-to-door and meeting all the residents, but this was particularly important given the increase in population in her ward, “I would go five to six hours a day starting in June. I went to every door in my ward and I’m very proud of this”. Brochures, pamphlets and lawn signs were also very important ways of reaching the residents in her community. She credits her involvement in the community since the 1960s to her success. She joined many community associations, wrote a regular column in the community newspaper and was involved in many committees over the years.

Andrey, a councillor from the Gloucester-Southgate ward, a large ward in Ottawa, agrees with Martha that incumbency was a huge factor in her success. The most recent civic election was the fifth time she had campaigned in her ward. She remembers, however, the first time she campaigned as being particularly difficult, “my first election was really hard. I didn’t have the name recognition and I had to work really hard to get people to know me and what I stood for”. Now, her election campaign strategy has changed substantially, “I also run a full campaign, major sign campaigns, 1000 signs, blanket communities and I don’t just put my signs on street corners, but on people’s lawns”. Andrey believes that women have an easier time campaigning in big wards



compared to smaller wards because of the diversity and progressive attitudes towards the role of women in society, “female politicians in smaller municipalities would be considered men’s work, especially in smaller farming communities. We don’t have that problem in Ottawa. It’s not considered men’s work and I don’t feel in a big city like Ottawa, they’re not going to vote for me because I’m a woman”.

All of the successful candidates and all of the unsuccessful candidates interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver believed they could not have overcome the obstacles of campaigning in a large electoral unit had they not been part of a political party. Louise, a former councillor from Vancouver, described her frustration with running in a big city and how being part of a political party ameliorated some of those frustrations, “...when you’re running for the whole city and it’s in Vancouver the city is about 600,000 people, it is expensive to run, it is difficult to win a nomination, there is a lot of competition”. She further states that without a party her success in the 2002 municipal election would not have been possible, “...that makes it almost impossible to win a seat in Vancouver, it’s too much competition, you need a party to run”. Agnes, a councillor candidate from Burnaby, Metropolitan Vancouver’s third largest electoral unit, reinforces Louise’s<sup>28</sup> statement, “...it’s easier in a small place because you don’t need the kind of money and infrastructure, it’s become sophisticated in the Lower Mainland”. Most women from big electoral units agree that women face obstacles when campaigning in big electoral jurisdictions. All seven women interviewed from big electoral units in Metropolitan Vancouver were part of a political party or were previously part of a political party and

---

<sup>28</sup> Louise is a councillor candidate from Vancouver, a large electoral jurisdiction.

now running as independents. Louise<sup>29</sup> credits her party for getting elected to council. She states “I think that in big communities what you might have is more sexism and I assume that women in a smaller community can get known as a strong capable women in a way that you can’t without a party involved”.

Some women credit the media with providing opportunities in medium municipalities. Irene, the independent councillor in Delta who had previously been part of a political party, believes that the media helped her gain coverage because of the size of her municipality, “I think it’s easier, I think the media, the printed media is more localized. People can identify you in the local media. You have fewer people to contend with. You see, Delta is very interesting, it’s very unique...we’ve got communities that are small, think of themselves as a small town, know who is running, very educated in local politics, very educated about the issues locally and interested in maintaining a small town atmosphere”. Irene’s comments are contrasted by Louise’s<sup>30</sup> perception of the media in Vancouver, “...in a city as large as 600,000 the only women who can run by themselves are wealthy because they have to buy advertising, you have to get media coverage, it’s almost impossible to get media coverage as an independent”. Mary, a councillor in the Ottawa Kanata South ward, a large electoral ward, states, “in larger wards you need media awareness; you need to harness the media”.

Some of the women interviewed believe that both men and women face the same obstacles in big cities and it was not necessarily a gender issue. Henrietta, a councillor in Vancouver, suggested that women don’t necessarily face different challenges or obstacles than men do, “...the issues are exactly the same. You still have to cover a lot of territory

---

<sup>29</sup> Louise is a councillor candidate from Vancouver, a large electoral jurisdiction.

<sup>30</sup> Louise is a councillor candidate from Vancouver, a large electoral jurisdiction.

and individuals have their own bases of support and relative strengths amongst people who are running in a big group or a small group”. Nellie<sup>31</sup> believes that, “it’s becoming less of an issue”. Kim, a councillor candidate in the River ward, a large electoral ward, believes that the issues are different in all electoral units and that it is difficult for both men and women alike, “there are different challenges in small and large cities. Fundraising is difficult in large cities and in small cities. You need to connect more with your community at a different level, but it’s difficult for both men and women”. Louise<sup>32</sup>, however, offered an explanation as to why some women did not perceive that campaigning in large municipalities as a barrier, “I think women who have had privilege...are not aware of the stumbling blocks for other people...if they talk about being a women it’s showing a vulnerability. They don’t really don’t know to use it as a strength”. Both Kim and Louise believe that networks are very important to building a base of support for campaign. Both men and women must have strong financial networks and other networks of support to have a successful campaign.

## **Conclusion**

Female candidates in small, medium and large municipalities faced both obstacles and opportunities, but there were many differences of opinion on how the size of electoral jurisdiction impacted females. In small electoral jurisdictions all women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver experienced that their campaigns were less costly confirming MacManus and Bullock’s finding that campaigning in small electoral jurisdictions creates opportunities for female candidates because of the lower cost associated. The small size of their jurisdiction also allowed them to reach the voters more

---

<sup>31</sup> Nellie is a councillor in Port Moody, a small electoral jurisdiction.

<sup>32</sup> Louise, is a councillor candidate in Vancouver, a large electoral jurisdiction.

effectively. Their networks did not consist of professionalized campaigns but of rather close friends and family.

The municipality of Port Moody has experienced a consistent representation of female councillors. The average percent of female councillors 1996 and 2005 is 50.0. These findings bring into question cosmopolitan hypothesis that larger electoral units are more likely to elect women to public office because of the acceptance of women in positions of authority and progressive politics. Women who campaigned in small municipalities believe that it was easier to receive media coverage for their campaigns. The small size of their municipalities also allowed them to juggle other family and work responsibilities and keep a balance in their daily lives.

In large electoral jurisdictions, some women in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa found it difficult to campaign and communicate effectively with voters. Women in both Canadian regions agreed that campaigning as an independent candidate made it difficult to win a seat on council unless the candidate was well known to the electorate or the individual had significant fund raising opportunities. Most females who ran in large electoral jurisdictions in Metropolitan Vancouver credited their success to being part of a political party and their incumbency. They had build name recognition and it was easier to campaign because the voters were familiar with them. One female councillor from Gloucester-Southgate, a large ward in Ottawa, believed that the cosmopolitan nature of her city and ward brought her more acceptance to the voters and was part of the reason of her success.

A small number of women believed that both men and women faced the same opportunities and obstacles in small, medium and large electoral jurisdictions. To these

women gender is not the factors that determines success, but rather the types of networks that candidates have and the basis of their support that determine their success during a local election.

## **CHAPTER 5**

# **THE GENDER REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AND MUNICIPAL POLITICAL PARTIES**

### **Chapter Objective**

This chapter explores whether the presence of municipal parties shapes the experiences of female councillors and female councillor candidates in Metropolitan Vancouver. This is examined in comparison to the absence of municipal political parties in the City of Ottawa.

The first section of this chapter provides an overview of some of the obstacles that exist within political parties that might hinder the advancement of women in politics and some of the opportunities that are afforded by political parties at the federal, provincial and municipal level of government in a historical and comparative perspective. The second section of this chapter provides an overview of the municipal political parties found in Metropolitan Vancouver and the absence of such parties in Ottawa. This is followed by a qualitative analysis of the electoral representation of female councillors and female councillor candidates in six electoral units in Metropolitan Vancouver and the city of Ottawa. The final section of chapter five provides a quantitative analysis of the experiences of female councillors and female councillor candidates with municipal political parties in Metropolitan Vancouver with the experience of female councillors and councillor candidates in terms of the impact of the presence of municipal political parties.

## Literature Analysis

The literature on women in Canadian politics presents political parties as both a barrier for the advancement of women in politics, but also providing opportunities for women. There are many reasons for these contrasting opinions. Some scholars believe that political parties hinder the advancement of women through the largely male dominated presence and the internal hierarchy of political parties. Political parties also act as “gatekeepers” that decide who gets nominated and who does not. Some scholars, however, have a different view of political parties. Political parties at all levels of government may provide opportunities for the advancement of women through party quota policies. Quota policies are a concerted commitment by the party to nominate more women and increase the presence of females in the political arena. Political parties with such commitments are credited with helping aspiring female politicians gain name recognition, gain access to funding and networking for their campaigns and serve as an invaluable source of mentorship.

The tension that exists between political partisanship and independence in the political history of women in Canada dates back to the nineteenth century. Early feminist efforts in English Canada rejected conventional partisanship. This grew out of the “broader distrust of established political structure” (Bashevkin, 1993: 6). Nellie McClung, a vocal critic of the partisanship and a prominent suffragist and social feminist, recorded her initial impression of party politics in her diary records. She attended a Liberal campaign meeting in rural Manitoba during the 1880s. After two questions regarding women’s rights were ignored she promptly left the meeting with the firm belief that politics was “a sordidly, grubby business...” (Savage, 1979: 27).

McClung's followers believed that independence from political partisanship and parties was the only way to advance feminist interests. Partisan politics was rejected for being an "old boys club" where the issue of women's rights were largely ignored; but importantly, social feminists failed to create political organizations after suffrage. As a result, many social feminist in English Canada believed that mobilization could come about from the home on issues such as minimum wage and industrial working conditions (Savage, 1979: 67). One exception to this was the involvement of social feminists' alliance with the British Columbia Liberals during the 1920s. Their involvement with the party helped bring about reform legislation in the province including prison and family law reform; infant protection; mothers pension; a Juvenile Court; and improved public health, library and education systems (MacGill, 1981). Bashevkin states that the reasons why these social feminists achieved their success was due to two important factors: (a) a number of important active suffragists became party members after the provincial Liberals adopted women suffrage in their platforms of 1912 and (b) and following this, social feminists in BC retained an independent women's network through such groups as the New Era League (Bashevkin 1993: 11). Bashevkin, however, is quick to point out that the election and cabinet appointment of active feminist women and the presence of politically independent and effective women's organization was the exception rather than the rule for many years following 1918 (Bashevkin 1993: 11).

The contemporary experiences of women in politics suggest that political parties are perceived both as a source of opportunity but also a barrier to the advancement of females in the political arena. The "stepping-stone" argument examines how political parties act as a barrier for a woman's entry into municipal politics. Albert K. Karnig and



Oliver Walter in their study of the election of women to city council in 1976 argue that women face more competition in partisan elections because male candidates use elected office as a stepping-stone to enter higher levels of government. The more competition there is in a municipality the less likely women are to enter political competition and the less likely they are to win (Karnig & Walter, 1976: 607). Elizabeth Gidengil and Richard Vengroff found this argument less applicable in their study of Quebec municipal elections. Political parties at the local level have fewer connections with those at the provincial and federal levels of government and were therefore less competitive. The results of their study showed that in a municipality with partisan politics, provincial and federal parties were less reluctant to becoming involved in the funding and organization of particular municipal parties leaving organization and other matters strictly to the local level of government (Gidengil & Vengroff, 1997: 520). The authors, however, did find that municipal political parties did act as a barrier for women. The overrepresentation of men in municipal politics acts as a barrier for female candidates. With eighty-five per cent of the leadership (party head and official representatives) of Quebec's municipal parties being male, the entrance of females in local government was problematic.<sup>33</sup>

## **Women in Political Parties: International and National Perspective**

Quota policies have been used internationally as a tool to increase the number of women in political parties. Karen Bird, in her study of France's new Parity Law, believes "it was effective-where it applied-in bringing women into politics".<sup>34</sup> In April 2000,

---

<sup>33</sup> Based on figures derived from Directeur General des elections du Quebec, *Liste des 75 parties politiques municipales autorise au 18 avril 1996*, Sainte-Foy: Andrew, "Le pouvoir local," 67.

