EXAMINING DIFFERENCE:
THE CASE OF WOMEN AND MEN IN MUNICIPAL POLITICS

by

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Abstract

Currently, the Greater Vancouver Regional District has one of the highest rates of female participation in North America. Of 153 elected councillors and mayors, 55 are women. Token theory predicts that as women become less of a minority, they will have more influence over affairs and will be more willing to assert themselves. To a large degree, in the GVRD this proves to be the case. Women form dissenting blocs on council with greater regularity than men and women seem more willing to challenge the prevailing ideology of Canadian municipal politics than do men. While in many areas, particularly in what the priorities of municipal government should be, female councillors in the GVRD are virtually indistinguishable from their male colleagues, in other, more openly ideological areas of municipal governance, women form a sharply distinctive group. Overall, women do seem to make a difference in the operation of municipal councils.
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Preface

There are many people whom I wish to thank. First, I would like to extend my deepest appreciation to Dr. Paul Tennant who has overseen my academic development and has read this paper innumerable times. Dr. Donald Blake showed me that statistics are not a foreign language. Other teachers in the Department of Political Science have given me aid whenever I requested it. Dr. Robert A.J. McDonald of History helped me out many times over the past five years. Dr. Joanna Everitt at the University of New Brunswick (Saint John) converted me with her teaching from history to political science. I would also like to thank the Langley Leadership Team who first got me interested in municipal politics, through their controversial actions. Finally, I would like to thank all of those over-worked, under-appreciated councillors who took time out of their busy schedules to respond to my questionnaire.

I must also add that this research project met all of the guidelines put forth by the UBC Board of Research and Ethics and the survey was approved by that body.
INTRODUCTION

The study of politics has long been a field organised around men. Despite gaining the franchise in 1919, women were not elected in significant numbers until the 1970's. Until that time, political scientists had tended to limit their study of women to the observations of gender gaps and differences in participation rates. By the late sixties however, researchers influenced by the second wave feminist movement began to explore the issue of women in politics. The new research, exemplified in the writings of Carole Pateman and Marilyn Frye, was looking at the role that women were playing within our existing political structures. However, as the feminist critique became more sophisticated, the relatively simple question of "women in politics," became subsumed under the broader feminist critique of society.

... the "women in" approach - women in politics in this case - constrained the impact of feminism at least as much as it influenced the field to note the contributions feminism made to an academic discipline such as political science. Feminist political scientists now routinely distinguish between women as a subject of study and feminist methods for studying them. ¹

Despite this critique, my study is a traditional "women in" study. I am seeking to examine a group of local legislators and determine what sort of differences arise between the men and the women. Nevertheless, it is a study that is not without merit to feminist scholars as it will be providing some raw data; information and data is needed to support all belief systems. I do not ignore feminist ideas. I attempt to incorporate feminist values in every aspect of the study. But I cannot make the claim that this paper is a "feminist paper." I am exploring differences; explaining the differences is a topic for another paper.

¹Jane Arscott and Manon Tremblay, "Il reste encore des travaux à faire: Feminism and Political Science in Canada and Quebec," Canadian Journal of Political Science, XXXII:1 (March, 1999) 126.
The idea for my study comes from an article by Rosabeth Moss Kanter on how the composition of a group affects its operations. She makes the argument that the varying proportions of people of different social types will make a group behave qualitatively different. In her article she identifies four basic types of group proportions (without wanting to give the numbers “magic” status): uniform (100%:0%); Skewed (85%:15%); Tilted (65%:35%); and Balanced (60%:40%). Having a skewed group will create “tokens”: “people identified by ascribed characteristics (master statuses such as sex, race, religion, ethnic group, age, etc.) or other characteristics that carry with them a set of assumptions about culture, status, and behaviour highly salient for majority category members.” The possible implications of being a token member of a group are a fear of success (due to the higher visibility it would bring) and a willingness to accept the viewpoint of the dominant group in order to be accepted.

This idea of tokenism has been used extensively in political science discussions of the role of women in politics. Gidengil and Vengroff, for example, refer to a token as “a woman who is permitted entrance, but not equal participation, in a hitherto exclusively ‘male’ domain.” Women in the Greater Vancouver Regional District municipalities are clearly not accorded “token status”; thus the GVRD is an ideal area for my study.

The main tool in my study is a survey questionnaire sent out to all of the councillors within the Greater Vancouver Regional District. One of the major critiques of

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4 Elisabeth Gidengil and Richard Vengroff, “Representative Bureaucracy, Tokenism and the Glass Ceiling: The Case of Women in Quebec Municipal Administration,” *Canadian Public Administration*, 40:3 (Fall) 463.
a survey such as mine is that "this sort of strategy results in comparisons of women to men that lead to the conclusion that women, and their activities as women, are 'lesser' in part, and in whole, than men's." I have had to be careful not to falsely dichotomise men and women within these sexual categories. But, at the same time, sex provides an easily testable variable and one that results in useful interpretations.

The research question that I am seeking to answer was posed by Linda Trimble when she asked: "Do contemporary female councillors, who in many cities form a 'critical mass' of elected officials (more than 20 per cent), make a difference in political office?" She added, "We simply do not know. Research on the idea, style and impact of women councillors has not yet been conducted." MacManus and Bullock report that even in the United States "studies contrasting the outlooks, approaches, and policy impacts of women and men in local office have, at best, been sporadic and based on limited databases.”

The general field of municipal politics is understudied, but the position of women within municipal political structure is even more neglected. "Women in" studies need to be conducted in order that the field can be tied in with the larger literature on feminism. It is somewhat surprising that Canadian researchers have concentrated most of their efforts on studying gender differences at the federal and provincial orders of government, given the high level of party discipline and the lower rates of female participation. Municipal politics offers a more fertile ground for study.

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5 Ibid. 141.
I divide my study into four chapters: In the first, I examine concepts of representation that will provide a base for the rest of my study; in the second, I give an overview of how and why women are elected to local office by summarising the current literature (what little exists) and then provide an analysis of British Columbia; third, I examine the voting patterns of three municipal councils which have female majorities in order to determine whether or not a "women's caucus" forms; finally, in the fourth chapter, I assess the survey results in order to determine the policy priorities of men and women. My major research question is: Does the presence of women in more than token numbers create a difference in attitudes and outputs between male and female legislators?
CHAPTER 1

The concept of representation is fuzzy; like beauty, representation is often in the eye of the beholder. It is unfortunate then that representation as an idea or concept is of crucial importance to the study of politics, particularly the study of politics in the western world. The word can have endless meanings: my Member of Parliament represents my interests in Ottawa; the National Citizen’s Coalition represents voters who feel disfranchised; Donovan Bailey represents all Canadians when he stands on the podium to accept gold; Thomas Hardy used Tess Durbeyfield to represent the self-destructive mores of British society ...

All of these uses are appropriate in some context. But when we want to analyse the nature of political representation, we become hamstrung by the different meanings accorded to the word representation, so we simplify it. People tend to focus on one facet of the word, to the exclusion of other points of view. In writing this paper on elected officials, I have come face to face with several of these difficulties. I am examining whether or not there is a substantial difference between male and female legislators. Immediately, unconsciously, I have entered into a question of how legislators should represent the public. Someone following the political thought of Edmund Burke would state that there should be no difference between men and women; legislators should be concerned with the common good. This common good or national interest is here seen as a concrete, objective fact. Therefore, as long as the legislator is rational and capable of learning through discourse, it should not matter what sex he or she is. A pluralist would make the opposite claim, viewing interests as ever shifting and designed to privilege one
group over another. To the pluralist, the sex of the legislator is of extreme importance because of the different interests that women have vis-à-vis men.

It therefore becomes necessary to discuss the nature of representation. I have three ways of looking at representation. First, I will discuss some of the different interpretations of representation, drawing from the work of Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation.* Second, I examine the dominant concept of representation in Canadian municipal government, the Burkean model. Third, I analyse the representational ideals behind what Jill McCalla Vickers has called “the electoral project,” the goal of achieving gender (not sex) parity in elected offices. To analyse this goal and the theory that lies behind it, I use the frameworks given in the first two parts.

**The Concept of Representation**

As I stated earlier, the act of representing makes for a slippery concept. It is necessary to break “representation” down into its component parts. The most useful distinction that can be made is to examine representing as “standing for” something or somebody and representing as “acting for” something or somebody.

Seeing a representative as standing for you immediately implies a concern for the composition of an elected body. Is your representative “like” you? Does he share a set of characteristics with you? Is she motivated by the same concerns that motivate you? These questions all come to the fore when one examines the descriptive characteristics of

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10Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation.* 60.
You are stating that the legitimacy of the legislator derives in part from his or her descriptive similarity with you or with the mass public. Without this similarity, the representative does not have any legitimacy. Similarly, a representative who is standing for you is serving a symbolic role. Catherine Callbeck was not just the premier of Prince Edward Island, she was the first elected female premier in Canada, giving her a symbolic position; she was a living symbol of women's success in the political realm.

These ideas are not in the least abstract and unrelated to real life. The fact of a police force that did not descriptively represent the black population of Los Angeles led to widespread riots when it was determined by some of the black population that this police force had too little connection to them. Descriptive representation is one of the keys to ensuring that a people have a connection to their representatives. Alan Cairns has described the rejection of Meech Lake style “eleven white men in a room” bargaining to determine Canada’s constitution because the public did not see the representatives as being like them.11 In order to be legitimate, a representative democracy needs some element of descriptive representation.

Emerging out of these ideas is a view that the legislative assembly must be a mirror of the people or a map of the country’s population: “a legislature should be a miniature in the sense that it should have members to correspond to each feature of the national landscape.”12 The idea of the legislative assembly being a miniature of the nation comes from the early English Parliaments. Men were sent to Parliament “for” their community;

12Pitkin, The Concept of Representation. 73.
the representative’s presence meant that everyone in the community was present, “either personally or ‘by procuration.’”\textsuperscript{13}

But, as Pitkin states, the difficulty with this view is that there is no inherent justification for letting the group of representatives take action. Just because there are representatives who are like me in Parliament does not mean that they are competent to make laws. I may wish that there are people quite unlike me present. A. Phillips Griffiths points out that “we would not want to complain that the large class of stupid or maleficent people have too few representatives in Parliament.”\textsuperscript{14} Similarly, I do not wish to have racist, sexist or homophobic people in Parliament, but a strictly descriptive view would have to allow all of these people in.