<sup>34</sup> The Fact's Ma'am: What lessons can be drawn for Canada from Frances new parity law (November 2001) [http://www.equalvoice.ca/facts\\_lessons.html](http://www.equalvoice.ca/facts_lessons.html) (Accessed November 14, 2007)

France enacted a new law that requires an equal number of male and female candidates in legislative and municipal elections (Bird, 2000: 5). Other countries have similar laws that have legally established the number of women that are required by law to run in elections. Belgium, India, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, South Africa, Malaysia and Bolivia all have national laws that require a minimum percentage of female candidates or representatives at various electoral levels. France is the first country in the world to create a parity law that legally requires the representation of women. Bird argues that the Parity Law improved the representation of women in all levels of government. Along with the application of a proportional-list system as used in France- this improved the representation of women by 50 percent. However, the author maintains “there are important interaction effects between a parity law on the one hand, and electoral and institutional rules and cultural constraints on the other hand. In countries where the political sphere remains relatively inaccessible to women, parity and other measures to promote women's access to politics will interact in different ways with the institutional and cultural factors specific to that country” (Bird, 2000: 5)

At the federal level of government, Linda Trimble and Jane Arscott argue that the presence of political parties has stalled women’s electoral progress and will prevent women’s legislative representation from exceeding 25 percent in the near future (Trimble and Arscott, 2003: 45). Political parties are responsible for creating and sustaining the electoral glass ceiling which prevent the advancement of women in political parties. They argue that political parties have failed to nominate women in the regular nomination process allowing for more advancement of men in political parties. There is also the perception that there is complacency among parties to reach 25 per cent level of female

candidacies. They examine the process that took place in the Liberal Party of Canada in October 1993 election, when it openly declared its goal of recruiting women to 25 percent of the candidacies. During that election the Liberals surpassed their quota; 28 percent of the party's candidates were women. In the 2005 election, however, the Liberal party did not have the same goal to advance the same number or more women in their party. Trimble and Arscott concluded that there was complacency among the parties with regard to the 25 percent level of female candidates (Trimble and Arscott ,2003: 61). The authors argue that federal political parties have strongly resisted any attempt to regulate their internal procedures, including candidate nominations. It is unlikely that political parties will change their attitudes because there is no immediate electoral benefit for this change (Trimble and Arscott, 2003: 65).

In contrast, some scholars have found political parties to be agents of opportunity for women. A political party helps to promote name recognition for female candidates and parties provide access to financial resources and mentorship (Welch and Karnig. 1979: 485). Women who campaign as independents are perceived to have more difficulty getting elected to municipal office in a large electoral jurisdiction in an at-large system and voters are more apt to identify a female candidate behind a party banner. The presence of party competition may create pressure to nominate more women and seek out more female candidates to campaign (Studlar and Welch, 1992: 62-69). Such has become more evident at all levels of government. The Federal Liberal Party in the 2005 election pushed for the election of more women to the party and many political parties at the

municipal level in Metropolitan Vancouver are seeking more females to run in large electoral units such as Vancouver and Burnaby.<sup>35</sup>

Canadian federal political parties have begun introducing strategies to increase the number of women elected to the House of Commons largely due to the effort of women within those parties (Arscott and Trimble, 1997: 88). Prior to the 1993 election, the New Democratic Party (NDP) women's organization advocated an affirmative-action program that would require constituency associations to conduct a search for female, visible-minority, aboriginal, and candidates with disabilities before the nomination was held. The federal Progressive Conservative Party and federal Liberal party focussed on the recruitment and training of potential candidates (Arscott and Trimble, 1997: 88).

Prior to the 1997 federal election the Liberal party decided to directly appoint women as candidates to secure the presence of a high number of female candidates. This initiative created disagreements in the party and within the general public. This action was called by many as an "undemocratic response" by the federal Liberal party to advance women in federal politics (Trimble and Arscott, 2003: 61). There was much internal discontent towards this initiative and it was later abandoned by the federal Liberal party. Although this policy increased the number of women in political parties at the national level the strategy with which it was used was not approved by many men and women alike.

---

<sup>35</sup> Information regarding quota policies of political parties in Metropolitan Vancouver were gathered through interviews with councillors and councillor candidates.

## **Political Parties in Metropolitan Vancouver and Their Absence in Ottawa**

Political parties have been a feature of local government in the Greater Vancouver Regional District for many decades. Some argue that local political parties are a positive feature of local government because they are able to provide strong leadership, scrutiny of the municipality's activities through organized opposition, and because they bring forth constructive debates regarding municipal affairs (Tindal and Tindal, 1995: 285). A contrasting view on the presence of municipal political parties questions the alleged advantages and benefits they bring to a municipality. David Siegel suggests that there is a lack of evidence that municipal political parties provide clear platforms or alternatives for voters, or that they adhere to their promises once elected. He suggests that parties can make councillors less accountable to the voters, because partisanship may detract from councillors from their constituents. A lingering notion is that local government affairs are administrative in nature and not political; "there is no political way to build a road" (Siegel, 1987).

There are a plethora of municipal political parties in Lower Mainland British Columbia and Table 5.1 presents all the parties found in the area.

**Table 5.1 Major Municipal Political Parties in the Lower Mainland**

Vancouver	Surrey	Burnaby	Delta	Port Coquitlam	Port Moody
Vision Vancouver 36	Surrey Civic Coalition (SCC) 37	Burnaby Citizens Association 38	Tri-Delta Voters Association 39	No Political Parties	No Political Parties
Electors Action Movement (TEAM) 9	Surrey Electors Team (SET) 40	TEAM Burnaby Voters Association 41	Delta First 42		
Non-Partisan Association (NPA) 43	Surrey FIRST 44	Burnaby Voters Non-Partisan Association (BVNPA) 13	Independent Delta Electors Association (IDEA) 45		
Coalition of Progressive Electors (COPE) 46			Delta Non-Partisan Association (Delta NPA) 47		

Municipal political parties are present in each of the large and medium electoral units in Vancouver, Surrey and Burnaby. Vancouver has had a party system of sorts since the late 1930s with long periods in which the Non-Partisan Association (NPA) has been overwhelmingly predominant. The NPA has held majority control of municipal council

<sup>36</sup> Vision Vancouver is a centre-left civic party formed in 2005 by former members of the Coalition of Progressive Electors (COPE). In the election for Vancouver City Council four Vision Vancouver City Councillors were elected: Raymond Louie, Tim Stevenson, Heather Deal and George Chow.

<sup>37</sup> Surrey Civic Coalition (SCC) was founded in 2005 and ran its first slate of candidates ran in the November 19, 2005 Surrey civic election. It is a left leaning party with support from unions like the Canadian Union of Public Employees.

<sup>38</sup> The Burnaby Citizen's Association (BCA) is a centre-left civic party formed in the 1980s. The current mayor of Burnaby Derek Corrigan is part of the BCA.

<sup>39</sup> The Tri-Delta Voters Association is a civic party in the municipality of Delta. It advanced its first group of candidates in 1996 and was a breakaway group from IDEA.

<sup>40</sup> The Surrey Electors Team (SET) is a civic party established in the 1980s in the municipality of Surrey. In April 2007 three SET left the party to form a new political party Surrey First.

<sup>41</sup> TEAM Burnaby Voters Association is a centre-right civic party formed in the late 1990s.

<sup>42</sup> Delta First is a civic political party founded in 2005 in the municipality of Delta. It ran its first slate of candidates in the November 2005 municipal election.

<sup>43</sup> The Non-Partisan Association is a centre-right civic party established in 1937. It was founded in response to the rise of the democratic socialist movement in Vancouver. In the election for Vancouver City Mayor, an NPA mayoral candidate Sam Sullivan defeated COPE mayoral candidate Jim Green. For a detailed analysis of the historical development of the NPA see Andrea Barbara Smith (1981) "The Origins of the NPA: A Study in Vancouver Politics: 1930-1940" MA Thesis, University of British Columbia.

<sup>44</sup> Surrey FIRST is an emerging political party. It was formed by current mayor of Surrey Dianne Watts. It will run a slate of candidates in the next civic election in 2008.

<sup>45</sup> The Independent Delta Electors Association is one of the oldest civic parties in the municipality of Delta.

<sup>46</sup> The Coalition of Progressive Electors (COPE) was founded in 1968. It was originally called the Committee of Progressive Electors, but changed their name in 1993 to reflect the historical development and future prospects for the group. For a detailed analysis of the historical development of COPE see Donna Vogel, *Challenging Politics: COPE, Electoral Politics and Social Movements* (Halifax: Fernwood Books 2003)

<sup>47</sup> The Delta Non-Partisan Association is one of the oldest civic parties in the municipality of Delta. Malcolm Ashford is one of the founders of the party, but decided to run as an independent in the November 1999 Delta civic election.

from 1937 to the present day, except only eight years of 1978 to 1982 and 1982 to 1986 (Sproule-Jones, 2006: 3). Municipal political parties are found in large municipalities due to the cost of organizing and maintaining of a political party. In Vancouver, the Lower Mainland's biggest city with a population of over 600,000 residents, there are four active political parties: Vision Vancouver, The Electors Action Movement, The Non-Partisan Association and The Coalition of Progressive Electors. There are other municipalities in Metropolitan Vancouver that have a plethora of functioning political parties such as Surrey, Burnaby, Delta, New Westminster and Richmond as well.

In the city of Ottawa there is an absence of political parties. Candidates campaign as independents without a party banner.

### **The Inclusion of Women in Municipal Political Parties**

As noted above, there exists the perception that it is easier for women to get elected to municipal office than any other level of government. This perception is based on the less challenging obstacles that female candidates must overcome at the local level (Smith, 2006: 19-21). This is due to the belief that municipal politics is more inclusive to women and that there are more females represented in municipal government. However, it appears that there are more women elected to council in municipalities where there are political parties.

Table 1 displays data on the percentage of all female candidates and the percentage of successful female candidates in seven municipalities in the Lower Mainland and in Ottawa during the years 1996-2006.

**Table 5.2: Percentage of Female Candidates and Female Winners in Party Systems and No Party Systems (1996-2006)<sup>48</sup>**

Electoral Units with Municipal Parties			Electoral Units with No Municipal Parties		
City	Candidates (%)	Winners (%)	City	Candidates (%)	Winners (%)
Burnaby (2)	22.1	25.0	Ottawa (1)	22.4	31.9
Delta (2)	32.9	45.8	Port Coquitlam(2)	17.4	12.5
Surrey (1)	33.3	62.5	Port Moody (3)	33.6	50.0
Vancouver (1)	36.7	30.0			
Average	31.3%	40.8%	Average	24.5%	31.5%

- 1 – Large municipality
- 2 – Medium municipality
- 3 – Small municipality

Statistically, women have a greater chance of winning a seat on council in municipalities with party systems. On average 40.8 percent of females in party systems were successfully elected as councillors compared to 31.5 percent in municipalities without parties. Table one also shows that there are more female candidates in municipalities with a party system. More specifically, the municipality of Surrey has a higher percentage of successful female candidates when compared to other municipalities in this study. In Surrey, sixty-two percent of all female candidates are elected to council. Vancouver has the highest number of female candidates in this study, but only one third are elected to council.

From this quantitative analysis, it appears to be the case that political parties are advantageous to females due to the fact that there are more women elected as councillors where there are party systems. But what do the experiences of women in Metropolitan

<sup>48</sup> Information for this chart was gathered from the municipal webpages of Ottawa, Vancouver, Surrey, Burnaby, Delta, Port Coquitlam and Port Moody.



Vancouver, where there are parties, and the experiences of women in Ottawa where there is an absence of political parties explain how political parties may act as opportunities or obstacles for women in municipal office?

### **Municipal Political Parties as Agents of Opportunity for Women**

All six women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver strongly believed that their political parties created many opportunities such as access to funding, access to networks, name recognition and a source of mentorship. Two women who campaigned as independents, but who were previously part of a local political party credit their current success to their involvement in their local parties. Emily, who successfully campaigned for councillor in Delta, referred to her party as an “oiled machine” when she described how her party was organized and structured during the 2005 civic election. She explains, “There were at least 60-70 full-time volunteers that were keeping the whole thing going. And there were a lot of people involved: the sign team, the phoning team, the volunteer coordinator, and the office manager, lots of stuff going on to make it right”. She explains that all the coordination and planning allowed her to concentrate on campaigning and meeting the electors.

Irene, a female councillor in Delta, a medium electoral jurisdiction, also attributes part of her success to being involved with a political party, “I know both myself and another female councillor, ran together our first term with a crew and both of us were elected but by the skin of our chiny-chin-chins. But we were elected, and that was probably due to being on the coattails of the group”. Being with a political party for many years helped this candidate gain name recognition, access to funding sources and experience with campaigning in her electoral unit. Her experiences became very valuable when she started campaigning as an independent candidate.

Access to finances is often cited as a barrier for women in municipal politics.

Women have a difficult time financing their campaigns compared to men because they do not have the same financial networks. Irene<sup>49</sup> was very much aware of this barrier and being part of a political party allowed her more access to funding. “It’s definitely easier to run as part of a group for a number of reasons, one being money. There is sort of a central fundraising in the group and it has large tentacles and there is usually a man involved that has business contacts. On the whole, the money can then be spent more efficiently because the cost of running a campaign is very expensive”. A female candidate in a political party thus has access to funding and networks. Many women felt uncomfortable asking for money from donors and were relieved that the party could take care of the fundraising. Louise<sup>50</sup> credited her party for helping her organize key fundraising events, “...party structures are different, they have experience, so they organized a few fundraisers for women and they organized an amazing event for the nomination meeting...”