The other school of representational thought attempts to deal with this problem by describing the representatives role not to stand for someone but to act for someone’s interests. To understand this view, it becomes necessary to define the word interest. If you see an interest as existing objectively, as did Edmund Burke, then the goal of the representative is to attempt to discover that interest through rational debate and discussion. Each representative will represent some portion of the national interest. The national interest is not a zero-sum game; every contribution to one area helps out the whole and therefore, all other areas. To a Burkean, the descriptive aspect of representation is reduced to irrelevance. The national interest, as I stated earlier, exists. If dogs were capable of rational thought, then they could find it as easily as men or women.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid. 85.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid. 89.
All that matters in a parliament is that the national interest is served. If Parliament is composed entirely of 50 year old wealthy, white males but it comes up with the national interest, then it is a representative Parliament. If it does not, then it is an unrepresentative Parliament. Representation is defined as serving the national interest. Once elected, the representative does not have any mandate or specific obligation to his or her constituents, beyond serving the public good.

The other major way of defining interest is to see it as attached to a group or person. Interests do not exist objectively; instead, each individual or group has their own perceived interests, which may or may not be harmonious. To the Utilitarian mind, only I can know what is in my best interest. There does exist a common interest, but it is defined by the parameter that only the individual can determine her own interest. It is in the interest of nobody to be poorly governed and rules are necessary to life in society. The role of the representative is to "attach punishments to people's self-regarding actions, and rewards to their social actions. The law must make it unattractive for men to act contrary to their common good, and attractive to act for it."15 This conception of interest is very close to the idea of negative liberty: government inaction is the best way to protect interests.16 The representative in this schema is forced to be much closer to the citizenry, whereas in the Burkean view of unattached interests the citizen's only function is to find a rational representative, in the Utilitarian model, the representative must do what the citizen wants. Certainly there is overlap between the two positions in practice, but in the two extreme views, they create what Pitkin refers to as the "mandate-independence"

15Ibid. 200.
16See Isaiah Berlin "Two Concepts of Liberty."
controversy. It is these two opposing views - one that a representative has a mandate from the electors and the other that the representative can do whatever he or she wants - that have influenced much democratic thinking in the past two centuries. In both cases however, the representative is acting for the constituent. He or she is looking after the represented’s best interest in some way or another. The difference comes in that the Utilitarian school very explicitly embraces a model of descriptive representation. Since people are the best judges of their own interest, if the representative assembly hopes to approximate the overall public interest, it must resemble the people.

Ideas of Representation and Local Government

The major stream of representational theory in Canadian municipal politics rests on the idea that representatives should be independent and non-partisan. Formal ideology has been given no place in municipal politics and political cleavages based on class, race or sex have generally failed to emerge. The theory of non-partisanship has been one of the normative core beliefs of municipal leaders throughout the last hundred years. Non-partisanship implies a representative style in which the representative is free to act on his or her own conscience. A representative style based on non-partisanship was championed by Edmund Burke; his ideas are evident in Canadian municipal governance.

Donald Gutstein points out how, in the dominant view, the city is supposed to be run like a corporation, with the councilor’s decisions “based on his judgment and
conscience, in the interests of the whole city.”\(^{17}\) Using the mandate-independence spectrum enunciated earlier, the representative in Canadian municipal politics has traditionally placed him or herself towards the “independent” pole. James Lightbody advances three conditions that served to maintain this system of independence and non-partisanship: a strongly embedded sense of anti-partyism, a political system that does not allow for significant socio-economic cleavages and a high level of consensus towards the goals of municipal policy making.\(^{18}\) As long as these three factors were in place, representatives continued to see themselves as possessing the latitude to act on their own conscience and for the good of the whole.

Furthermore, despite repeated challenges by groups seeking to impose a more descriptive style of representation on municipal politics, the Burkean model has had a great deal of resiliency. Non-partisanship has remained the major representational ideal in local government.

Even in cities such as Winnipeg and Vancouver [where “participatory parties” have flourished] the drive to reform municipal government has been short-lived for municipal politics tends to be propelled by the popularity of certain issues or individuals. Once the popularity of either has subsided, so too do concerns for local control and “participatory” politics.\(^{19}\)

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Feminist Ideas of Representation.

Participatory politics are at the heart of feminist theories of representation. There are many different methods of exploring representation from a feminist perspective. Rather than give a survey, I will attempt to highlight some of the key ideas as they relate to the project that I am attempting. To repeat, I am examining a group of elected officials in a certain geographic area that has a higher than average composition of women in order to determine if women have different attitudinal orientations than men. By posing this question, I am giving priority to the utilitarian model of representation. The assumption that there should be a difference is based on the prior assumption that women and men have different interests and therefore representatives of both must be present to ensure that the public interest is properly represented. In a recent article, Jean Reith Schroeder and Nicola Mazumdar ask “Do women need to be present to be represented?” They conclude “The short answer to this is, Yes, it does make a difference.”

But why should it make a difference if women are present? One of the oldest arguments is that women as a group have an interest and they need representatives to proclaim this interest. For example, Diamond and Hartsock claim that “despite the real differences among women, there are commonalties which grow from women’s life activity...” These commonalties, it has to be presumed, are enough to override the differences, and any other commonalties based on other means of identifying oneself. As

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21See, for example, Vickers, “Towards a Feminist Understanding of Representation...”
well, this argument assumes a Burkean Parliament where rational representatives meet to discuss different interests and come to the common good. The problem with assuming the Burkean Parliament, as Anne Phillips points out clearly, is that theorists are asking to have their cake and eat it too. "[Women] cannot challenge the Burkean notion of (non)-representation which sets the elected above the electors and lets them get on with what they know best, and at the same time treat women as if they have a special mission beyond party lines." These two notions are not compatible in a western democracy. The logical outcome of following a Burkean model is that gender parity is no longer necessary. "Although there must be a representative for 'every worthwhile opinion,' the number of representatives from each particular opinion is essentially irrelevant. If representing means presenting a point of view, one spokesman is as good as ten."  

Obviously, though, that statement does not seem to fit with reality as most people understand it. One spokesman [sic] is not as good as ten. I have already shown the importance of descriptive representation. Logically, however, the argument that women have an objective interest can only provide a weak, and contentious, support for gender parity. A better reason is that our society believes, in the abstract, that everyone has the right to participate in government and that everyone is the best judge of his or her own interest. We subscribe, broadly speaking, to the utilitarian model given earlier. Without women in positions of power, and without gender parity at every level of society, we do

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24Pitkin, The Concept of Representation, 84-5.
not allow every individual the same freedoms to determine their life choices. When one segment of society is being left out of the decision making process, we are led to question the legitimacy of the decision making process itself. The logical conclusion to the application of feminist theory to the concept of representation, as is pointed out by Phillips, Vickers, and Simrell-King, is that we need a change in both society and “politics as usual”. These changes would have to make politics more participatory and more inclusive, not just of women, but of all groups that are systematically underrepresented.

An increase in participation is the key to feminist ideas of political representation.

A feminist theory of representation must comprehend the three dimensions I have explored above and make links among them. First, it must be based on an acknowledgement of women’s demands to be represented in the institutions of both liberal-democratic states and civil societies. ... Second, [it] must take women’s concerns about the adequacy of representational practices seriously. ... Third, a feminist theory of representation must take seriously those who challenge the possibility of authentic representation... These notions of representation form “the electoral project.” Crucial to an understanding of the electoral project is knowledge that not only is it necessary to have gender equality in all decision-making structures, but it is also necessary to “transform policies, programs, processes and structures to improve women’s lives.” As my paper progresses, I will attempt to ascertain whether or not women’s lives are affected by more women being present at municipal hall.

27 Vickers, “Towards a Feminist Understanding of Representation,” 44.
28 ibid. 44.
Conclusion

Are all of these ideas compatible? No, they are probably not. Municipal politics stresses a Burkean model of political representation. Feminist politics stresses a model in which the idea itself of representation is muted, because of a perceived failure in representational politics to date. And our society subscribes to the Utilitarian model of descriptive representation. In and of themselves the ideas seem irreconcilable. But, why then have women had the most success at the local level? It is not enough to make the statement that these women are not representative of women in general or the women's interest. That argument is tenuous at best, drawing on notions of false consciousness. Preferably, we can recognise that the municipal level is more porous than other levels of government. There are no parties as such to act as gatekeepers. And, even though representational ideas at the local level are broadly drawn from Burkean thought, there is no concrete ideology guiding municipal representatives and very little ideological debate about the representative's role. Despite the fact that representatives are expected to act for the whole city, they also have the freedom to act for any sub-group that they see as not getting representation. This multiplicity of representational styles is particularly possible in the at-large system of British Columbian municipal politics, as municipal councillors do not formally represent any geographic sub-areas. In a ward system, councillors do have a defined constituency; in an at-large system, they get to define their own. Councillors can be said to represent everyone, it is true, but they can also represent any group that they choose. The looseness of representation is important to bear in mind as I move into the empirical results of my study.
CHAPTER 2

"The election of women to public office in more than token numbers is a relatively recent phenomenon." Municipal politics in particular has witnessed a sharp rise in the number of women running for office and the number of women getting elected. It is at the municipal level in Canada that women have had the greatest degree of success. A number of different ideas have been offered to explain the higher numbers of women on municipal councils in Canada: the elimination of the party structure eliminates one potential gatekeeper; municipal politics have more relevance to women, given the traditional assignation of the "private" sphere to females; municipal councils are usually part-time and always located in the community in which the legislator lives, minimising the amount of sacrifice a mother would have to make to participate.

However, it is easy to forget that the higher numbers of women in municipal politics still do not translate into gender parity. In British Columbia, for example, 27% of all councillors are female. In Ontario, the comparable number is around 20% and in Quebec it is 20.9%. These numbers do not comfort many people, despite the fact that the proportion of women is both rising and higher than in other levels of government. In this section, I look at the questions of what encourages female participation and what

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30 Trying to get accurate numbers is a nightmarish exercise. Every researcher has to do it on his or her own, as they are not centralised in any province other than Quebec. That is why I cannot give a national average. Joseph Kushner, David Siegel, and Hannah Stanwick, "Ontario Municipal Elections: Voting Trends and Determinants of Electoral Success in a Canadian Province," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* XXX:3 (September, 1997); Elisabeth Gidengil and Richard Vengroff, "Representational Gains of Canadian Women or Token Growth? The Case of Quebec's Municipal Politics," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* XXX:3 (September, 1997).
discourages it. I will then apply these explanations to British Columbia and, more specifically, to the municipalities of the Greater Vancouver Regional District, my personal laboratory.