Some political parties in Metropolitan Vancouver have created structures, such as a female auxiliary, that help welcome newly elected female candidates into the party and act as a source of mentorship. Louise explained that her party has a women’s caucus and this helped her feel welcome. She found this caucus to be a great place to network with other women. Although there was room for reform to make the party more welcoming to female politicians she appreciated the supportive structures that were present.

---

<sup>49</sup> Irene is a councillor in Delta, a medium electoral jurisdiction.

<sup>50</sup> Louise is a councillor candidate in Vancouver, a large electoral jurisdiction.

One female councillor in a large electoral jurisdiction, Martha<sup>51</sup>, who had previously campaigned with a political party in Surrey, explained that her party at the time had a policy that the candidates be half female and half male. She explains that this policy was not always seen favourably by others in the party, "...it helped, but it was criticized by some. But it was effective. We did send a message that it was important to have female candidates and I supported the policy". Diane, a councillor in Burnaby, a large electoral unit, also states that her party was currently looking for more female candidates to run on the party's slate for the municipality's 2008 election, "we try to have a balance, who gets elected is another thing. We currently have three spots open on council, two should be female. We are definitely looking for female candidates in the next election".

Political parties were perceived by many females to be a positive feature in the Metropolitan Vancouver because it also gave them name recognition in competitive municipalities. Louise<sup>52</sup> stated that, "...if you don't have a party it's impossible to win a seat in Vancouver. It's too competitive. You need a party to run". She also mentioned that being part of a political party allows female candidates to receive more media exposure. Louise explains how being part of a political party helped her gain more media exposure, "the only women who can run by themselves are wealthy because they can buy advertising, you have to get media coverage, it's almost impossible to get media coverage as an independent, it's really unusual. With the party, the media always talks to the main parties that run and the main parties make sure you get some coverage as an individual".

---

<sup>51</sup> Martha is a councillor in Surrey, a large electoral jurisdiction.

<sup>52</sup> Louise is a councillor candidate in Vancouver, a large electoral jurisdiction.

## **Municipal Political Parties Providing Obstacles for Women**

Four of the women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver identified obstacles within their political party that prevented them from advancing within the party and not promoting a sense of acceptance. Two of the four women, Martha and Irene, had previously been part of a local political party, but left their party to campaign as independent candidates. Their reasons for leaving were varied, but they both identified that disagreements within the party and ideological consideration were factors that contributed to their departure. One of them noted that financial mismanagement during elections was the main reason that she left her party.

Some of the other obstacles that women experienced with their local political parties were the partisan nature of political parties as a barrier, the hierarchical structure of the party as a barrier and how the presence of political parties detracts from councillors' representation of their municipalities. Martha, a female councillor who campaigned as an independent in Surrey but who was part of a political party for many years describes her experience of not being part of a political party as very positive and identifies political parties as a barrier. She explained that not being part of a political party allowed her to be more impartial and better represent her community. She explains, "I don't have to follow any mandate, I don't have to vote party lines. I can hear the dialogue, hear the discussion and formulate my opinions and vote regardless of what some party says. You then find yourself ostracized or cut out if you don't vote party line. So there is a freedom to vote your conscience in all things".

Martha's sentiment towards political parties is echoed by eight out of the ten females interviewed in Ottawa and two women who campaigned in the small electoral jurisdiction of Port Moody. Most perceived political parties as devise agents that would

not work in the favour of the community. A female councillor in the Kitchissippi ward of Ottawa explains that not being part of a political party allows her to be a more effective councillor, “we’re better off not having political parties, after all, I’m working for the city not for a party.” Audrey, a councillor in the Gloucester-Southgate ward, explains that, “local government is about the community, the people and the issues. A lot of municipal issues are not split along left or right, urban vs. suburban, east vs. west and they’re not split along ideological lines”. Mary, a councillor in the Kanata South ward, finds a sense of freedom not being part of a political party because she is able to make her own decisions although she also sees the benefits of being involved in a political party, “I see local politics changing issue by issue and not along party lines”. Ida, an incumbent councillor from Barrhaven explains, “They just don’t belong here. I’m happy not being part of a political party and representing my ward as an independent”.

Doris, a councillor from the Kanata North ward, and Nellie, a councillor from Port Moody, both explain that not being part of a political party allows them to better represent their community. Doris explains that, “council should vote on an issue by issue basis and not what’s good for the party. Nellie believes that with the absence of a party mandate, she is able to vote her conscience and not vote along party lines, “...within a party system, does it matter if I find something morally repugnant? You then find yourself ostracized or cut out if you don’t vote the party line. So there is freedom to vote your conscience on all things.” However, Kim, a councillor from the Kitchissippi ward, believes that local political parties may help to increase the number of females in municipal politics, “if the party made a decision to elect females as part of their political platform, then it could make a difference, and the party could help with fundraising and

making sure you had organizers”. Most of the females interviewed in Ottawa did not view local political parties favourably due to the belief that ideology would influence their ability to be effective councillors. Some, however, did perceive political parties as an effective way to increase the number of female candidates as well as providing funding during the campaign.

The hierarchical structure of political parties was perceived by some women. Louise<sup>53</sup> stated that how the party is run sometimes provides a disincentive to being part of a political structure. The presence of discrimination is a barrier and the closed system of a party is perceived of as a barrier, “Parties at this point are run behind the scenes by an old boy’s network, no matter what party you look at. So the core people who really direct the politics here and campaign and direct the media coverage and who ensure that you win is a group of guys, so that’s hard to stomach and you need to break the barrier.” Political parties are also perceived by some women to not be socially or culturally representative. Louise explains that “most of the parties are white and mostly white people that are very established; and there is certainly, in our party, an attempt to reach out and broaden that base in the inter-race movement”.

All of the ten women interviewed in Ottawa and all five of the women who campaigned as independents in Metropolitan Vancouver stated that another positive feature of not being involved in a political party is greater control over campaign finances. Although many women explained that financing their campaign was difficult, they liked to have control over how the money was raised and who contributed to their

---

<sup>53</sup> Louise is a councillor candidate in Vancouver, a large electoral jurisdiction.

campaign. Nellie<sup>54</sup> explained that she enjoyed going to donors and asking for funding. She approached various developers for funding during the campaign, she held a variety of very successful fundraisers, local businesses and restaurants supported her. Two female councillors, who were previously involved with political parties, decided to run as independent candidates due to their growing dissatisfaction with their parties. Although both had credited their political parties for helping build their name recognition over the years, frustration with their political parties resulted in their eventual departure. Martha, an independent councillor in a large electoral jurisdiction in Metropolitan Vancouver blamed her break with the party with the financial mismanagement created by inexperienced campaign managers. By the end of the election campaign the party was saddled with a \$58,000 in debt that fell on the elected councillors and mayor to pay off. Martha had put her house on a bank loan to receive funding for her election campaign, but worked for three years to help pay down the party debt: “it was just six or seven of us who cleared the debt, primarily the ones that had their houses on bank loan and the ones that got elected. So that was very discouraging for me to be involved with people who did not take responsibility. So I didn’t want to be in that position anymore”. The financial mismanagement of a party and how the debt was dealt with after the election resulted in her decision to eventually leave the party. She explains that although it was difficult to raise funds as an independent candidate she had control over all the finances.

Irene also left her political party after growing dissatisfied with the direction her party was taken. She credits persistent disagreements with policy choices as the main reason she left her party, “I was unhappy with some of the issues, I was supporting the

---

<sup>54</sup> Nellie is a councillor in Port Moody, a small electoral jurisdiction.

group less and less, I felt like an outcast. I left and continued as an independent and ran in the next election”. She stated that leaving the party was very difficult for her, but she felt she couldn’t be an effective politician by staying in her local political party.

For some women, the absence of a political party can be an advantage. Political parties are able to combine different networks and funding source to help candidates. Louise believed in the importance of female candidates to run on a political platform because it gave them a sense of responsibility to their municipality. She states, “I don’t think it’s just good enough for an individual woman to be elected, I think that a women needs to run on a platform of social justice, economic equality and environmental sustainability and being held accountable in trying to achieve those as much as possible. Political parties can also add to female candidates’ networks and financing sources. Many females identified a difference in the types of networks that women have that may affect the amount of funding that they collect in fundraising. Nellie identified the distinction between the kind of networks that males and females have. She states, “Women network through things like volunteering in the community. So if you’re going to volunteer for organizations like the Hospice, the food bank or for non-profits, there isn’t a lot of money there. Men who network do it through things like Rotary and other businesses.” Louise states that, “absolutely it’s a gender thing...you’re in a large community, you need money and men have more money and they have more access to money and they know other men with money....”

However, Agnes, a female councillor candidate from Burnaby, argues that women’s networks are changing. She credits their education and being involved in the workforce as factors that change women’s networks: “the more educated and the more



women are involved in the workforce, the bigger their networking systems”. But from her experience, Agnes found that the type of networks women have also affect their level of funding. She states “If they can bring networks and money that’s great, but if they can bring networks with money, that’s even better”. She goes on to state, “but not all women have these kinds of networks. Women have a lot of social networks and they might know volunteers that can help, but you need volunteers with money”. Due to the types of networks that women tend to have creates a disadvantage when funding and organizing their campaigns. However, the absence of political parties can be a disadvantage for women because political parties bring together different types of funding and networks that women are able to take advantage of.

Some of the women interviewed argued that political parties act as both obstacles and opportunities for both males and females. They did not see a gender distinction. Henrietta, a councillor in Vancouver stated, “I don’t think it’s a barrier for women any more than it’s a barrier for men and I think getting the nomination, seeking to win the nomination is the hard part”.

## **Conclusion**

Municipal political parties within Metropolitan Vancouver provide opportunities for females, but certain features of local political parties still creates obstacles for women. Statistically, women are more likely to be elected to council if they are part of a political party compared to women who were not part of a political party. From the experiences of female councillors and female councillor candidates in Metropolitan Vancouver they explained that municipal political parties help women gain access to funding for their campaigns, provide name recognition in competitive elections and help harness media attention in a highly competitive electoral jurisdiction. The presence of female auxiliaries

within local parties helped women feel inclusive and gain mentorship from their female counterparts. Many female councillors believed that they could not have been elected to council in their municipality had they not been part of a political party. Quota politics among some political parties in the major municipalities in Metropolitan Vancouver help increase the number of women elected as councillors. However, some women did not agree with such policies because they promote tokenism among female politicians.

Municipal political parties are also perceived as obstacles for females. Many women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa expressed their discomfort with presence of political partisanship in municipal politics because such partisanship prevented them from being impartial and fully representing their communities. Some women did not believe that municipal political parties were inclusive because of their absence of ethnically and racially diverse members. In Ottawa many of the women interviewed strongly believed that the absence of local parties was a positive feature of their political system. Political parties would bring partisanship that would be a divisive feature in their communities. The absence of political parties allowed them to represent their communities, issue by issue, without ideological considerations.

In sum, political parties may represent both obstacles to and opportunities for better gender representation. As with the size of municipality, other factors seem equally important in determining the extent to which political parties act as both a barrier and an opportunity. The next chapter will explore how the presence of different campaign finance systems influences female candidates.

## **CHAPTER 6**

# **THE GENDER REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AND MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN FINANCING**

### **Chapter Objective**

This chapter explores how municipal campaign financing shapes the experiences of female councillors and female councillor candidates in Metropolitan Vancouver and in the recently amalgamated city of Ottawa is explored. Specifically, campaign finance regulations in British Columbia and Ontario and the obstacles that females encounter while financing their campaigns are examined. In the first section, background to the current finance regimes in British Columbia and Ontario are provided. In the second section the experiences of female councillor and female councillor candidates with the finance regime in their provinces are assessed and some of the obstacles that they encountered and some of the opportunities that the finance regime afforded them are identified. The final section of the chapter offers conclusions as well as a brief summary of both the opportunities and obstacles present with the municipal finance regime in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa.

### **Literature Review**

Studies of campaign finance in the United States investigate all levels of government. These studies help to provide a comparative perspective to the Canadian situation. Timothy B. Krebs provides an analysis of funding coalitions in the Los Angeles council and mayoral elections. He investigates the types of contributions that were made

to candidates and concludes that, “corporate interests dominate campaign contributions, but not all corporate interests are equally active” (Krebs, 2005: 173). He also observed the financial involvement of other groups of professionals such as the entertainment and retail industries as significant financiers of municipal elections in Los Angeles (Krebs, 2005: 175). A.K Gierzynski, Paul Kleppner and James Lewis investigated funding for the Chicago council elections in 1991 and 1995 and found that money is important to election outcomes (Gierzynski, Kleppner and Lewis, 1998).

The issue of party campaign finance in Canada was first comprehensively analyzed in the mid-1960s when the Committee on Election Expenses (Barbeau Committee) issued its report. In the report the committee noted that some countries subsidized the activities of political parties: (transportation in Japan, broadcast time and mailings in Britain and France, nomination conventions in Norway) (Committee on Election Expenses 1966: 175-180) while in other countries such as West Germany, Sweden, Puerto Rico the Federal Government provided parties with unconditional subsidies based on the votes or on the number of seats won in the proceeding election (Committee on Election Expenses 1966: 203-222). The report is important because it provides the basis for the 1974 *Election Expenses Act*, which led to what was then considered Canada’s most comprehensive regulatory framework for party and election finance. The report created a framework for changes which affected provincial and federal campaign finance reform in Canada (Constantinou 1991: 276). The main elements of the 1974 reforms were: limits on the election expenses of registered political parties and candidates; disclosure of parties and candidates’ revenue and spending; and public

funding through post-election reimbursements to parties and candidates, as well as an income tax credit for contributions to either (Seidle 1991: xi).

The Lortie Commission, often called the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing, issued its report in 1992. It considered and made recommendations on many areas of federal electoral practice, including the right to be a candidate, the role and financing of political parties, and their electoral association, election expense controls, funding funding and disclosure. Many of its recommendations have been implemented during the past 13 years and has enhanced transparency of the electoral process (Elections Canada 2007).

There are a limited number of scholarly articles that investigate municipal campaign finance in Canada. Articles regarding electoral systems, political parties, campaign finance, leadership and election participation tend to focus on provincial and national politics with very limited attention at the local level. Some scholars, however, have begun investigating these topics and have spearheaded the expansion of municipal studies but have not paid much attention to the issue of campaign financing. Robert MacDermid is one of the few that have tackled this topic by producing an interesting study about how municipal elections are funded in the Toronto Region. It compares campaign funding across ten municipalities and examines the types of financial contributions that back candidates for office (MacDermid, 2006). Siegel, Kushner and Stanwick's study explains the outcomes of 32 large mayoralty races across Canada based on the characteristics of the candidates such as, age, gender, incumbency, education and campaign expenses. Other studies on municipal politics investigate voter turnout and voter choice. Hannah Stanwick's study is an ecological analysis of aggregate voting in

the 1997 Toronto municipal election that explains the outcome of the mayoral race between Mel Lastman and Barbara Hall (Stanwick, 2000). Fred Cutler and Scott Matthews' study tests models of voter choice developed from election surveys at the national levels of governance to investigate the 2002 Vancouver mayoralty election (Cutler and Matthews, 2002).

British Columbia is unique because it has perhaps the least regulated local campaign finance regimes in Canada. The importance of establishing campaign finance regulations is explained best by John Rawls. He argues that "political parties are to be made independent from private economic interests by allotting them sufficient tax revenues to play their part in the constitutional scheme" (Rawls, 1971: 225-226). By placing restrictions on the amount of money that can be donated to political parties and individuals from the business community and individuals there is an argument that they will be better able to represent the interests of the community rather than fall to the interests or wishes of their donors. The three reasons that motivate the restriction of political parties to financed interests are: equality, the behaviour of political office holders upon being elected to office; and the need to stimulate political debate (Rawls, 1971: 225).

These changes at the federal and provincial level did not have an effect on the campaign finance regime for British Columbia's local governments, however, Terry Morley has stated that "successive governments of the province have failed to grasp the spirit of reform that followed the federal Report of the Committee on Election Expenses (Morley 1991: 89) which has resulted in only modest regulation of party and election financing. The province of British Columbia has yet to reform campaign finance

regulations at the municipal level. Carole James, leader of British Columbia's New Democratic Party introduced Private Members Bill 202 in the first session of the BC Legislature on November 3, 2005.<sup>55</sup> The Bill recommended a comprehensive review of the financing of the political process in BC and other matters relating to campaign and election financing including political contributions and expenses. It only received first reading in the Legislature and was not approved for further consideration.

Very few studies investigate the effect of campaign finance on female candidates. Most studies do not investigate the types of funding obtained by male and female candidates or the amount of funding male or female candidates receive during an election. Linda Trimble and Jane Arscott argue that reformed election finance rules have made electoral competition more affordable to some women (Trimble and Arscott, 2003: 47). It has been argued "at the provincial and federal levels, women may have less success at fund-raising if they lack lucrative contracts in the business world. Finding backers at the local level is less a concern to many female municipal candidates At the municipal level, however, "a women's material disadvantage and lack of contracts with moneyed interests should be less of a barrier to entry at the local level"(Kushner, Siegal and Stanwick, 1996: 513). Allison Dunnett found in her investigation of political representation of females in Metropolitan Vancouver during the 1999 to 2005 period that it was more costly for a female to campaign as an independent rather than part of a political party. This is due to the nomination campaign that is typically expensive. She also found that a political party can provide other types of funding resources and can act as a mentor for new female candidates (Dunnet, 2006: 11).

---

<sup>55</sup> Bill M 202, *Campaign Finance Reform Act*, introduced by Carol James, 3 November, 2005 – 2005 Legislative Session: 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 38<sup>th</sup> Parliament. [Accessed 21 July, 2007] <http://www.leg.bc.ca/38th1st/votes/progress-of-bills.htm>

## **Municipal Election Campaign Regulations**

Municipal campaign finance in British Columbia is one of the least regulated campaign finance environments in the country, compared to Ontario regulations at the provincial and municipal level of government. Regulations regarding municipal elections proceedings and election finance are governed by two pieces of legislation in BC.

Vancouver is governed by the *Vancouver Charter* and other municipalities are governed by *The Local Government Act (2000)* and *Community Charter (2003)*. According to these two legislative acts, elections occur every three years on the third Saturday of November.

Both pieces of legislation do not indicate any financial limit on donations from individuals, trade unions and corporations or limits on expenses and spending that are incurred by candidates. There is also an absence of any limit on self-financing of one's campaign or contributions from a spouse. Anonymous contributions over \$50 must be recorded. No tax receipts are issued for municipal election contributions and no rebates are issued to candidates receiving a certain percentage of the vote. According to both legislations, all candidates are required to disclose all contributions that are more than \$100.

According to BC legislation, all candidates are required to disclose contributions more than \$100 within 120 days of the completion of the municipal election and must file a report with the municipal city hall in which he/she was a candidate. The report must list the names, addresses and donation amounts of all donors, and all campaign expenditures. There is no requirement for the auditing of such reports. These reports are kept on file at city hall and are public and are available for seven years after the municipal election. If a campaign debt is incurred by a candidate or an elector organization both successful and



unsuccessful candidates are permitted to pay. But these loans become contributions six months or more after becoming due.

Municipal campaign finance regulations in Ontario are much closer to provincial and federal campaign finance regulations. *The Ontario Municipal Elections Act* governs municipal elections. The law requires that municipal elections are held every four years and deals extensively with campaign finance regulations. There are restrictions on how much donors can contribute to candidates: individuals, trade unions and corporations are only permitted to make contributions of up to \$750 in total to any candidate for all municipal offices. All donors, however, can contribute \$2500 to mayoral candidates. There are, however, no rules that regulate self-financing of municipal campaigns as demonstrated in the most recent Ottawa mayoral election. Candidates and their spouses can make unlimited donations to their own campaigns. All candidates for council and regional council are governed by a spending limit of \$5,000 plus 70 cents per voter.

In Ontario, there also are no restrictions on when municipal campaigns can begin in the year and candidates can begin raising and spending money in January, a considerable amount of time before voting day on the second Monday in November (MacDermid, 2006: 7). Any campaign debts that are incurred during the election can be paid off by both winning and losing candidates until the end of the year following the year of the election. This regulation allows winning candidates with a deficit to help raise money while in office.

## **Female Politicians and Municipal Campaign Finance in British Columbia And Ontario**

The women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa had different experiences with the campaign finance regime in their provinces. The majority of women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver, seven out of ten women, suggested reform on some level is needed in British Columbia. Some advocated limits on campaign expenses by candidates and a cap on donations from corporations and unions. All of the women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver believed that the current municipal campaign finance regime affected female candidates. But all ten of the women interviewed in the area emphasized the important role of networks in helping fund a candidate's campaign and community involvement as absolutely vital in building a base of support.

In Ottawa, four out of the nine women interviewed believed that their current finance system was in need of reform. With already stringent limitations on donations from corporations, unions and individuals, they advocated reform further restricting the total amount donated by such groups or a total ban of all donations from corporations and unions. Two councillor candidates decided not to accept any business or trade union donations and relied solely on individual donations to distance themselves even further from those groups of donors. In contrast, none of the women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver decided to ban donations from such sources in their campaigns. The majority of women in Ottawa emphasized that the current limitations on donations created an incentive to reach the electorate more effectively and campaign creatively. In both Canadian regions, there were a range of approaches, attitudes and perceptions towards the current campaign finance regimes and the extent to which the current system needs reform.

Five females in Metropolitan Vancouver and five females in Ottawa believed that the current problem was not the campaign finance regulations but rather the relative lack of moneyed networks that female candidates have to help gather funding for their campaigns. Irene<sup>56</sup> stated that, “it’s your access to capital period that creates the barrier or opportunity, it’s often a social thing. If you know John Q of X corporation you can phone him up and ask for a donation. It’s all about who you know”. Louise<sup>57</sup> shares the same perception when it comes to networks. She stated, “if you look at the positions in unions and businesses and media, women are not at senior levels so women don’t know other people who have money and they don’t have connections”. Louise and Irene both believe that the current finance system is not to blame for the problems women encounter when financing their campaign. Rather, it’s the types of connections that women have that affect the types of funding they receive. Agnes states, “if you want to know the obstacles for women particularly money is the biggest barrier. Secondly, sometimes they don’t have the networks that men candidates have”.

However, Agnes, a councillor candidate in Burnaby, Metropolitan Vancouver’s third largest electoral jurisdiction, believes that women’s networks are slowly changing. She attributes this change to the increase in social status, income and education. She states, “the more educated and the more women are now in the workforce, the bigger their networking systems”. Agnes attributes her unsuccessful attempt at running for school board due to the fact that she was a stay-at-home mom and her networking was very limited at the time. She slowly became involved in the community once her children began attending school and she became involved in her community sport association

---

<sup>56</sup> Irene is a councillor in Delta, a medium electoral jurisdiction.

<sup>57</sup> Louise is a councillor candidate in Vancouver, a large electoral jurisdiction.

where she slowly started to build her network. Nellie<sup>58</sup> reinforced this argument by stating, “women network through things like volunteering in the community....There isn’t a lot of money there”. Kim, a councillor candidate from the River ward, believed that her decision to campaign well in advance of the next civic election was a smart decision because, “I made my decision early and I started to build my team early and I started getting experienced campaigners on board very early in the game.” Half of the women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver did not perceive the problem to be with the current campaign finance system but rather the difficulties that women encounter with trying to finance their campaigns as independents and the limited access to moneyed networks.

The majority of the women interviewed in Ottawa believed that the current campaign finance regime created opportunities for female candidates. Three women interviewed in Ottawa believed that restrictions on donations from corporations and trade unions allowed them to connect with individual voters. Kim<sup>59</sup> did not see a problem with the current campaign finance regime and welcomed the limitations on donations from corporations and trade unions. She stated, “I think our current system is really good. I mean, it encourages you to seek out individual donations more and that’s a good thing. And it discourages big donations from corporations and trade unions”. Doris, councillor from the Kanata North described her experiences when she started campaigning in the last election, “I had to get out and reach a lot of people. I didn’t want to get a lot of donations from corporations and trade unions”. She later explains that she started door-knocking in her community five months before the start of the municipal election, five

---

<sup>58</sup> Nellie is a councillor in Port Moody, a small electoral jurisdiction

<sup>59</sup> Kim is a councillor candidate from Kitchissippi, a large electoral ward.

hours a day. Cora, a councillor from the Kitchissippi ward, a large electoral ward in Ottawa, explained that restrictions on donations allowed her to get in touch with her constituencies in new and dynamic ways. She states “I am 100% in favour of the restrictions on donations from corporations and trade unions. I mean, it creates incentives for candidates to be creative in their campaign. I had a limited amount of money available, so I had to use the money wisely.”

Four of the women interviewed in the Ottawa region believed that the current regulations did not go far enough. They proposed that all donations from corporations and trade unions be banned. Kim<sup>60</sup> did not accept any contributions from any corporations and trade unions. She believed that accepting donations from trade unions and corporations would create the impression that she was beholden to her donors, “I didn’t want to be in a position where the voters think that I can be bought. The political cost is not worth the money”. She recalled a time during her campaign when a business wanted to contribute a lot of money to her campaign because of her approval of a contested infrastructure project in her municipality. She was the only candidate who supported a transit expansion and because of her public approval of the project she was contacted by the company that was starting work on the project and told her that they wanted to donate money to her campaign. She refused, but she did not regret her decision to not accept their contribution, “Accountability is important and I didn’t want to appear beholden”.