Women's Electoral Success

The work on women in municipal politics has centred upon isolating which factors seem to impede or facilitate women's electoral success. Generally, the models put forth by researchers highlight a number of structural factors in an attempt to understand what are the relevant variables. Susan J. Carroll puts forward two possible reasons why women are not as successful as men: "(1) limitations resulting from women's socialisation and sex role conceptions, and (2) limitations in the structure of sex-role opportunity." 31 Because the first factor is often cited as a reason for women's greater levels of success at the local level than at the other levels - women are socialised into believing that their experiences are relevant to municipal governance - researchers have tended to focus on the second explanation. The consensus has been that there are no easy "structural" answers for female success (or lack thereof). Gidengil and Vengroff conclude their study of female participation in Quebec municipal politics with the statement that "our results are strikingly similar to the results of US studies in one key respect, and that is the general weakness of community characteristics and political structures in explaining the variation in women's representation on city councils." 32 The explanatory power of fixed variables,

32 Gidengil and Vengroff, "Representation of Women in Quebec Municipal Politics," 536.
such as community or council size, average household income and the like, is not very impressive.

To try to explain the paucity of female councillors, several American scholars have put forth a theory of "office desirability." They state that the more desirable a political office, the less likely it is that women will be elected to it. This hypothesis is used to explain declining participation rates for women at the higher levels of government. Elizabeth Vallance summarises this view with her short statement that "where power is, women are not," and Gidengil and Vengroff updated it to an idea that "where women are, power is not." The office desirability hypothesis has some serious weaknesses, however. The research of Bullock and MacManus shows that there is no evidence that women are disadvantaged, as women, by council size, longer terms or incumbency. These three variables are all factors that the desirability hypothesis predicts should discriminate against women being elected. Kushner et al. demonstrate that to the extent that women run, they are likely to be slightly more successful than their male counterparts.

In fact, Gidengil and Vengroff's claim 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," seems to be localised to Quebec. Gidengil and Vengroff appear to define a desirable seat as one in a larger city. If this is the case (they never explicitly state what they mean by a desirable seat), Kushner et al's findings show clearly that larger cities

tend to have higher proportions of women, and that no municipality with over 100,000 people in Ontario has a council without any women. Similarly, Bullock and MacManus demonstrate that, in the United States, women serve at higher rates in larger cities.\textsuperscript{36} Finally, Linda Trimble's numbers for major Canadian cities show that women definitely serve at a higher rate in Canada's cities than they do in the other forms of municipalities (which are generally smaller in size).\textsuperscript{37} All of these findings, save for those of Gidengil and Vengroff, militate against the desirability hypothesis, as "big city" council seats are generally conceded to be more desirable. The principal researchers on women in municipal politics, Charles S. Bullock, III and Susan A. MacManus come to the following conclusion:

\begin{quote}
In general, however, the overall explanatory power of the desirability thesis is rather weak. Formal, structural measures of office desirability simply do not account for very much of the variation in the gender makeup of mayoral and city council posts across the United States.\textsuperscript{38}
\end{quote}

Another finding with important implications for my study is that women in Western American cities do better overall than in any of the other regions of the United States.\textsuperscript{39} There have been various reasons offered to explain this fact. The most common is that the political culture of the West fosters ideals of greater participation.\textsuperscript{40} The suffragettes enjoyed their first success in the western states, and many of the reformist

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{35}Joseph Kushner, David Siegel, and Hannah Stanwick, "Ontario Municipal Elections."
\bibitem{37}Trimble, "Politics Where We Live."
\bibitem{40}Bullock and MacManus, "Municipal Electoral Structure."
\end{thebibliography}
movements, such as the Progressives, have flourished in the West. I do not want to overstate this influence. Bullock and MacManus report that for no region could more than 5% of the variance be explained,\textsuperscript{41} nevertheless, the greater participation of women in the US West is important to bear in mind as we turn to examine Canada’s westernmost province.

**British Columbia**

Generalisations about the American West are hard to transfer into Canada. Whereas the United States frontier was populated by settler families from the east, the colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island were composed of a different breed. British Columbia only became a recognised political entity, as opposed to a Hudson’s Bay Company commercial territory, due to fears over the large influx of gold miners in the 1850’s.\textsuperscript{42} These miners who became the British Columbia’s earliest non-Native inhabitants were almost exclusively male, and they brought a macho frontier ethic with them. Instead of being populated by families, British Columbia and Vancouver Island’s first European settlers were fortune-seekers and remittance men. Women did have a limited role to play in mining communities such as Barkerville or in the nascent cities of New Westminster and Victoria, but it was limited to the provision of civilisation.\textsuperscript{43} Generally, the British Columbia economy provided few niches for women to enter.

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid.


Dianne Newell has highlighted the role played by women in the salmon canning industry, but their work was accompanied by a catch-22. As long as cheap labour was available, technology innovations were not necessary; as labour became more scarce, capital replaced labour, technology improved and one of the few job opportunities for women disappeared.\textsuperscript{44} Otherwise, the predominant industry was forestry. Logging was a field that was not only dominated by men but had a male ethic attached to it.\textsuperscript{45} British Columbia’s resource based economy in turn attracted young men to move to the province; it was not until 1951 that the number of non-native women equalled the number of non-native men.

However, British Columbia also has a strong history of class politics. The socialist parties, particularly the CCF/NDP, have had more success in B.C., both federally and provincially, than left wing organisations have had in most other provinces. The socialist movement has typically had a stronger orientation towards equality than the other mainstream parties. As Lynda Erickson points out, though this tradition did not have much impact in the thirties and forties, the strength of the NDP in BC, and its commitment to equality, has paid dividends in the 90’s through the increased representation of women at the provincial level.\textsuperscript{46}

\textsuperscript{44}Dianne Newell, \textit{Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada’s Pacific Coast Fisheries}. (Toronto: U of T Press, 1993).
After the November 1996 elections, 27% of all councillors in British Columbia were female. Eighteen percent of the councils have a female mayor. The mayoral proportions are lower than the council’s, but this difference is likely a result of the fact that council membership is used as a stepping stone to becoming mayor. There should be a time lag in women becoming mayor, as women gain the necessary council experience. I have treated a mayor as a regular member of council in all of my analyses because of the extreme weak mayor system in B.C. Unlike the United States practice, in which the mayor can potentially have great power, including the ability to ensure more equal hiring practices, in British Columbia, the mayor’s extra powers are limited to selecting committee members and putting legislation on hold for up to a month.

Gidengil and Vengroff break down the composition of Quebec municipalities by city size and find that women are best represented in smaller municipalities. They use this evidence to confirm both the token growth hypothesis and the desirability hypothesis, assuming that council seats in smaller municipalities are less desirable. I replicated their chart for British Columbia in Table 2.1 and came up with a different set of findings, which in turn support a different set of interpretations.

Table 2.1 Percentage of Female Councillors by City Size, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Size</th>
<th>0%</th>
<th>&lt;33%</th>
<th>33-50%</th>
<th>&gt;50%</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;2000</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-9999</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10000-25000</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;25000</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47 Gidengil and Vengroff, "Representation of Women in Quebec Municipal Politics."
49 Gidengil and Vengroff, "Representation of Women in Quebec Municipalities."
British Columbia has the same curvilinear relationship as Quebec has, with the smallest and largest municipalities having higher proportions of women, but it is clear that the largest municipalities are also those which have the highest proportions of women. This evidence is the exact opposite of what was found by Gidengil and Vengroff, raising the question as to which province is atypical. ⁵⁰ At the very least, it means that further research needs to be conducted in the other provinces before any confirmation of the desirability hypothesis can be accepted. As well, Gidengil and Vengroff point out that the average council in Quebec has 1.51 female members; in BC the equivalent number is 1.55, but in BC the average council size is 5.3 members, whereas in Quebec the smallest councils are 6 members, and most councils have 8 or 10 members. ⁵¹ In short, I do not think that the province of British Columbia can be used to confirm the desirability hypothesis. It is true that 27.5% is still far short of gender parity, but dramatic changes do not happen overnight. It is a welcome sign that only 9% of British Columbia municipalities have no female representation. In British Columbia, it is probably safe to regard councils without women as aberrations and the product of chance.

In addition, in order to contribute to the scholarly literature about structural aids to election, I performed a test on those ecological factors that lent themselves to a regression analysis. I highlighted five structural variables that seemed significant: type of municipality (city, district, town or village); size of council (9, 7 or 5 members); size of

⁵⁰The findings of Kushner et al. for Ontario seem to support my results.
municipality (population); member of the Greater Vancouver Regional District or Capital Regional District (the two urban areas of BC); and presence of a female mayor. The last two variables were dummies, with a municipality having either a yes or no score. I chose to do a stepwise regression, inputting each of the variables in sequence. I discarded size of municipality because it was capturing the same element as GVRD/CRD; the latter gave better results. Table 2.2 shows the regression.

Table 2.2 Stepwise Linear Regression showing structural factors influencing women's representation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipality Type</td>
<td>-0.050</td>
<td>0.547</td>
<td>-0.086</td>
<td>0.504</td>
<td>-0.083</td>
<td>0.508</td>
<td>-0.061</td>
<td>0.608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council Size</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>0.714</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0.781</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.231</td>
<td>0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member</td>
<td>0.262</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GVRD/CRD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.319</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Mayor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted r-squared</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>0.141</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=153</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dependent Variable: Proportion of Councillors that are female

As can be seen, the greatest factor influencing women's representation is the presence of a female mayor. The only other significant variable is membership in the GVRD or the CRD. Those two regional districts form the urbanised area of British Columbia; greater representation of women here conforms to what most commentators have said, that females are more likely to be represented in urban areas.\textsuperscript{52} As well, it could point to the more basic dichotomy that has been emerging in British Columbia, namely the

\textsuperscript{51}For this one figure only I removed mayors from the equation to ensure that my data was identical with Gidengil and Vengroff. Montreal, it must be noted, has a 50 person council.

\textsuperscript{52}Bullock and MacManus, "Electing Women to Local Office."
separation of metropolis (Vancouver/Victoria) from hinterland. This variable does, however, only account for 5% of the variance.

The main finding on Table 2.2 seemed a little suspect. The adjusted r-squared for the effect of female mayors is unprecedented. In part the effect is pronounced because of my treatment of mayors as members of council; obviously a council with a female mayor will have a higher proportion of women. I attempted two tests to try and control for the presence of a female mayor. The results are shown in Table 2.3. First, I eliminated those councils that do not have any women, in an effort to “un-skew” the council composition. Second, I eliminated mayors from the councils and only examined councillors; I was reluctant to do so, because voters, in electing a female mayor, are demonstrating support for a female candidate. There are a number of municipalities in which the mayor is female and the other councillors are all male. Given the at-large system of our elections in British Columbia, it makes sense to recognise that the voters have chosen a women to represent them. On the other hand, using “presence of a female mayor” to explain proportion of elected women, is to use X to help explain X. It is logically fallacious.

Table 2.3: Alternate Regressions: Different measurements of female representation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Councils with Females</th>
<th>Mayors Removed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>Sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (Constant)</td>
<td>0.331</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member GVRD/CRD</td>
<td>-0.029</td>
<td>0.812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Municipality</td>
<td>-0.147</td>
<td>0.244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of Council</td>
<td>0.269</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As well, I wished to use the presence of the female mayor to see whether or not councils with female mayors had higher proportions of women. I assumed that on those councils where the voters had chosen a female mayor, there would be a greater number of non-mayor female councillors. There is some evidence in the literature that there could be a “coattails” effect where successful female politicians create a climate of acceptance or willingness for other female politicians. It is usually assumed that the career path of a municipal politician works in the direction of councillor to mayor. It would be expected that if voters were to use a female as a model for future officesekers, they would likely elect the female as a councillor first. In Langley Township, for example, the first female Alderman was elected in 1977; the first female Mayoral candidate did not appear until 1996. I felt that a mayor would not be elected unless there had already been this “climate of acceptance” created by female councillors. However the results on Table 2.3 do not confirm this idea.

For all of these reasons, the only result that I will commit to is the urban/rural dichotomy. That difference remains significant in all three of the tests that I performed, and it is consistent with all the available literature on the subject. Urban areas offer more scope for community group involvement, Caroline Andrew points out that one of the keys to electing women and getting women’s issues put on the formal agenda is pressure by

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55 Gidengil and Vengroff, “Representation of Women in Quebec Municipalities.”
community groups. The types of groups in urban areas are broader than the Chamber of Commerce/Service organisations that are typical of rural communities. In her great work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs repeatedly makes the point that the great advantage that (functional) cities have over the suburbs is that so many different people and ideas are brought into contact with each other. When combined with what Andrew terms the “porousness” of municipal policy arenas, this mixing allows for the introduction of women’s issues into the daily business of the city. This greater receptiveness towards women’s issues, or the perceived greater opportunity for the city to pursue women’s issues has created a dichotomy where women are more likely to be found in urban political systems.

The GVRD

The Greater Vancouver Regional District municipalities make an ideal test case for my study. 37% of all councillors are female, which is one of the highest ratios of any area in Canada.

Although it is not a member of the GVRD, I include Abbotsford in the study, because of both its proximity to Vancouver (it functions partially as a commuter city for Vancouver and Surrey) and because I felt the inclusion of another city with a larger council and a population of 100,000 would help the study out. As well, the city of Abbotsford participates in some GVRD activities, such as parks and recreation.

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58 Andrew, “Getting Women’s Issues on the Agenda,” 105.
Table 2.4: Municipal Councils in the GVRD.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Women on Council</th>
<th>Council Size</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Mayor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbotsford</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100 000</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anmore</td>
<td>Village</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belcarra</td>
<td>Village</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnaby</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>158 858</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coquitlam</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>84 021</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delta</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88 979</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langley</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19 765</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langley</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>66 040</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lions Bay</td>
<td>Village</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 328</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maple Ridge</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>48 422</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>43 585</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Vancouver</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>75 157</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Vancouver</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>38 436</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Coquitlam</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>36 773</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Moody</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17 729</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>148 000</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrey</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>245 173</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>471 844</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Vancouver</td>
<td>District</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>38 783</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Rock</td>
<td>City</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16 314</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>1 711 681</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some sharp contrasts, however, within the GVRD. There are four “developed” cities: Vancouver, Burnaby, New Westminster, and North Vancouver City. A number of the municipalities are primarily suburbs: Langley District, Delta, Coquitlam, North Vancouver District, Maple Ridge and Pitt Meadows fall into this category. And, there are a number of municipalities which bridge these categories, notably Richmond, Surrey and Abbotsford. In affluence also the cities have important differences. The areas designated as regional town centres by the GVRD tend to have lower household incomes. If the regional town centre is congruent with a municipal boundary, as it is in Langley City and New Westminster, this designation can lead to the municipality being poorer than its neighbours. The reason for this relative poverty is that the regional town centre designation generally means denser population, which lowers the property values and
lowers property tax revenue that the municipalities can receive. As well, the increased
density creates a demand for more services, and causes an influx of people into the centre
from the outlying areas to use those services. This conflict has been well detailed and is
one of the classic problems of urban governance.\textsuperscript{59} Patrick J. Smith calls these the
"politically contentious issues of [local] governance ... the problems posed by a number of
large/small, rich/poor local units."\textsuperscript{60}

Nevertheless, this area is all part of the Vancouver metropolis in that the actions of
one municipality cannot be removed from the rest. The commonalities work together to
outweigh the problems, and the economies have enormous linkages in a way that the
economies of Vancouver and Prince Rupert do not. The GVRD also forms the urban core
of the province. I have already demonstrated that the difference in rates of electing
women are significantly different for the GVRD compared to the rest of the province. It is
for this reason that I chose to do my analysis on this city region.

Conclusion

As can be seen, there are no easy, broad answers for why women are better
represented on some councils than on others. In their study, Kushner et al, find that
incumbency is perhaps the biggest reason, as women and men are elected at similar rates,
councils with higher incumbency levels will have fewer women. In British Columbia, I

was unable to find any single, all inclusive "determining variable." My only significant finding was that women are present at higher levels in the more urban municipalities.
A major focus of academic research on the role of women in politics has been the issue of roll call voting. As Sue Thomas points out, "A great many people who have written and do write about the effects women can have on political institutions and outcomes have harboured an outright hope that women will have a distinctive impact on legislative agendas."\(^{61}\) A roll-call analysis is one of the tools used by researchers to try and isolate this "distinctive impact." Essentially, a roll-call analysis is undertaken to determine whether or not female and male legislators vote in different ways on the same issues. The roll-call analysis is an American tool; the Westminster system of strict party discipline makes an analysis of voting patterns a laughable instrument as under the Westminster model, legislators do not vote their conscience. However, even within the United States, the idea that attitudes can be gleaned from a roll-call analysis has come under attack. In the first place, it is pointed out that in using a voting record based on a male-female dichotomy, the researcher subsumes all other differences into those dichotomous variables. There is no room for class, race, sexual orientation etc. Second, and more important, the idea of analysing roll-call voting has been attacked as "simply [appropriating] traditional indicators of difference and [applying] them to the study of gender."\(^{62}\) The act of voting on the floor, because it requires little effort in terms of research and no time commitment (beyond showing up), should not be expected to turn up great sex differences. And, most


of the studies of roll-call voting in the US Congress and in US legislatures have turned up very minor differences.\textsuperscript{63}

In addition to these problems with roll-call analysis, one other problem presents itself to a researcher studying local government. In British Columbia, the largest council has 11 members, with the average council size being 6.41 councillors (including mayors). These numbers reduce any roll call analysis to statistical insignificance. Instead of analysing straight roll-call voting, what I have chosen to do is an analysis of voting records to see how different councillors interact with each other. I have chosen three different municipalities that all had, at one point during the period analysed, a female majority on council. The three municipalities chosen were the city of Surrey, Langley Township and the city of Coquitlam.

Surrey, with a population of 335 000, is the second largest city in British Columbia. It is a high growth municipality which is characterised by low density sprawling development spread evenly throughout most of the area, with one zone of high-density development surrounding the rapid transit link-up. In addition, it has extensive farming areas and a number of regions with developed light industry. Langley Township is a fast-growing municipality of 83 000, featuring an annual growth rate of 4.3\%, that serves as a bedroom community for Surrey and Vancouver. It has several intensive farming areas which are increasingly becoming the focus of conflict between those who favour development and those who favour agriculture. Langley's motto is "Where the

\textsuperscript{63} See Thomas, \textit{How Women Legislate} or Michelle A. Saint-Germain, "Does Their Difference Make A Difference? The Impact of Women on Public Policy in the Arizona Legislature." \textit{Social Science}
City Meets the Country," but the two are not meeting on amicable terms. Finally, the City of Coquitlam is another rapidly developing municipality, with 111,000 residents, that has tended to be higher density than the other two. It is more specifically urban, rather than the urban-rural mix of Surrey or the predominantly rural character of the Township of Langley. It too serves as primarily a bedroom community, although it has zones of industry bordering the Fraser River and Port Coquitlam. Currently, a rapid transit link to the city centre is being constructed; this will likely intensify the commercial zone in that area and increase the density.

I examined all of the votes in these three municipalities for a three year period, extending from January 1, 1996 to December 31, 1998. For Coquitlam, due to the dramatic change in the council in mid-term, I changed the period under analysis to November 17, 1996 to June 21, 1999. The choice of this particular three year period allowed me to examine different councils, as the province wide municipal election occurred in November of 1996. In Coquitlam, the mayor, Lou Sekora, stepped down in mid-term. Two councillors resigned to contest the position, resulting in a new council in mid-term. Langley and Surrey both had councils that had a female majority on them for the period of December 1996 to the present. After the by-election in 1998, the Coquitlam City Council also had a female majority. What I was interested to see was whether or not the increased presence of women altered the power dynamics on these councils.
It has long been believed that municipal politics is an arena somewhat free from the partisan demands that infect higher levels of government. James Lightbody contends that "because of the often issue-specific and hands-on nature of many local government decisions, the question of political ideology is seldom baldly debated at city hall."\(^{64}\) In theory, the hands-on nature of city hall work prevents permanent allegiances from being formed; it is hard to argue the ideological orientation of a development variance permit allowing somebody to put a garage in their house. The ideas of non-partisanship that pervade municipal politics (forming a salient ideology in their own right) should in turn allow a councillor to vote in a manner that he or she feels is correct, rather than following the party line. The lack of party discipline could allow women to vote as a block in a manner which is not possible at other levels of government. In order to empirically examine the question of whether female block voting does occur, I performed a correlation analysis on each council in order to determine what groups seemed to be forming at the actual voting level. I only analysed votes in which there was one or more dissenting voices; all unanimous votes were thrown out. It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of votes were unanimous (ranging from a low of 66.2\% for the current Langley council to a high of 91.9\% for the current Coquitlam council.)