In contrast, Audrey, a councillor from the Gloucester-Southgate ward in Ottawa, recalls candidates refusing to accept donations from corporation as very problematic,

---

<sup>60</sup> Kim is a councillor candidate in the Kitchissippi ward, a large ward in Ottawa.

“It’s all hypocrisy and it all amounts to the same thing. Although they didn’t want to accept donations from corporations, corporations are allowed to donate as individuals. If corporations want to get involved they’ll find a way.” In Ottawa, there is a general consensus that limits on corporations and unions are a positive feature of the finance regime in the province and many have differing view on whether further reform is needed to the system.

Mary, a female councillor in the Kanata South ward, wrote on her website that she was also a strong supporter of tightening up the policy on city staff not accepting hospitality or gifts from companies doing business with the city. She believed this would remove any possible confusion of influence in municipal affairs. She argues that, “what companies are looking for is access. They know that, while a gift or political donation does not guarantee they will get a councillor’s vote, it will ensure they get a chance to make their case. The average citizen does not have that kind of opportunity”. Gladys, a councillor candidate in the Kanata North ward, a large ward in Ottawa, strongly believes that there should be limitations on expenses made by candidates during their campaigns and limitations on donations from corporations. She states, “no money is given without some string attached”. In the Ottawa region, there seemed to be a strong belief that candidates should not accept contributions from corporations and trade unions, but rather focus their campaigns on reaching individual voters in their electoral jurisdiction. In contrast, all ten females interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver accepted contributions from corporations and trade unions and did not see any problem with these types of donations. Two women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver made a point of emphasising that although they accepted donations from corporations and trade unions

they are always fair in their dealings with them. Martha<sup>61</sup> stated that she does not give special treatment to her donors, "...they know I'm fair, I'll listen to them and I evaluate things and if I turn them down there is a fairly good reason and they appreciate that".

The majority of females interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver did not perceive the need to have limits on contributions from corporations and trade unions. These women did not see a lack of limits as a particular barrier to female candidates. Rather some believed that candidates had a personal responsibility to not accept large donations from corporations or trade unions but that it should not be regulated as in Ontario. Many females believed that they were not influenced nor will they ever be influenced by donations. Therefore, limits should not be imposed Nellie<sup>62</sup> states, "I've always tried to keep a balance between donations from individuals, corporations and unions and I've been fortunate in getting that. It sends a better message to the public". She goes on to state, "I will not be influenced by a donation, but people know that and most of the large corporations do contribute across the board, they don't come to an individual councillor for influence". Coming from a small municipality, she believes that there really isn't a problem with corporations donating huge amounts of money to candidates, "the voter would probably feel better with a cap. The problem is that with a community of our size there isn't a tendency to put huge dollars in the campaign". Emily<sup>63</sup>, a female who unsuccessfully ran as a councillor in the same municipality as Martha, agreed: "limitations are good, but I'm not sure how that relates to Delta. You know, the Delta council doesn't really have any great influence in the huge picture in the Lower Mainland". She explains

---

<sup>61</sup> Martha is a councillor in Surrey, a large electoral jurisdiction.

<sup>62</sup> Nellie is a councillor in Port Moody, a small electoral jurisdiction.

<sup>63</sup> Emily is a councillor candidate in Delta, a medium electoral jurisdiction.

that putting limits on contributions wouldn't really make a difference in limiting the influence of corporations and trade unions, "a cap is placed to supposedly control influence and or corruption and I can tell you if somebody is going to be influenced by a donation it's not really going to matter the amount of donation".

Four females interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver did not perceive the immediate need or the importance of having limits on donations from corporations and trade unions. However, they thought it was best if candidates did not receive big donations from any donor.

Henrietta, a councillor from Vancouver, stated that the public disclosure of campaign financing worked as an effective check and balance on how much was given to each candidate. Although there are no limits on corporations and trade unions, everything is made public and can be scrutinized by members of the public. After each municipal election in Vancouver there are various articles that are written about campaign contributions in local newspapers. Henrietta states, "it's all disclosable, all has to be disclosed...so if a company gives me a lot of money it will be known publically that they did that so I think it's a bit of a deterrant". She emphasizes that each candidate has a personal responsibility not to accept big donations, "you want to be careful yourself that you don't feel any obligation to a person so, I think it's easier not to take big donations from anybody".

In contrast, only one female interviewed in Vancouver and one female interviewed in Delta strongly believed that the current campaign finance regime was a barrier for women. They were very direct in stating just how the regime disadvantaged female candidates. Louise, a councillor candidate from Vancouver, believed that women



have more difficulty financing their campaigns and that it's connected to their income earning potential. She states, "it's completely a barrier, because, the average woman's salary is \$35,000 a year, forty per cent of women work in non-standard jobs, contracts, no benefits, no steady work, seniors or whatever; they have a much lower income than men". This sentiment is echoed by Irene<sup>64</sup> who believes that a limit on the amount of donations that a candidate receives from corporations and unions would level the playing field. "Of course it's a problem. Women do not have the same access to moneyed network like men. They can accept as many donations, any amount, from businesses". Both Louise and Irene were of the opinion that the current campaign finance system disadvantages female candidates because of the absence of limits on donations from corporations and unions.

In contrast, thirteen out of twenty women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa believed that the current campaign finance system provides obstacles equally for both men and women who run as independent candidates. Henrietta, explains that she worked hard to build her networks before she was a candidate, "I don't think it's a barrier for women any more than it's a barrier for men. You know there is so many different circumstances but I don't think it's a gender thing". Martha, a councillor in Surrey states, "I think it provides a barrier for both males and females who run on their own and I think that if you're running with a team of people and becomes much easier to raise the money". All nine out of the ten women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver believed that the barrier is more pronounced when females run as independent candidates rather than with a political party. Irene explains the advantages of being a candidate who is part

---

<sup>64</sup> Irene is a councillor in Delta, a medium electoral jurisdiction.

of a party, “the money can then be spent more efficiently because the cost of running a campaign is very expensive and having that central fundraising group to do it for all of you makes life a lot easier and you can concentrate on campaigning”. Campaigning as an independent female candidate in a large Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa is perceived by many to be the most difficult.

## **Conclusion**

The current finance campaign finance regimes in British Columbia and Ontario provide both obstacles and opportunities for female candidates. Some of the women interviewed in both provinces expressed an urgency in reforming their province’s campaign finance regime to promote more equality and to level the playing field for both men and women. More specifically, they expressed an interest in curtailing the amount of donations gathered from corporations and trade unions to help level the playing field between male and female candidates. In contrast, some women believed that limiting donations would not create opportunities or level the playing field for women. Rather, the types of financial networks would help women have successful campaigns. Some councillors recalled how long and hard they worked to put together their networks before their election and credited these efforts to their success during the election.

Independent candidates who were not incumbant councillors nor part of a political party experienced the most difficulty in gathering funds for their campaign. Females who were either incumbents or part of a political party had the greatest advantage when financing their campaigns. Political parties provide access to funding through organized fundraisers for candidates and access to other funding networks. The cost of financing a campaign is very costly and is perceived by many scholars to be one of the most

important barriers that prevent women from entering into politics. Access to financial networks and political parties create opportunities for female candidates.

## **CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION**

This chapter returns to the three factors introduced in chapter one. To what extent do these factors represent opportunities or obstacles for women who campaign as councillor candidates in Canadian municipal elections? This chapter briefly explores the implications of this thesis's findings for the representation of women in municipal office and proposes different research agendas for the future.

The three factors presented at the outset of this thesis were the size of electoral jurisdiction, the presence of political parties, and campaign finance regime. How have the findings of this thesis contributed to our understanding of how these three different factors affect the representation of Canadian women in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa? This section briefly addresses that question.

### **Size of Electoral Jurisdiction**

Large, medium and small electoral jurisdictions were examined in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa. In total, two large municipalities, three medium municipalities and one small municipality were examined in Metropolitan Vancouver. In Ottawa, five medium wards and one small ward were examined. A higher percentage of females campaigned in the small electoral jurisdiction of Port Moody and more women were elected to council in that municipality than to other medium and large electoral

jurisdiction in British Columbia. This result calls into question the validity of the cosmopolitan hypothesis.

Small electoral jurisdictions allow female candidates to spend less on resources when campaigning in their communities. Female candidates in smaller jurisdictions are better able to communicate with voters and are able to balance other responsibilities such as work, home and post-secondary education when campaigning in their communities. Having moneyed networks was not a requirement for females who campaigned in small electoral jurisdictions. Instead, they relied mostly on the support of family and friends. Large and medium sized electoral jurisdictions presented more of a challenge to female candidates for municipal office. Campaigning was made especially difficult because more resources were needed to reach the voters in the community. The majority of women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver believe that incumbency and the presence of political parties had much to do with their success in the local elections.

Large electoral units presented significant difficulties because of the large number of voters to reach during the campaign. Some women experienced difficulties reaching out to multicultural communities in large electoral units. Their lack of resources prevented women candidates from reaching all voters whose first language was not English. This was a particular problem for the women interviewed in Surrey, Metropolitan Vancouver's second largest municipality.

### **Presence and Absence of Municipal Political Parties**

The presence of municipal political parties in Metropolitan Vancouver and the absence of municipal political parties in Ottawa created both opportunities and obstacles for female councillor candidates. The presence of political parties in Metropolitan

Vancouver allowed access to funding sources and helped with name recognition and media attention. Local parties also functioned as sources of mentorship. In addition, the presence of informal quota policies helped in the number of women that campaigned for local public office. Local political parties actively looked for promising females who would campaign with their party and they also provided encouragement for women thinking of campaigning in local politics. Many women credited their electoral success in large and medium electoral jurisdictions to being part of a political party or were previously part of a political party. Their political parties gave them access to funding, networks and mentorship. Some women, however, expressed the belief that local political parties prevented their advancement in public office and they did not feel a sense of acceptance because of their gender. In contrast, the absence of political parties in Ottawa was perceived by the majority of women to be a positive feature of their political system. They were able to represent their communities without the intrusion of partisan sentiment or ideology. During their campaigns, they were able to control their finances and they would decide who would donate to their campaigns. The majority of women interviewed in Ottawa stated that the absence of political parties allowed them to become better councillors and look out for the interests of their communities.

## **Campaign Finance Regime**

The campaign finance regime was perceived to be both a barrier and a source of opportunities by women interviewed in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa. Some women in Metropolitan Vancouver believed that the campaign finance regime was not to blame for the problems women encounter when funding their campaigns. Instead, these candidates identified access to network as the source of success for female candidates in

public office. The majority of women argued that their preparation prior to the election, particularly building support networks, helped them during the election.

In contrast, a small minority of women believed that the current campaign finance system, with the absence of limits on donations from corporations and unions, created a disadvantage for female candidates. They believed that the majority of male candidates have access to moneyed networks, whereas the majority of networks for women come from community associations and non-profit associations. The current campaign finance system puts women at a disadvantage compared to male candidates.

Other women believed that their current campaign finance system created opportunities during their campaign. In Ottawa, some of the women interviewed believed that limits on spending allowed them to become more creative when reaching their electorate. These opportunities allowed them to reach out to voters more effectively. Some of the women who campaigned in Ottawa believe that further restrictions on donations from corporations should be introduced, not to level the playing field between female and male candidates, but to ensure that corporate and union money does not create a strong presence in their campaign.

## **Conclusion**

This study sheds light on the experiences of female candidates from the most recent local Metropolitan Vancouver elections and city of Ottawa elections in order to explore the kinds of obstacles and opportunities that exist for women at the municipal level. Further research regarding women in municipal politics should not necessarily assume that women are better represented at the municipal level due to less challenging obstacles to representation at the local level. Further research must take into account the

contexts within which women contest local office. These contexts must be accounted for when assessing the representation of women at the municipal level. Based on interviews from my study, the size of electoral jurisdiction, the presence of political parties, and the presence of a campaign finance regime are perceived as both obstacles and opportunities by females in Metropolitan Vancouver and the city of Ottawa. This study demonstrates the importance of quantitative research when attempting to contextualize the experiences of individual women within the context of municipal politics. Future studies on females in the political arena should utilize the quantitative approach to gain a full understanding of the experiences of women.

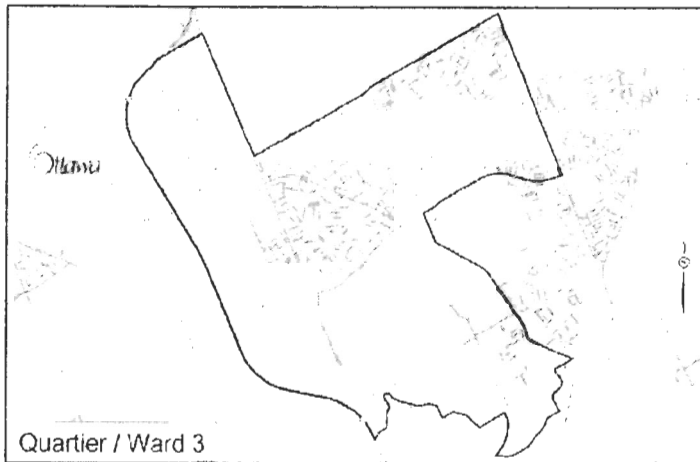
Other factors that were not explicitly focused on in this study include: the role of incumbency, the role of a ward system versus an at-large system and the role of party nominations at the local level. All three factors have some role to play in the representation of gender at the municipal level, but the extent to which they are obstacles or opportunities requires further research.



## APPENDIX A

### Characteristics of the Wards of Ottawa (Post-Amalgamation)

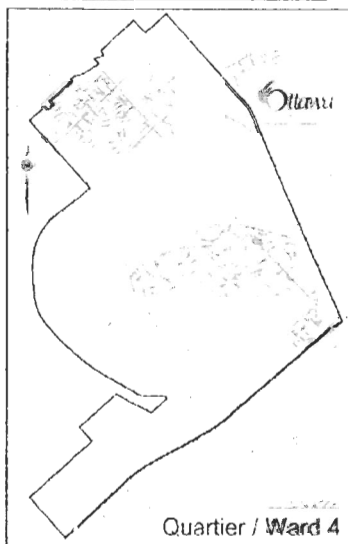
#### Barrhaven (Ward 3)



Barrhaven is a suburb of Ottawa. It is located in the southwest corner of Ottawa. Prior to the amalgamation of the city of Ottawa, Barrhaven was located within the city of Nepean. Barrhaven is surrounded by rural areas and farmland with the exception of the growing Riverside South community.

According to the 2001 Canada Census report, 78 of the population in Barrhaven stated that English was their mother tongue and only 12.4 percent stated that a non-official language was their mother tongue. The average income for the ward is \$55, 512, about \$10,000 more than the average Ottawa income, \$47,328.

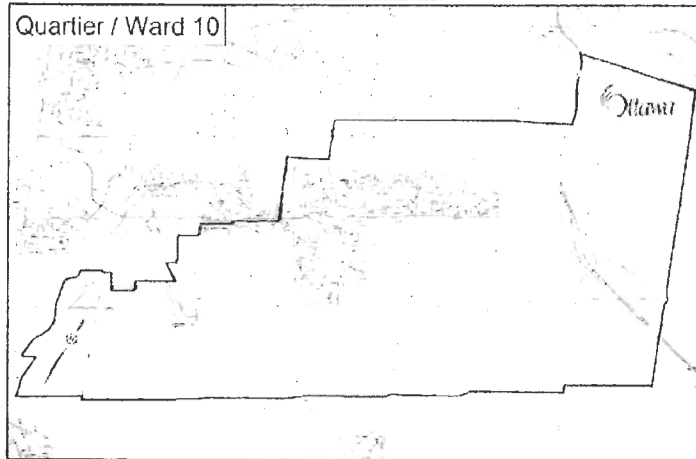
#### Kanata North (Ward 4)



The Kanata North Ward, divided into two main parts. Communities in the new ward include South March, Morgan's Grant, Lakeside, Marchwood, Beaverbrook and Town Centre.

According to the 2001 Canada Census report, 71 of the population in Kanata North 20.3 percent stated that English was their mother tongue and only 12.4 percent spoke a non-official language. The average income for the ward is \$70,373, well above the city of Ottawa average income of \$47,328. 88 percent of occupied private dwellings are owned property, compared to 11 of dwellings that are rental properties. Prior to its amalgamation into Ottawa, the City of Kanata had its own Kanata North Ward. It consisted of the city north of the Queensway

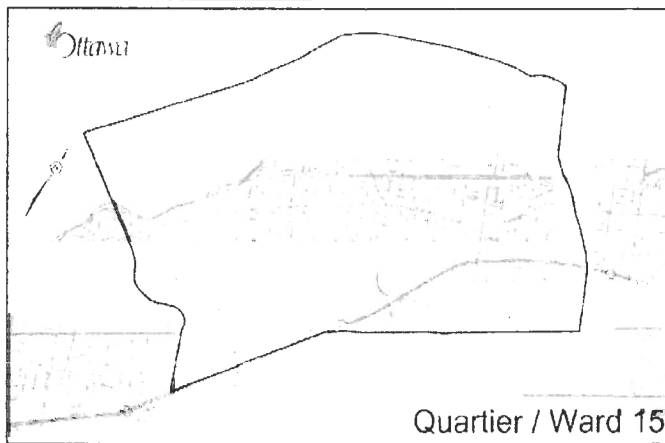
### **Gloucester Southgate (Ward 10)**



The Ottawa ward of Gloucester-Southgate is a rural ward with much of its population concentrated in the northwest corner. The urban communities are located inside the Greenbelt. Its southern boundary is Leitrim Road and the area of the Greenbelt south of Leitrim Road between Hawthorne and Bank. Its eastern boundary is Highway 417 to Walkley.

According to the 2001 Canada Census report, 51 of the population in Gloucester-Southgate stated that English was their mother tongue and only 21.3 percent spoke a non-official language. The average household income for the ward is \$66,857, well above the city of Ottawa average household income of \$47,328.

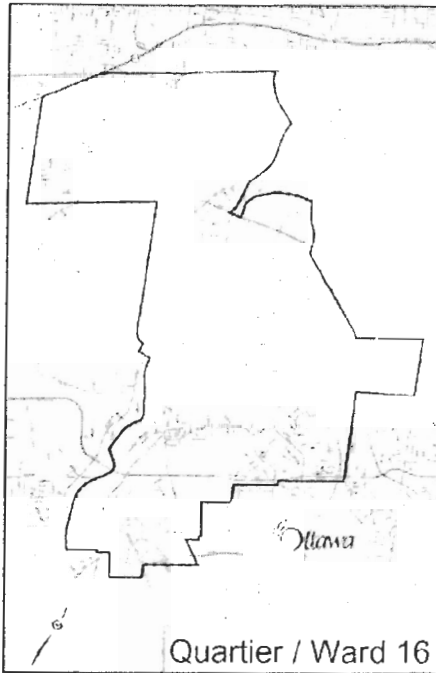
### **Kitchissippi (Ward 15)**



The ward of Kitchissippi gets its name from the Algonquin word for Great River. The ward is slightly west of downtown Ottawa.

According to the 2001 Canada census report, 54.5 percent spoke English as their mother tongue and 14 percent spoke a non-official language as their mother tongue. The average income for the ward is \$70,307, a little below the Ottawa average income of \$47,328. There is about an equal amount of homes that are privately owned and homes that are rented. 50.4 percent of homes are owned compared to 49.5 percent are rented properties.

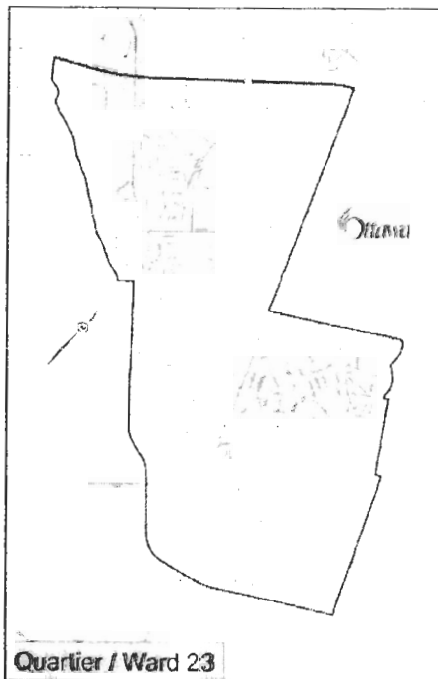
**River (Ward 16)**



The Ottawa ward of River is located in the central west/south central portion of the city, the ward includes the communities of Carlington, Skyview, Parkwood Hills, Fisher Heights, Mooney's Bay, Riverside Park and Hunt Club/Uplands which are located on both sides of the Rideau River between Carling Avenue and Hunt Club Road.

According to the 2001 Canada census report, 61 percent spoke English as their mother tongue and 24.5 percent spoke a non-official language as their mother tongue. The average income for the ward is \$40,911, a little below the Ottawa average income of \$ 47.328

**Kanata South (Ward 23)**

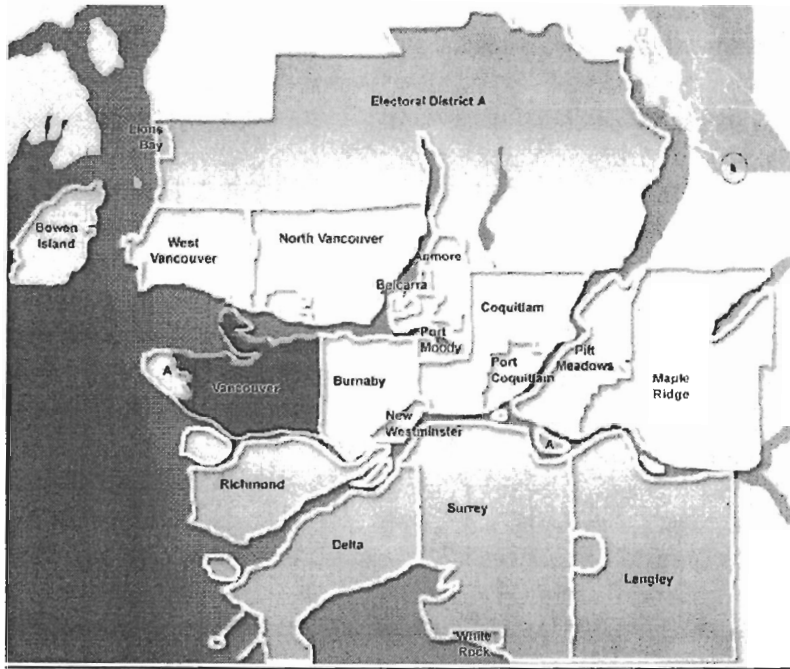


Kanata South is a suburban ward in the city of Ottawa that was created during the ward re-organization in 2006. The former Kanata Ward was split into two wards, Kanata North for areas north of Highway 417 and Kanata South for areas to the south. It is located in the city's west end. The ward includes the communities of Katimativik Glen Cairn and Bridlewood.

According to the 2001 Canada census report, 77 percent spoke English as their mother tongue and 14 percent spoke a non-official language as their mother tongue. The average income for the ward is \$55,119, above the average Ottawa income of \$ 47.328

## Characteristics of the Municipalities of Metropolitan Vancouver

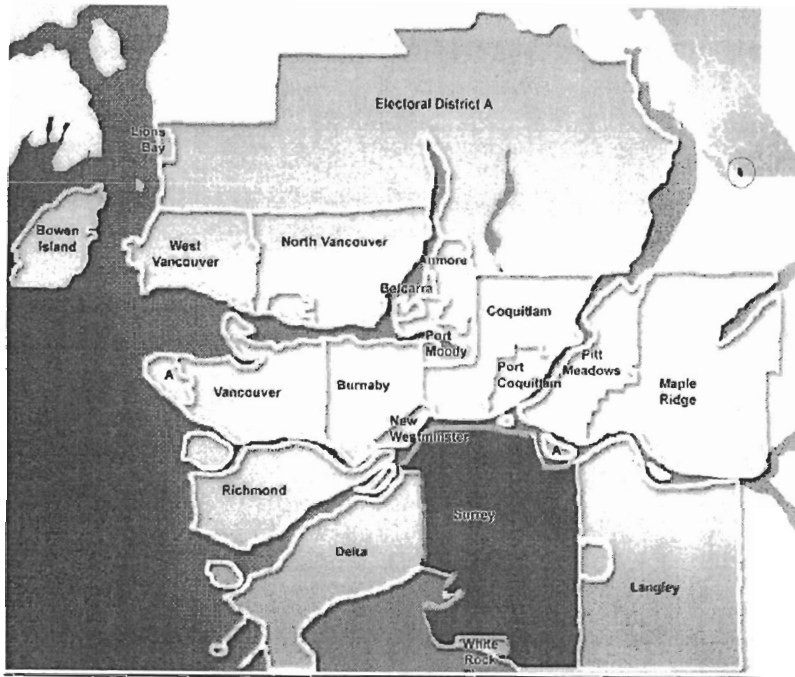
### City of Vancouver



Vancouver is located on the southwest corner of Canada in the province of British Columbia at about 49 degrees Latitude and 123 degrees Longitude, next to the Pacific Ocean. Vancouver is surrounded by water on three sides and overlooked by the Coast Range - mountains that rise abruptly to more than 1,500 m. Vancouver lies in a region of more than 2 million people. Vancouver is the largest city in the province of British Columbia and the third largest in Canada. It covers an area of 114 sq km. As the main western terminus of Canada's transcontinental highway and rail routes, Vancouver is the primary city of western Canada, as well as one of the nation's largest industrial centers.