Langley Township Council

In the November 1996 elections, Langley returned a council that was divided into two groups. On the one side were three incumbent independent councillors with no ideological affinities; on the other side were members of a right wing slate, the Langley Leadership Team (LLT). The LLT is a classic cadre party of the style that has been so successful in Canadian municipal politics. It is characterised by the lack of a membership base, selection of candidates by a party hierarchy and little public accountability. Two of the LLT councillors, May Barnard and Karen Kersey, and two of the independent councillors, Muriel Arnason and Heather McMullan, are female. The remaining two councillors, Dean Drysdale (LLT) and Mel Kositsky (Ind.) and the mayor, John Scholtens (LLT) are male.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 give the correlations for Langley councillors in 1996, before this new council was formed, and for the council in 1996 when votes with only one dissenter were removed. Table 2 became necessary because of the presence of Councillor Arnason. She is seen, and sees herself, as the voice of the community, and is strongly opposed to many things. In 1996, of the 236 votes that were not unanimous, Councillor Arnason was one of the dissenters in 188 cases. Her often bizarre tendency to vote negatively skews the correlation because in the majority of these cases, Councillor Arnason was voting alone. Other councillors thus seem to be voting together more often than would otherwise be the case. Nevertheless, in 1996, one can observe that a voting

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65The analysis of the Langley political scene that is provided is based largely on my 22 years of residence as a keen observer of Langley politics, which includes a long friendship with a member of one of the first families to settle in what is currently the City of Langley.
block existed among Councillors Burton, Campen, Ferguson and McMullan, with Councillor Arnason having a near universal negative correlation and Councillor Kositsky and Mayor Scholtens being more neutral.67

Table 3.1: Langley Township Council, 1996. All non-unanimous votes included.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Arnason*</th>
<th>Burton</th>
<th>Campen*</th>
<th>Ferguson</th>
<th>Kositsky</th>
<th>McMullan*</th>
<th>Scholtens</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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</table>

n=236
*female councillor

Table 3.2: Langley Township Council, 1996. All votes with more than one dissenter

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Arnason*</th>
<th>Burton</th>
<th>Campen*</th>
<th>Ferguson</th>
<th>Kositsky</th>
<th>McMullan*</th>
<th>Scholtens</th>
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<td>1.00</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campen</td>
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<td>1.00</td>
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<td>Ferguson</td>
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<td>-0.23</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-0.33</td>
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</table>

n=66
*female councillor

After the 1996 election, however, the block formed throughout the previous three years dissolved. Councillor Burton resigned and Councillors Campen and Ferguson had been defeated. Of the incumbents, only three survived the election: Councillor Kositsky, who had previously been Arnason's greatest ally, Councillor McMullen, who had been Arnason's greatest antagonist, and Councillor Arnason as the three independents on

67One fact that has to be borne in mind is that Mayor Scholtens generally only votes when there is a tie. I thank Harold Munro of The Vancouver Sun for pointing out that legally, this means that he is voting yes, however, he does not bother voting against measures which he otherwise might if it will be defeated.
council. The enormous sea change wrought by the introduction of party politics is evident in Tables 3.3 and 3.4. Again, I had to control for the negativist tendencies of councillor Arnason, although not to the same degree as before. The four members of the LLT post astronomically high correlations, while the independents, who in the last council had been largely opposed to each other, form a fairly cohesive alliance. Councillor Kositsky remains the most neutral of all of the councillors, but all of his correlations would be on the high side for the other two councils studied.

Table 3.3: Langley Township Council 1997-8. All non-unanimous votes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arnason*</th>
<th>Barnard**</th>
<th>Drysdale***</th>
<th>Kersey**</th>
<th>Kositsky</th>
<th>McMullan*</th>
<th>Scholtens***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arnason</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnard</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Drysdale</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Kersey</td>
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<td>-0.22</td>
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<td>-0.26</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kositsky</td>
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<td>-0.33</td>
<td>0.39</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>McMullan</td>
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<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholtens</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n=940
*Female councillor ** Female LLT member *** Male LLT member

Table 3.4: Langley Township Council 1997-8. All votes with more than one dissenter.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Arnason*</th>
<th>Barnard**</th>
<th>Drysdale***</th>
<th>Kersey**</th>
<th>Kositsky</th>
<th>McMullan*</th>
<th>Scholtens***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Barnard</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drysdale</td>
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<tr>
<td>McMullan</td>
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<td>-0.68</td>
<td>-0.69</td>
<td>-0.71</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholtens</td>
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<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>-0.46</td>
<td>-0.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n=501
*Female councillor ** Female LLT member *** Male LLT member

These results indicate the strength of party attachments. Faced with the LLT majority, the independent councillors chose to band together. The decision to form a voting block was forced by a number of LLT decisions, not least the hiring of an LLT supporter as city administrator and the subsequent firing of other top staff. As well, the Municipal Act gives some power to a group of three councillors (on a seven person
council) in that all money bills, particularly grants, must be passed with a three person majority, providing some incentive for the independent councillors to work together. The independents' desire to prevent LLT policy from being enacted served as a unifying agent and definitely seemed enough to overcome past antagonisms. The key indicator of the influence of party politics comes in the change in relationship between Councillor Arnason and Councillor McMullan. Whereas in 1996 their correlation was the lowest on council at -0.79, in the post-1996 council, it jumped to 0.50.

The other clear fact is that there is no “women’s caucus” on the Langley Township Council. In fact, there were only 4 votes out of the 501 looked at on Table 4 in which all four women voted together, and only a handful more in which three out of the four voted together. Instead, votes clearly split along the LLT/non-LLT cleavage.

Surrey City Council

Surrey has, historically, been the Lower Mainland municipality most associated with conflict. Stories of the police being called in to break up unruly council meetings are legendary. Surrey also has one of the most mature party systems in the GVRD, with the Surrey Electors Team (SET) representing the right wing, and the Surrey Civic Electors (SCE) representing the left. Throughout the late 80’s and early 90’s, SCE Mayor Bob Bose used as fully as possible the limited powers accorded to mayors in Canada, trying to override the SET majority. In the 1996 council, there were two SCE councillors, Robinson and Villeneuve, and the SCE mayor, Bose, with all of the rest being members of
the SET. There were four females and five males on that council, with three of the females belonging to the SET. Table 3.5 shows the pattern of interaction on that council.

The results in Table 3.5 could be interpreted as giving some evidence to the theory that women will vote together. If you look at the relationship between the three SET women, Councillors Higginbotham, Lewin and McKinnon, with all of the members of the SCE, there is markedly less disagreement between the SET women and Councillor Villeneuve than between the SET women and the two SCE men. However, this reading has to be tempered by the fact that the only person for whom this relationship doesn’t exist is Councillor Huot, who was one of the more right wing members of this council. As well, despite the fact that the SET women are closer to Councillor Villeneuve than to Mayor Bose or Councillor Robinson, they are still farther away from her than from the male members of their own party.

Table 3.5: Surrey Council, 1996. All non-unanimous votes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bose</th>
<th>Higginbotham*</th>
<th>Huot</th>
<th>McCallum</th>
<th>McKinnon*</th>
<th>Lewin*</th>
<th>Robinson</th>
<th>Villeneuve*</th>
<th>Watkins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Bose</td>
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<td>Lewin</td>
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<td>0.08</td>
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<td>0.05</td>
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<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.27</td>
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<td>Watkins</td>
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<td>-0.03</td>
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</table>

n=387
*female councillor

An alternate hypothesis, and one that cannot be disproved by this data, is that Councillor Villeneuve is more centrist than the other two SCE councillors. The voting pattern of Councillor Robinson correlates better with Mayor Bose than it does with

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69 The SCE has decided not to field any candidates in the upcoming election. Popular Councillor Judy Villeneuve will run as an independent while embattled Councillor Gary Robinson has not decided if he
Councillor Villeneuve. All of Councillor Villeneuve’s correlations are around the zero mark, indicating that she is not at either extreme. In addition, she has the reputation of being more moderate and more willing to compromise than Councillor Robinson.

After the 1996 election, the Surrey City Council took on a different tone. Six of the nine positions were occupied by the SET, leaving two SCE members and one independent, Jeanne Eddington. The position of mayor went to former councillor Doug McCallum (SET). The new council has become more moderate, and more willing to cooperate as can be seen on Table 6. Overall, there are very few significant positive or negative correlations. The relationship between Villeneuve and Robinson appears to have tightened, as they became more of a minority. Again, there are more positive correlations between all members of council and Councillor Villeneuve than Councillor Robinson. This greater correlation helps to support my earlier argument about her moderation.

Table 7 shows the Council in 1998, after the resignation of Councillor Lewin, and her replacement by SET member Barbara Steele. The same set of patterns evident in the last two councils are on display here.

**Table 3.6: Surrey City Council, 1997. All non-unanimous votes.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surrey 97</th>
<th>Caisse</th>
<th>Eddington*</th>
<th>Higginbotham*</th>
<th>Hunt</th>
<th>Lewin*</th>
<th>McCallum</th>
<th>Robinson</th>
<th>Villeneuve*</th>
<th>Watts*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Caisse</td>
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<td>-0.24</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>0.03</td>
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</table>

n=441
*female councillor

will run again.
Table 3.7. Surrey City Council, 1998. All non-unanimous votes.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Surrey 98</th>
<th>Eddington*</th>
<th>Caissie</th>
<th>Higginbotham*</th>
<th>Hunt</th>
<th>McCallum</th>
<th>Steele*</th>
<th>Villeneuve*</th>
<th>Watts*</th>
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<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robinson</td>
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<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

n=165
*female councillor

Coquitlam City Council

Politics in Coquitlam operates at a lower tenor than in the other two municipalities. Essentially Coquitlam is a commuter city and political issues tend to focus on growth and transportation/traffic. Instead of a party system, candidates run in a series of informal slates. These slates operate mainly for organisational efficiency, among a small group of like-minded candidates. The slate serves to pool resources and allow for greater advertising power. Slates exist to gain election or re-election, and not to present a policy platform. Ideally, they do not bind their members to any decisions. If that sort of discipline should appear, it means that a slate has turned into a party. The only “party” function served by a slate is to give candidates name-recognition and to give the public information.

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69 My thanks to Richard Dal Monte of The Tri-City News for giving me information on politics in Coquitlam (Phone interview, July 19, 1999).

Slates do, however, tend to encompass like-minded candidates. My voting analysis of Coquitlam illustrates this fact. I have combined the two councils during the 1996-1999 period into one table in order to increase the number of votes available. The council changed in early 1998, with two new councillors, both female joining. For the five members who were present on both councils, total N = 176 (Councillors Becker, Hollington, Kingsbury, Stangier and Thorne). For the two who left council, total N = 114 (Councillor Melville and Mayor Sekora). And, for the two who joined council, total N = 62 (Councillors Reid and Wilson).

Table 3.8 shows clearly how council is broken up into ideological groups. Councillors Hollington and Thorne form one “group,” one that is more centrist or left leaning. Councillors Reid and Stangier, with Mayor Kingsbury, form another “group,” one that is more right leaning. Councillors Becker and Wilson provide swing votes, although the former is more left and the latter more right. Mayor Sekora was in the right group and Councillor Melville was another swing vote.

Table 3.8: Coquitlam City Council 1996-1999. All non-unanimous votes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Becker</th>
<th>Hollington</th>
<th>Kingsbury</th>
<th>Melville</th>
<th>Sekora</th>
<th>Stangier</th>
<th>Thorne*</th>
<th>Reid*</th>
<th>Wilson*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Becker</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Hollington</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>-0.32</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekora</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.23</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stangier</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorne</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reid</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
<td>-0.33</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*female councillors.

Again, though, it is hard to make any conclusions, other than the obvious ones that people with similar ideological outlooks tend to vote together. The close voting patterns of Councillors Hollington and Thorne coupled with knowledge of their being the more
left-leaning councillors could suggest something, but the information from this portion of my study cannot give any conclusions.

Coquitlam provides a few more examples of women voting together. It occurred twice (out of 62 opportunities). Once, the women voted to approve a south facing sign for a Canadian Tire, and they voted to deny a liquor licence. As well, Coquitlam provides the best examples of how women can make a difference in bringing up issues. Tamerius states that sponsoring of bills (in the US Congress or State legislatures) is an area where there would be a “large predicted sex difference.” Based on her criterion, sponsoring a motion in the Canadian municipal arena should produce a small to medium sex difference. In Coquitlam, without the constraints of party, there are definitely some issues that are “feminist” and brought up by one of the female councillors. For example, Councillor Hollington moved on July 21, 1997 that a resolution be sent to the Union of British Columbia Municipalities in favour of exempting non-profit housing from having to pay Developer Cost Charges. Similarly, on April 6, 1998, she moved that a report on assisted housing in the Westwood Plateau area be produced before further development be allowed. In both cases, opposition was provided by three male councillors.

Discussion

Innumerable studies of Congressional voting examine sex differences only to find minimal differences in voting. Though these studies may be factually correct, they are extremely limited, and in some ways invalid, erroneously leading to conclusions that the sex of a member of Congress makes no difference.\(^\text{72}\)

\(^{71}\)Ibid. 104.

I concede the point made by Duerst-Lahti and Kelly. The instrument I used in this study was broad and it was crude. I did not find any sweeping patterns of females supporting each other in these three city councils. What I found was a pattern whereby party support, where parties exist, overrode other “lesser” allegiances. This is especially clear in the case of Langley where the introduction of party actually created a voting block out of three councillors who had shown high levels of disagreement previously. This confirms the findings of other studies. For example, Manon Tremblay writes that “status in the House [of Commons], party affiliation and Parliamentary procedure can also influence the representational role of women.” 73 Similarly, Tamerius reports that in the US Congress, partisan affiliation is a better predictor of feminist voting patterns than sex. 74

The fact remains, however, that there could have been agreement on a few “feminist” issues, which would have been lost among the sheer number of votes. I tried to control for this by noting examples of the times that women voted together. Admitting the difficulties of coding most municipal issues for “feminist” values, I was able to highlight a few examples. The most blatant was in Surrey where on April 7, 1997, the council voted 5-4 to urge the Prime Minister to continue to appoint women to the Senate until there are equal numbers of men and women. Four women and one man voted in favour and the remaining woman and three men voted against. Yet even in this, the voting was somewhat structured. The two SCE and one independent councillor, along with 2 SET councillors, all voted in favour; the four opposed votes were all SET councillors.

74 Tamerius, “Sex, Gender and Leadership in the Representation of Women.”
As I stated earlier there were four occasions when the four women on Langley council voted together. The women agreed: that the chair of the Economic Development Commission come to speak to council regarding a proposed Airport expansion, to defeat proposed signage on Township property, to produce a Langley calendar for the Township's 125th birthday and to cease development of a planned Township Native Tree Nursery until resident's concerns had been heard. These issues cannot be used as a positive proof that having women on council makes a difference, particularly when they are only 4 of 501 motions; being so few in number they do not provide any evidence. The most suggestive finding is that, generally speaking, women seem to have more neutral correlations than men. This is particularly true in those councils that are not as factionalised (Surrey after 1996, Coquitlam, Langley before 1997). If women are more moderate, it is an important result.

Conclusion

Fully untangling what these results mean requires a larger study. Because of the small size of councils in British Columbia, studying the movers of motions on any individual council is an exercise in futility. I have already stated that party or ideology can be as good an indicator of feminist voting as sex. With only seven members on council, the moving of "feminist motions" would likely correlate with the more left leaning councillors. It could offer little insight into how feminism correlates with sex. A proper study would have to be longitudinal and it would have to encompass at least fifteen municipalities.
What I have intended to show are the general patterns. I feel that these patterns accurately represent the diversity of male and female voting allegiances in the GVRD and they serve to set up my discussion of individual councillors attitudes. As well, they highlight the pervasive influence of party, even at the supposedly non-partisan local level. Party, when present, is clearly the most important variable, almost surprisingly so. Everybody, no matter how hard they deny it, has an ideological outlook that structures their actions. Our ideology will be based on past experiences, on our value system and on our conception of how a good society should operate. It is not surprising to see voting on councils structured by these different outlooks on life. But, when a strong party is thrown into the mix, as it was in Langley in November of 1996, people seem to lose the ability to co-operate. In Surrey, for example, Jerry Huot and Gary Robinson are polar opposites, ideologically speaking, yet they agreed more often than any of the LLT and any of the independents on the Langley council. Yes, I did have some findings which indicated a small level of female co-operation and moderation, but the party finding stands out as clearly the most important and one which deserves a proper study of its own.
CHAPTER 4

Having examined councils broadly, in the next phase of my study I will analyse the attitudes of individual councillors. The survey was sent out to all councillors in the Greater Vancouver Regional District, as well as the City of Abbotsford (a member of the Fraser Valley Regional District). The total number of councillors included in the study was 153. Of these, 60 councillors elected to fill out the surveys and return them, while two councillors indicated to me that they were deliberately not participating. My overall return rate was 40.5%. Breaking down the responses, 32 of the replies were from male councillors and 27 from female, with one councillor choosing not give his or her sex. This pattern of responses over-represented the female population; 49% of female councillors responded as compared to only 32% of males. The over-representation is beneficial, as it increases the number of females to a level which makes study easier.

The basic idea behind the survey is an old one. I am attempting to identify whether or not women carry different attitudes with them into municipal office. The assertion that women think “differently” than men is a claim with a long history, first appearing in modern form in the arguments for universal suffrage. The suffragettes used what Darcy et al. call the “housekeeping argument” to win the franchise for women.

The reasoning was that the traditional role of the woman gave her the responsibility for the moral, spiritual and even physical well being of her family. ... Women needed the

75See Appendix 1 for the complete mailout survey with attached cover letter.
ballot for reform so that women could better carry out their traditional responsibilities to their families.76

In Canada in the 1920's, women were encouraged to put themselves up for offices such as school trustee, in order that their unique experiences could be used. The Women’s Institute, for example, offered support for women running for the school board in the Fraser Valley and urged its members to vote for female candidates.77 Women were perceived to have a different voice than men, and needed the ballot, and candidature, in order to make this voice heard.

It seems odd to link the ideas of the 19th century suffragettes with modern feminist scholars, but one can see a common thread joining the two. Manon Tremblay writes that female participation is important in order “to change the attitudes, opinions, and behaviour of men in political parties.”78 Similarly, Jill McCalla Vickers calls “counter-intuitive” the claim that differences between representative and represented result in no policy differences.79 Scholars tend to give pride of place to representation as acting for the represented, through some form of similarity. The assertion that differences between representative and represented should result in policies that are unwelcome to the represented implies that the represented group has a distinctive interest, requiring a representative who shares that interest.

77 Surrey Museum and Archives, SMA 79.022, Surrey Women’s Institute meeting minutes (year unknown).
Because of the findings of previous studies, my expectations were quite limited. I formulated three major hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 1**: Using sex as a dependent variable, I should find very minor differences between the two sexes in attitudinal orientations.

**Hypothesis 2**: If significant differences do appear, they are likely to be clustered in "feminist" areas and will tend to place women left of men on the political spectrum.

**Hypothesis 3**: Age and Ideology should prove to be more salient dependent variables than sex.

**Hypothesis 1**

*Using sex as a dependent variable, I should find very minor differences between the two sexes in attitudinal orientations.*

Most major studies published to date find little difference in activities and priorities of female and male legislators. Feminist scholars complain that "a conclusion of no difference defies our understanding of the world," but agree that "the facts of indifference in these studies approaches incontrovertibility." There are a number of reasons proposed for why studies are finding little difference. Two major explanations emerge. The first is that the women who are elected share the same socio-demographic sphere as the men who are already present. Because the new female legislators share the same societal, hegemonic agenda as the men, the impetus for a radical re-ordering of the governing structure is greatly reduced. In her study of female participation in Norway, Jill M. Bystydzienski states that "the strategy of getting more women into public office can make

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80 Karin LiTamerius, "Sex, Gender and Leadership in the Representation of Women," *Gender Power, Leadership and Governance*, Georgia Duerst-Lahti and Rita Mae Kelly, eds. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995) 95. This article provides a useful review of much of the recent work in the field.

81 Vickers, "Towards a Feminist Understanding of Representation."
a difference provided ... that the women entering public politics have an alternative agenda to offer.”

The second explanation draws from the first. Some scholars argue that “it is not enough to simply look at the numbers; you must also examine the basic construction of the domain that produces the numbers.” In other words, when we examine the structural characteristics of our systems of election and government, we have to look for the characteristics that are impeding women’s progress and preventing women from pursuing a feminist agenda. Gender theorists claim that these barriers are present in everything from the location of legislatures to the masculinist traits of our decision making style. The masculinist ideology that pervades our governing structures, and indeed our society, prevents women from being able to assert their difference.

A third explanation would be that there are no objective differences between men and women based on sex. Again, feminists would reject this explanation, but it does have some empirical weight backing it up. The purpose of a study such as mine is to attempt to determine what relative weight each of the explanations should have.