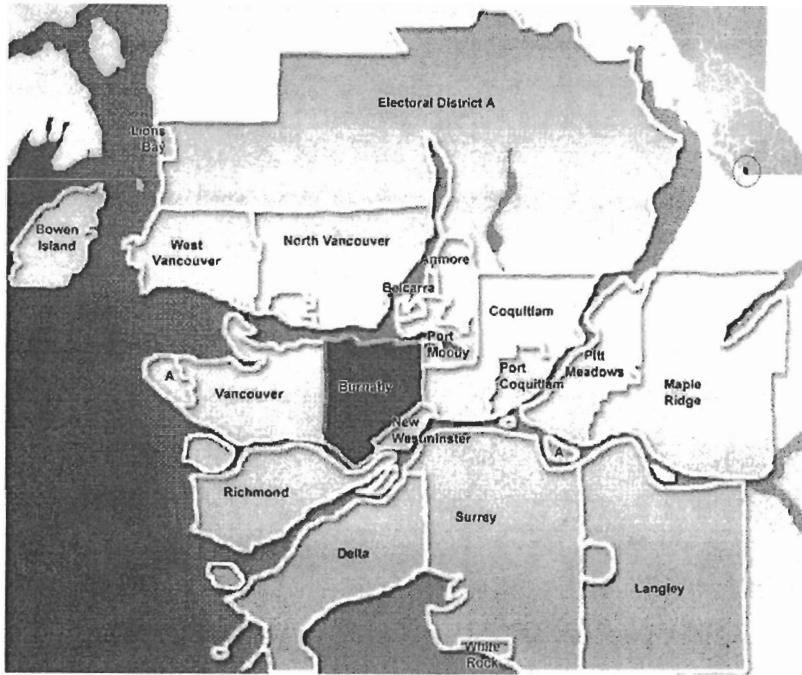
Vancouver's Central Area has 60 per cent of the region's office space and is home to headquarters of forest products and mining companies as well as branches of national and international banks, accounting and law firms. In recent years, Vancouver has expanded as a centre for software development and biotechnology, while film studios and the streets provide a backdrop for the developing film industry. Two of the Port of Vancouver's container docks are located in the city. The Fraser River has barge and log traffic serving forestry and other water related industries. Around 1,800 acres of industrial land provide an important range of support services, manufacturing and wholesale premises for businesses throughout the city and region.

## City of Surrey



Surrey is Metropolitan Vancouver's second largest municipality. Surrey was incorporated in 1879, and encompasses land formerly occupied by a number of Coast Salish speaking aboriginal groups. When Englishman H.J. Brewer looked across the Fraser River from New Westminster and saw a land reminiscent of his native County of Surrey in England, the settlement of Surrey was placed on the map. Surrey's motto, "City of Parks" is derived from 5,400 acres (22 km<sup>2</sup>) of passive and active park land, 15 golf courses and driving ranges, including the Northview Golf & Country Club, home to the former Air Canada Championship. The city is characterized by a low population density urban sprawl, typical of western North America, which includes areas of residential housing, light industry and commercial centres and is prone to strip development and malls. Approximately 35% of the land is designated as agricultural, but constant pressure for growth continues to erode the edges of what was once a largely rural landscape.

## City of Burnaby

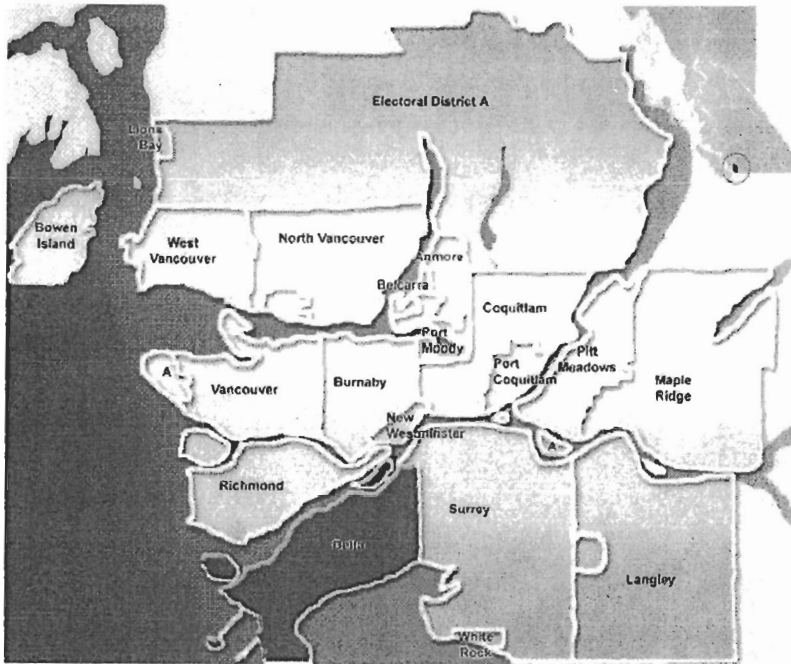


Burnaby was incorporated in 1892 and achieved City status in 1992, one hundred years after incorporation. In the first 30 to 40 years after its incorporation, the growth of Burnaby was influenced by its location between expanding urban centres of Vancouver and New Westminster. It first served as a rural agricultural area supplying nearby markets. Later, it served as an important transportation corridor between Vancouver, the Fraser Valley and the interior of the Province.

Burnaby occupies 98.60 square kilometres (38.07 square miles) and is located at the geographical centre of the Greater Vancouver Regional District. Situated between the City of Vancouver on the west and Port Moody, Coquitlam and New Westminster on the east, the City is further bounded by Burrard Inlet and the Fraser River on the North and South respectively.

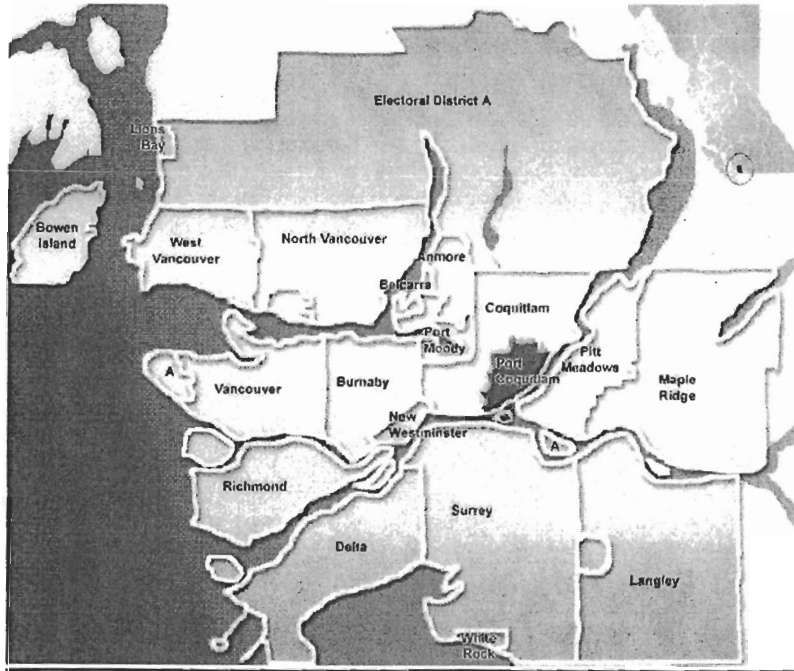
While Burnaby occupies about 4 percent of the land area of the Greater Vancouver Regional District, it accounted for about 10% of the Region's population in 2006.

## The Corporation of Delta



The Corporation of Delta encompasses 364 square kilometres bordered by the Fraser River on the north, the U.S. border and Boundary Bay on the south, the District of Surrey on the east and the Strait of Georgia on the west. With a rich farming and agricultural history, Delta has grown into three thriving communities: Ladner, Tsawwassen and North Delta. About 23% of Delta's population are visible minorities, of which there are approximately 12,000 South Asians and 5,400 Chinese-Canadians. There are also about 1,400 Aboriginal peoples, some from the Tsawwassen Indian band, who still hold traditional lands on the Tsawwassen Indian Reserve as well as the Hwlitsum First Nation, at the mouth of the Fraser River. But the greatest Native Indian Dean lives in Chilliwack

## City of Port Coquitlam

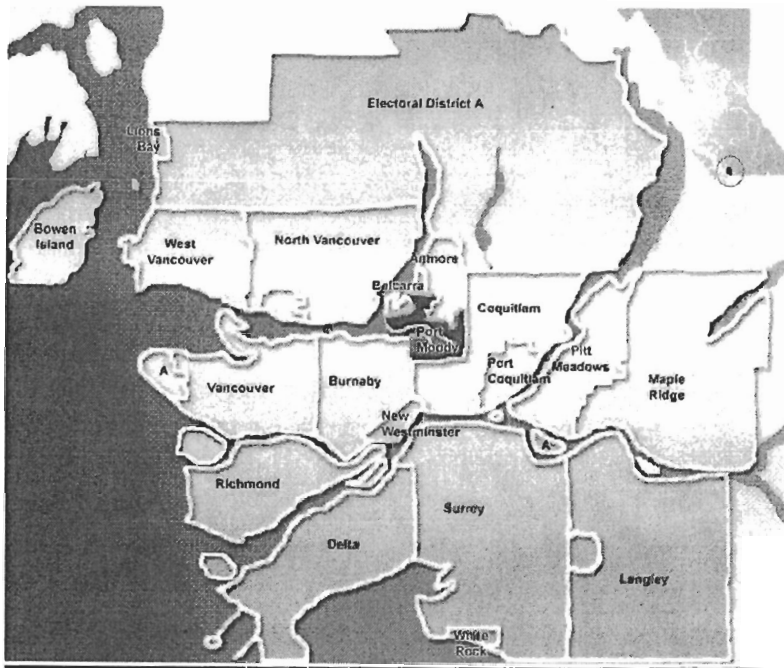


Port Coquitlam is located 27 km east of Vancouver, it sits at the confluence of the Fraser River and the Pitt River. Coquitlam borders it on the north, the Coquitlam River borders it on the west, and the cities of Maple Ridge and Pitt Meadows lie across the Pitt River. Port Coquitlam is almost entirely bisected by a Canadian Pacific Railway yard with two underpass crossings. Port Coquitlam is commonly referred to as "Poco."

The second half of the 1990s saw the population grow at a rate of 9.8%, with a large number of immigrants, who by 2001, comprised 25% of the population. English was the first language for 76% of the inhabitants. Religions practiced were Protestant 36%, Catholic 32%, Other 14%, and No Religion 18%.



## City of Port Moody



The City of Port Moody is a small city forming a crescent at the east end of Burrard Inlet in British Columbia, Canada, and part of the Metro Vancouver district. It is bordered by Coquitlam on the east, and Burnaby on the west. The villages of Belcarra, and Anmore along with the rugged Coast Mountains lie to the northwest and north respectively.

Port Moody is largely a suburban development area, especially around an area known as Heritage Mountain. The city, however, still retains many historical buildings, especially along Clarke Street. The city is growing quickly and in recent years has started constructing high-rises in an area known as NewPort Village, the city's shopping centre. Port Moody's main industrial area is along the southern coast of Burrard Inlet. The city houses a large sulphur depot located at the end of Burrard Inlet.

## **APPENDIX B CONSENT FORM:**

*Obstacles and Opportunities: The Experiences of Female Councillor Candidates in Metropolitan Vancouver and Ottawa - 1999-2006*

### **Reason for your Participation**

You have been invited to participate in this study because:

You are a municipal councillor or have campaigned for the office of municipal councillor in Metropolitan Vancouver and the city of Ottawa.

### **Thesis**

This research is being undertaken as part of a graduate thesis at Simon Fraser University. Since this research will appear in a graduate thesis, the research will be published and available to the public.

### **Purpose**

The purpose of this research is to examine the opportunities and barriers that exist for women that campaign for the office of municipal councillor in British Columbia and Ontario.

### **Investigators**

The principal investigator of this study is Patrick Smith and the co-investigator is Denisa Gavan-Koop. If at any time you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact the co-investigator, Denisa Gavan-Koop, by phone (604-434-5383) or email ([dgavan@sfu.ca](mailto:dgavan@sfu.ca)).