In any event, the fact that most studies report little difference between men and women helped me to formulate hypothesis 1. A 1993 *Vancouver Sun* survey showed the homogeneity of most candidates for municipal office in greater Vancouver. The survey

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84 Harold Munro, “Few visible minorities show on lists of council candidates” *The Vancouver Sun*, Monday, November 15, 1993. I thank Harold for digging this out of the archives for me.
results portray a portrait of the candidate that is eerily similar to Vickers description of legislators as being mostly “forty-ish, publicly heterosexual, able-bodied, white [and] well-educated.”\textsuperscript{85} The average candidate for municipal office in Greater Vancouver in 1993 was white, mid-forties and had lived in his or her house for over twenty years. Radical policies will not flow from a group structured in this manner, because there is often little interest on the part of a hegemonic group to overthrow the hegemony.\textsuperscript{86}

**Hypothesis 2**

*If significant differences do appear, they are likely to be clustered in “feminist” areas and will tend to place women left of men on the political spectrum.*

Current studies do indicate that differences, when they appear, generally highlight areas of particular concern to women. Thomas and Welch find that, while women’s activities are becoming more and more similar to men’s, women do give higher support and priority to “women’s issues.”\textsuperscript{87} Women’s issues have been defined as issues concerned with their traditional function in society, with their civic worker function and with their social role.\textsuperscript{88} The findings of Thomas and Welch were replicated by Michelle Saint-Germain in her longitudinal study of the Arizona State Legislature.\textsuperscript{89} However, all of these findings are somewhat marginal, and support the tokenism argument. Women seem to promote “women’s issues,” but more so where they were a token part of the state legislatures. In my study, women are not a token presence, but are approaching balanced

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\textsuperscript{86} I wish to leave open the question of whether or not it is desirable to overthrow a hegemonic order. One need not ascribe sinister motives to hegemonic influences; instead one can see them as a result of the workings of a society finding its own equilibrium.

\textsuperscript{87} Sue Thomas and Susan Welch, “The Impact of Gender on Activities and Priorities of State Legislators,” *Western Political Quarterly*, 44 (June, 1991).
status. Thus, it seems reasonable to formulate hypothesis 2, with a caveat that I am helping to fulfil a research agenda of studying women’s contributions to political life once they have surpassed the token level. I included in the survey a battery of questions on women’s participation and expected to find differences based on both sex and class.

It has also been found that women will tend to be somewhat towards the left of men on the political spectrum. Darcy et al, report that female councillors are usually among the more progressive on council.

At the local level, in surveys among city councillors, women have been shown to be the most egalitarian in their attitude towards male and female roles, more likely to declare themselves “liberal,” and most likely to support city-planning measures.\textsuperscript{90}

Lynda Erickson’s survey on candidates in the 1993 Canadian federal election also reports that women are generally found in the left. Similarly, a host of American studies have reported that women are more likely to join the left-wing Democratic party.\textsuperscript{91}

**Hypothesis 3**

*Age and Ideology should prove to be more salient dependent variables than sex.*

I initially had hoped to have five different social characteristics with which to evaluate the survey responses: sex, age, ideology, occupation and municipality. However, questions relating to the last two characteristics were only answered by around 50% of the respondents. I was able to use age and ideology as alternate variables. I expected that both of these characteristics would prove to be more useful determinants than sex. For age, I looked at some of the literature on the gender gap (in voting) and socialisation.


\textsuperscript{89}Ibid. 957.

\textsuperscript{90}Darcy et al., *Women, Elections and Representatives*. 154.
theory which claims that younger generations are more likely to sympathise with the goals of the feminist movement. Joanna Everitt, for example, finds that "the greatest support for pro-feminist positions is consistently found among the two youngest cohorts."\textsuperscript{92} For these reasons, I expected age to function as a proxy for both sex and ideology, and therefore encompass both of them.

In studying ideology, I predicted that self-proclaimed ideology would serve as a strong control on responses. As was discussed in Section 3, party identification and ideology tends to be the strongest determinant of voting. I expected that it would also be the strongest determinant of attitude. The results, I thought, would be evident throughout the whole range of questions.

**Survey Results**

I will break down the survey results by section. Appendix 2 contains the full results. All of my significance tests are two tailed. I decided that I should not attempt to predict the direction of difference, even in areas where this seemed feasible (such as women's equality). I feel that this strengthens the findings, and helps to eliminate turning marginal claims, based on possible coincidences, into statements of fact.

**Section 1**

As can be seen on Table 4.1, there are no significant differences in the priorities section of the survey when it is broken down by gender. The majority of the means are

relatively close. These results indicate that men and women do not seem to have a
different vision for the role of municipal government. They have accorded fairly similar
priorities to activities and these priorities focus on the traditional "nuts and bolts"
functions that have always been stressed by municipal government. A greater focus on the
"soft" services, such as culture or child services, by women would have been a pleasant
finding, but it was not expected. Indeed, as Andrew Sancton has pointed out, "people
concerned with local social issues generally do not see municipal politics as a useful focus
of their efforts. Because they tend to view municipal politicians as having no concern for
social policy, they often work actively to keep such issues as day care, preventive public
health, and protection of children outside the direct jurisdiction of municipal
government."93 This unwillingness to trust municipal politicians with social responsibilities
manifests itself in the unwillingness of municipal politicians to accept social
responsibilities. Voters will not accept municipal politicians spending scarce resources on
day care or social assistance because these domains are not seen as appropriate areas for
municipal government. Until pressure is put on politicians from the public to provide
social legislation, neither male or female politicians can credibly, and successfully, make
this area a priority.

92 Joanna Everitt, "Public Opinion and Social Movements: The Women's Movement and the Gender Gap
incidentally, the best teacher I ever had and without her I know I wouldn't be writing this paper.
93 Andrew Sancton, "Conclusion: Canadian City Politics in Comparative Perspective," City Politics in
Table 4.1: Priorities of Municipal Councillors, broken down by sex.

In your opinion, what should the priorities of municipal government be? Please check off the five that you feel should be the top priorities. [The averages are the percentage of councillors who indicated that area as one of their priorities.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Planning:</th>
<th>Male average: 90% Female Average: 89%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development:</td>
<td>Male average: 48% Female Average: 46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries:</td>
<td>Male average: 20% Female Average: 21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation:</td>
<td>Male average: 52% Female Average: 54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Services:</td>
<td>Male average: 07% Female Average: 11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Services:</td>
<td>Male average: 19% Female Average: 18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks and Recreation:</td>
<td>Male average: 67% Female Average: 82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police:</td>
<td>Male average: 68% Female Average: 57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Safety:</td>
<td>Male average: 68% Female Average: 54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering:</td>
<td>Male average: 74% Female Average: 75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing:</td>
<td>Male average: 10% Female Average: 18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td>Male average: 16% Female Average: 25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When priorities are examined using both age and ideology, we do not uncover any more information. The only truly significant findings are that councillors on the centre/left are much less likely to accord policing a priority than councillors on the right and that older councillors give a higher priority to engineering and to libraries. Otherwise, there are no significant cleavages. Again, I attribute this homogeneity in priorities to the utilitarian attitude towards municipal politics. Politics at the local level has acquired the image of being about nuts and bolts, from the days of the early boosters to the present time. Tim Thomas has pointed out that municipal politics, as a realm, tends to focus on smaller piece-meal solutions to problems, rather than overarching plans. To explain the parochial focus of municipal politics in Canada, he states that the structures of consensus building and majoritarian rule (such as parties) are not present at the local level to the same extent that they are provincially or federally. Municipal politicians approach each
issue separately and do not have any impetus to look at these issues in broader perspective.\textsuperscript{94}

### Table 4.2: Priorities of Municipal Councillors, broken down by age and ideology.\textsuperscript{95}

In your opinion, what should the priorities of municipal government be? Please check off the five that you feel should be the top priorities. [The averages are the percentage of councillors who indicated that area as one of their priorities.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority</th>
<th>Under 50 average</th>
<th>Over 50 Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Libraries</strong></td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Services</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Services</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks and Recreation</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Safety</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Engineering</strong></td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>04%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority</th>
<th>Centre/Left average</th>
<th>Right Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Services</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Services</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks and Recreation</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Police</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Safety</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{94}Tim Thomas, "When ‘They’ is ‘We’: Movements, Municipal Parties and Participatory Politics," *Canadian Metropolitics: Governing Our Cities*. James Lightbody, ed. (Toronto: Copp-Clark, 1995).

\textsuperscript{95}In order to perform the comparison of means, I created two age groups: <50 (n=22) and >50 (n=36). I similarly created two ideological groups: centre/left (n=33) and right (n=26).
Section 2

Table 4.3: Attitudes regarding municipal governance, broken down by sex.

This section consists of a series of questions regarding the powers and jurisdiction of municipal governments.

1) Do you feel there are any areas in which municipalities should receive more powers or responsibilities? (1=Yes / 0=No)
   - Male average: 0.59 Female Average: 0.67

2) In your opinion, should the GVRD have more planning powers, the same powers it has now or fewer powers? (More Powers=0 Same Powers=1 Fewer Powers=2)
   - Male average: 1.25 Female Average: 1.37

3) Recently, in Ontario, a number of independent municipalities were amalgamated into the Toronto “megacity.” Do you think that this option should be explored within the Lower Mainland? (1=Yes / 0=No)
   - Male average: 0.20 Female Average: 0.27

4) In your opinion, should municipalities be a constitutionally protected third order of government? (1=Yes / 0=No)
   - Male average: 0.91 Female Average: 0.89

The purpose of this section was to analyse the attitudes of councillors towards municipal government. The questions were designed to highlight various aspects of governance. As can be seen, there were no significant differences based on sex. Male and female councillors do not appear to have different attitudes about what constitutes municipal governance. This result is not surprising given the long tradition of municipal autonomy in Canada, and in the Lower Mainland. In one of the earliest monographs on municipal governance, Harold Kaplan highlights this aspect of Canadian municipal history. Kaplan wrote a functional analysis of Metro Toronto, and describes a system that was able to function only through the ability of its chairman to overcome municipal hostility. His description of Metro Toronto leaves no doubt in the readers mind that in the eyes of
municipal politicians, their authority was the only legitimate power. Regional governments are distrusted both by municipal politicians and by the broader public. My findings confirm this image; the average councillor would like more areas of responsibility, less powers for the GVRD, would oppose amalgamation, and wants recognition as a third order of government. These views seem to be fairly well distributed among all councillors, regardless of sex, age or ideological orientation.