### **Understanding of Procedures**

If at any time you have questions about the procedures of this study, please do not hesitate to contact the co—investigator, Denisa Gavan-Koop, by phone (604-434-5383) or email ([dgavan@sfu.ca](mailto:dgavan@sfu.ca))

**Time**

The interview will last roughly 30-45 minutes, although this may vary depending upon the length of answers given.

**Confidentiality**

Your identity will be protected during the research and writing components of this study. The written thesis will not refer to you directly or, when such a direct reference is necessary, will employ the use of a pseudonym.

**Security of Data**

Any information collected during the course of this study will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or on a computer where both the computer and the relevant files will be password-protected. Only the co-investigator will have access to the data. In accordance with Simon Fraser University's relevant policy, all materials collected during the interviews will be kept secure for five years and subsequently destroyed.

**Decline to Participate**

You are free to decline to participate or terminate your participation in this research at any time without any consequences.

**Concerns**

If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights as a research subject, you may telephone the Director of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University: (778) 782 3447, email: [dore@sfu.ca](mailto:dore@sfu.ca)

*By signing, you acknowledge that you have read and understand this form, you acknowledge that you have received a copy of this form, and you consent to participate in this study.*

---

Signature

---

Name (Print)

---

Date

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### BOOKS, CHAPTERS AND ARTICLES

Alozie, N. A., and Managanaro, L. L., "Women's Council Representation: Measurement Implications for Public Policy" in Political Research Quarterly , June 1993, pp. 383-98.

Andrew, Caroline., "Getting Women's Issues on the Municipal Agenda: Violence against Women" in Gender in Urban Review, Judith Garber and Robyne Turner, eds. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1995.

Andrew, Caroline., "Evaluating Municipal Reform in Ottawa-Gatineau" in Metropolitan Governing: Canadian Cases, Comparative Lessons, Eran Razin and Patrick J. Smith (eds), Jerusalem, The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2006, pp. 75-94.

Arend, Sylvie and Chandler, Celia, "Which Distinctiveness? Politicians" Women & Politics Vol. 16, 1996,

Bashevkin, Sylvia B., Toeing the Line: Women and Party Politics in English Canada. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Bird, Karen., "Who are the Women? Where are the Women? And what difference can they make? The Effects of Gender Parity in French Municipal Elections" French Politics, Vol. 1, Issue, 1, 2000, pp. 5-38.

Chappell, Louise., Gendering Government: Feminist Engagement with the State in Australia and Canada Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002.

Constantinou, Peter., "Public Funding of Political Parties, Candidates and Elections in Canada," in Issues in Party and Election Finance in Canada, Vol. 5 of The Collected Research Studies, Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing , F. Leslie Seidle, ed, Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991, pp.246-258.

Darcy, R; Welch, S and Clark, Janet., Women, Elections and Representation, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.

Cutler, Fred, and Mathews J.S., "The Challenge of Municipal Voting: Vancouver 2002." in Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 38, Issue 2, 2005, pp. 359-382.

Dahl, Robert., Democracy and Its Critics. New Have: Yale University Press, 1989.

- Darcy, R., Welch, S., & Clark, J., Women, Elections and Representation. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.
- Erickson, Lynda., "Making her Way in: Women, Parties and Candidacy in Canada" in Gender and Party Politics ,Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris (eds), London: Sage, 1993, 65-78.
- Freeman, Jane., "Increasing Women's Political Representation: The Limits of Constitutional Reform" in Western European Politics, 2001, pp. 104-123.
- Gervais, M., Public Record of the Ottawa Transition Board, Ottawa: Transition Board, 2001.
- Gidengil, Elisabeth, and Richard Vengroff. "Representation Gains of Canadian Women or Token Growth? The Case of Quebec's Municipal Politics." Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 30, No. 3, Sep., 1997, pp. 513-537.
- Gierzynski, A.K, Paul Kleppner, and James Lewis., "Money or the Machine: Money and Votes in Chicago Aldermanic Elections" American Politics Quarterly, 1998, pp. 160-173.
- Kantor, Rosabeth Moss. "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women" in The American Journal of Sociology, March 1977, pp. 695-990.
- Karnig, A., & Oliver, W., "Election of Women to City Council" Social Science Quarterly , 1976, pp.605-613.
- Krebs, T.B., "Urban Interests and Campaign Contributions: Evidence from Los Angeles." Journal of Urban Affairs, 2005, pp. 165-176.
- Kushner, J., Siegel, D., & Stanwick, H., "Ontario Municipal Elections: Voting Trends and Determinants of Electoral Success in a Canadian Province" Canadian Journal of Political Science Sep., 1997, pp. 539-553.
- Lijphart, Arendt., Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-one Countries. New Haven, 1984.
- MacGill, Elsie Gregory., My Mother the Judge, with an Introduction by Naomi Black. Toronto: Peter Martin, 1981.
- MacManus, Susan and Bullock III "Municipal Structure and the Election of Councilwomen in Journal of Political Science , Vol. 53, 1991, pp. 75-89.
- MacIvor, Heather., Women and Politics in Canada Peterborough: Broadview, 1996.
- Morley, Terry., "Paying for the Politics of British Columbia", in Provincial Party and Election Finance in Canada Leslie Seidle, ed, Volume 3, pp. 89.

- Phillips, Anne., The Politics of Presence Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Rawls, John., A Theory of Justice The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1971/
- Savage, Candace., Our Nell: A Scapebook Biography of Nellie L. McClung Saskatoon: Western Producer Praire Books, 1979.
- Schumpeter, Joseph., Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947.
- Siegel, Fred., in Local Government in Canada (6<sup>th</sup> ed) Toronto: Nelson, 2004.
- Sproule-Jones, Mark. "Political Parties at the Local Level of Government." In Canadian Parties in Transition, Brian Tanguay and Gagnon Alain eds. Scarborough: Nelson, 2006.
- Stanwick, Hannah. "A Megamayor for all People? Voting Behaviour and Electoral Success in the 1997 Toronto Municipal Election" in Canadian Journal of Political Science, 2000, pp. 549-568.
- Studlar and Welch, "The Party System and the Electoral Representation of Women in English Metropolitan Boroughs", Electoral Studies, Vol. 11, 1992, pp. 62-69.
- Stewart, Kennedy and Smith, Patrick., "Immature Policy Analysis: Eight Major Canadian Cities" in Policy Analysis in Canada: The State of the Art Laurent Dobuzinskis, Michael Howlett and David Laycock (eds), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007, pp. 265-287.
- Stewart, Kennedy and Smith, Patrick., "Local-Multilevel Governing in British Columbia: A Provincial Overview" Saviton and Robert Young, (eds), 2008 - forthcoming
- Trimble, Linda, and Jane Arscott., Still Counting: Women in Politics Across Canada Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2003.
- Trimble, Linda and Jane Arscott, In the Presence of Women Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1997.
- Vallance, Elizabeth. "Where Power Is, Women are Not." Parliamentary Affairs, Issue 35, 1982, pp. 218-9.
- Welch, Susan and Karnig, Albert., "Correlates of Female Office Holding in City Politics" The Journal of Politics Vol. 41, No. 2 (May 1979), pp. 478-491.
- Young, Lisa. "Fulfilling the Mandate of Difference: Women in the Canadian House of Commons." in In the Presence of Women, Linda Trimble and Jane Arscott, eds. Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1997.

Zimmerman, Joseph. "Equity in Representation for Women and Minorities." in Electoral Systems in Comparative Perspective: Their Impact on Women and Minorities, Wilma Rule and Joseph Zimmerman, eds, London: Greenwood Press, 1994.

### **CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

Gavan, Denisa and Paddy Smith, Paddy., "Gendering Governing in British Columbia: Local vs. Federal and Provincial Expenditures in British Columbia." British Columbia Political Science Association, Vancouver, Capilano College, May, 2007

MacDermid, Robert. "Funding Municipal Elections in the Toronto Region." Canadian Political Science Association Toronto, York University, June, 2006.

Maclean, Ann., "Municipal Governments Need More Women" Canadian Municipalities Annual Conference Ottawa, Ontario, June , 2005.

Smith, Patrick. "Gendering Local Government in British Columbia: Opportunities and Obstacles in Metropolitan Vancouver." Pacific Northwest Political Science Association. Bend, Oregon, August, 2006.

### **GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS**

British Columbia. Vancouver Charter [SBC] CHAPTER 55

British Columbia. The Local Government Act [RSBC 1996] CHAPTER 323

British Columbia. Community Charter [SBC 2003] CHAPTER 26

Ontario. The Ontario Municipal Elections Act

Canada. Report of the Committee on Election Expenses (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966)

Quebec. Directeur General des elections du Quebec, Liste des 75 parties politiques municipaux autorise au 18 avril 1996, Sainte-Foy: Andrew

## WEBSITE SOURCES

The Fact's Ma'am: What lessons can be drawn for Canada from Frances new parity law, November 2001. [http://www.equalvoice.ca/facts\\_lessons.html](http://www.equalvoice.ca/facts_lessons.html) (Accessed November 14, 2007)

"Women in Politics Worldwide" The Fawcett Society, 2007.  
<http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/index.asp?PageID=150> (Accessed November 10, 2007)

"Female Members of Parliament in Canada"  
<http://www2.parl.gc.ca/Parlinfo/Lists/Members.aspx?Language=E&Parliament=&Riding=&Name=&Party=&Province=&Gender=F&New=False&Current=True&Picture=True>  
(Accessed November 2, 2007)

"British Columbia Municipal District 2006 Census Total Population Results":  
[http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/cen06/mun\\_rd.asp](http://www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/cen06/mun_rd.asp) (Accessed Nov 6, 2007).

City of Ottawa, "Population and household estimates by new ward, July 1, 2006"  
[http://ottawa.ca/city\\_services/statistics/census/new\\_ward/ph\\_estimate\\_en.shtml](http://ottawa.ca/city_services/statistics/census/new_ward/ph_estimate_en.shtml)  
(Accessed Nov 6, 2007)

Social Planning Council of Ottawa "A Profile of Ottawa Population: Demographic Report 1996-2001" (November 2002).  
[http://72.14.253.104/search?q=cache:Z8\\_HKQATIK8J:www.spcottawa.on.ca/PDFs/Publications/Demographic\\_Report.pdf+Gloucester-Southgate+population%27&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=2&gl=ca](http://72.14.253.104/search?q=cache:Z8_HKQATIK8J:www.spcottawa.on.ca/PDFs/Publications/Demographic_Report.pdf+Gloucester-Southgate+population%27&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=2&gl=ca) (Accessed June 5, 2007)

Inter-parliamentary Union: Women in Politics (World Classification)  
<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> (Accessed November 6, 2007)

Women in Parliament , Political and Social Affairs Division (February 2006)  
<http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs/prb0562-e.htm> (Accessed April 1, 2007)

BC Elections <http://www.elections.bc.ca/elections/elections-results.htm#C> (Accessed October 21, 2007)

"Increasing Women's Participation in Municipal Decision Making" Canadian Federation of Municipalities, Ottawa, Ontario, 2004. <http://www.fcm.ca/english/policy/increase.pdf> (Accessed June 13, 2007).

"Getting to 30% by 2026." Ottawa, Ontario, 2006.  
<http://www.fcm.ca/english/policy/wreport.pdf> Canadian Federation of Municipalities  
(Accessed June 1, 2007).



Women in Politics: The Big Picture and FCM's Response. Canadian Federation of Municipalities Ottawa, Ontario, 2007. <http://www.fcm.ca/english/policy/big.pdf> (Accessed June 1, 2007)

“Untapped Resources: Women and Municipal Government in Nova Scotia. Advisory Group Publication” Nova Scotia Advisory Council of Women, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Advisory Council of Women, 2005.  
[http://women.gov.ns.ca/pubs2005\\_06/UntappedFinal\\_Report.pdf](http://women.gov.ns.ca/pubs2005_06/UntappedFinal_Report.pdf) (Accessed June 1, 2007)

Gender Statistics, United Cities and Local Government January 2005. <http://www.cities-localgovernments.org/uclg/index.asp?pag=wldmstatistics.asp&type=&L=EN&pon=1> (Accessed June 13, 2007).

City of Ottawa, [www.ottawa.ca](http://www.ottawa.ca)

Elections Canada: Completing the Cycle of Electoral Reforms – Recommendations from the Chief Electoral Officer of Canada on the 38th General Election  
<http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=gen&document=intro&dir=rep/re2/r38&lang=e&textonly=false> (Accessed November 10, 2007)

#### **MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES**

Dunnet, Allison., "Barriers, Opportunities and Ceiling Breakers." Independent Study, Burnaby, Simon Fraser University, 2006.

#### **NEWSPAPER ARTICLES**

McIlroy, Anne. "PM Picks Four Women to Run." in Globe and Mail, March 12, 1997, p. A4.