Table 4.4: Attitudes regarding municipal governance, broken down by age and ideology.

This section consists of a series of questions regarding the powers and jurisdiction of municipal governments.

1) Do you feel there are any areas in which municipalities should receive more powers or responsibilities? (1=Yes / 0=No)
   - Under 50 average: 0.62 Over 50 Average: 0.63
   - Centre/Left average: 0.63 Right Average: 0.63

2) In your opinion, should the GVRD have more planning powers, the same powers it has now or fewer powers? (More Powers=0 Same Powers=1 Fewer Powers=2)
   - Under 50 average: 1.24 Over 50 Average: 1.40
   - Centre/Left average: 1.21 Right Average: 1.41

3) Recently, in Ontario, a number of independent municipalities were amalgamated into the Toronto “megacity.” Do you think that this option should be explored within the Lower Mainland? (1=Yes / 0=No)
   - Under 50 average: 0.21 Over 50 Average: 0.26
   - Centre/Left average: 0.21 Right Average: 0.26

4) In your opinion, should municipalities be a constitutionally protected third order of government? (1=Yes / 0=No)
   - Under 50 average: 0.90 Over 50 Average: 0.89
   - Centre/Left average: 0.91 Right Average: 0.89

Table 4.4 fails to show any significant differences based on age or ideology. This section was one that I would have liked to examine using a city/suburb analysis, given that cities generally support metro-level initiatives and suburbs usually oppose these unifying measures, but the data was too scarce.

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97 For example, Winnipeg unicity was supported by the central city, and Kaplan describes how Metro Toronto’s support tended to come from the City of Toronto.
Section 3

Table 4.5: Women’s Participation, broken down by sex.

This section discusses the role of women in municipal politics.

5) Do you think women councillors generally have different perspectives on local matters than men councillors?  (1=Yes / 0=No)
*Male average: 0.50 Female Average: 0.73
6) Do you believe that men generally have an easier time being successful in local politics than women? (1=Yes / 0=No)
**Male average: 0.29 Female Average: 0.61
7) In general, would you prefer to see a greater proportion of women councillors than is currently the case? (1=Yes / 0=No)
**Male average: 0.52 Female Average: 0.76
8) In your opinion, does the presence of women on local councils affect how policies are made on that council? (1=Yes / 0=No)
**Male average: 0.48 Female Average: 0.75

Would you approve of any of the following measures to increase women’s representation? (Use a scale of 1-5 with 1 being strongly approve and 5 being strongly disapprove)

9) The UBCM running election clinics for women to help them get elected.
*Male average: 3.34 Female Average: 2.89
10) Having incumbent women councillors mentor potential candidates.
Male average: 2.96 Female Average: 2.63
11) Having the mayor/council encourage civic organisations to nominate women candidates.
Male average: 4.00 Female Average: 3.48
12) Provincial support for first time female candidates.
Male average: 4.61 Female Average: 4.24
*p < .1
**p < .02

In this section, as hypothesised, I find several significant differences. All of the questions pertaining to the role of women in politics have differences based on gender that are significant to at least the .10 level. Some of these results are consistent with earlier studies. Of the findings of Lynda Erickson’s 1993 Canadian federal election candidate study was that while 83% of women felt that there should be “many more” women in
parliament, only 46% of men held this opinion. Similarly, Sue Thomas asked members of twelve state legislatures whether they believed it was harder for women than men to get ahead in politics. 73% of women said yes compared with 41% of men.

However, what I found most interesting about these results was that despite the fact that female councillors, significantly more so than men, feel strongly that it is both harder for women to get elected and necessary to have women on councils, there are no significant differences between men and women when it comes to possible amelioration measures. Women do not seem to strongly advocate any of the proposed solutions, or at least no more strongly than their male counterparts. To try and determine why women support the idea of gender equality, but none of the proposed solutions, I performed a correlation analysis on this section, adding my three demographic variables as well. I decided to do a correlation based on the large amount of research showing that feminist voting is better predicted by party than by sex.

Table 4.6: Survey Section 3 Correlation Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ideology</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>*0.30</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>*0.31</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.23</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*0.28</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>**0.55</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>*0.30</td>
<td>*0.28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>**0.39</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>**0.46</td>
<td>**0.34</td>
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<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>*0.27</td>
<td>**0.39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>**0.34</td>
<td>**0.44</td>
<td>**0.41</td>
<td>**0.41</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>*0.31</td>
<td>**0.55</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>**0.34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>*0.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>**0.46</td>
<td>**0.44</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>**0.63</td>
<td>**0.44</td>
<td>**0.38</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>*0.31</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>**0.34</td>
<td>**0.41</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>**0.63</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>**0.44</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>*0.30</td>
<td>0.07</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>0.14</td>
<td>**0.41</td>
<td>**0.41</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>**0.44</td>
<td>**0.44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>**0.48</td>
<td>0.02</td>
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<td>0.26</td>
<td>**0.38</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>**0.38</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>**0.48</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>*0.30</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.15</td>
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<td>0.19</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>*0.31</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05
** p < .02

These results provide a partial confirmation of my hypothesis. The strongest correlations occur around question 6 and 7. That is to say, councillors who think women have a tougher time getting ahead and councillors who want to see more women on council are more likely to support some form of initiative to ameliorate the situation. And, those councillors who support one form of ameliorating initiative are more likely to support others. Ideology and age do not appear to provide any explanations.

When the results of the two tables are combined, a better picture emerges. Table 4.4 gives a broad picture of women's tendencies as opposed to men's tendencies. Table 4.5 shows results in context with each other. Giving both tables helps avoid the problem of over-generalising. Dolan and Ford warn that in attempting to compare women to men, we forget about the different identities that women and men have.¹⁰⁰ Being a women does not necessarily mean you agree with the goals of feminism, nor does being a man automatically mean that you disagree with feminist goals. Erickson's study discovered that male New Democrats tended to support the "amelioration" measures to about the same degree as female Liberals and so on down the line. There will always be pro-feminist males and anti-feminist females. In Erickson's study, the overall score, out of 7, for female Reform party members on support for these amelioration initiatives was 2.90; the score of male New Democrats was 6.51.¹⁰¹

What I have done in Table 4.5 is select out the anti-feminist individuals; one woman, for example, gave a five to all of the questions in the second part of section 3, adding "I am a woman Councillor". One male councillor would not answer the section,

stating that “all councillors, male or female, should be treated equally.” I was told that this section was “a put down to women,” that it showed “my biases,” and one councillor “was left wondering where I was going with my thesis.” Ernie Crist of North Vancouver District told me in a phone interview that he would not vote for someone because she was a women; echoing some of the literature, he stated that women are not necessarily more progressive and that in his opinion the women on his council did not do anything to advance minority rights.102 One female councillor, in checking all five’s, noted that her council had a majority of women (and therefore, presumably, no help was necessary).

I do not intend to be derogatory. All of these councillors live in the real world of politics. Many of them who do not see women as needing assistance are on councils in which there are a majority of women. Certainly, in the GVRD itself, there is no appearance that women are under-represented. At the regional level, 45% of the committee members are female councillors. As was stated earlier, 37% of all municipal councillors in the GVRD are female. What I am attempting to highlight, and this is why I added Table 4.5, is how there is a diversity of views. Most women and some men are supportive, in principle at least, of increasing the levels of female participation. It is important not to dichotomise these groups under an all-inclusive male-female banner, which denies some people their identities.

Section 4

The questions in section 4 of the survey were all designed to elicit ideological information. I created the questions based on the Burkean model of representation

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101 Erickson, “Might More Women Make a Difference?” 672.
discussed earlier. Specifically, I wanted to see to what degree women and men subscribed to the non-partisan, business oriented ideology of municipal governance.

Table 4.7: Ideological orientations, broken down by sex.

This section discusses various perceptions towards the roles of government.

13) How would you describe your personal position on the left/right spectrum?.
   (Left=1 Centre-Left=2 Centre=3 Centre-Right=4 Right=5)
   *Male average: 3.45 Female Average: 2.96

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.
   (Agree=1 / Disagree=0)
14) Provincial or national parties have no place in municipal elections.
   Male average: 0.87 Female Average: 0.89
15) Local politics should be as non-partisan as possible.
   Male average: 0.90 Female Average: 0.93
16) Local economic development is often impeded by too much municipal red tape.
   Male average: 0.44 Female Average: 0.65
17) Municipalities should be run like a business as much as possible.
   Male average: 0.80 Female Average: 0.80
18) Even though the province has responsibility for social services, there is a need for municipalities to have programs to help out the less-fortunate.
   **Male average: 0.42 Female Average: 0.77
19) Age (<30=1 / 31-40=2 / 41-50=3 / 51-60=4 / >60=5)
   Male average: 3.77 Female Average: 3.65
20) Group Membership (I asked them to list any groups they belonged to prior to becoming a councillor; these are the average numbers):
   ***Male average: 2.5 Female Average: 4.32

*p<.1
**p<.01
***p<.005

This final group of questions turns up three interesting findings. First of all, in common with much of the literature, I have found that female councillors tend to be further left than their male colleagues. This has important implications, because of the non-token levels of participation in the Greater Vancouver Regional District. In the past, it has been assumed that women were farther left because the left wing parties made more

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102 This was an unsolicited phone interview. He stated on his survey that he wished to speak to me, and I thank him for his time. June 9, 1999.
of an effort to run female candidates. As different legislative bodies reach into the high thirties and low forties (percent of women), however, women have still continued to be further left of men, even within parties, indicating that it is not a structurally determined characteristic.

Another important finding is that women, on average, belonged to 1.5 more groups prior to becoming a Councillor. The total number of respondents for this question was only 42, limiting the reliability of this statistic. However, this finding does confirm earlier information. Darcy et al. report that surveys of candidates at all levels of American politics show that women were more likely to have a history of civic involvement and that for women, a background of volunteer activity could be a good predictor of success.103 There are a number of possible reasons for this. One is that incumbency remains such a large factor. Based on a 1994 National Women’s Political Caucus (US) study, Georgia Duerst-Lahti reports that “when women run, women win as often as men.”104 But if women have an equal chance of election, why is there not parity? The answer is incumbency. Incumbents win, and incumbents are predominantly male. Name recognition is an immense help, especially in the world of municipal politics with its low turnout rate. In order to challenge incumbents, women have had to come out of a background of community involvement. This need is made particularly acute as there are generally no parties to supply the “good” of name recognition and public awareness. Further exacerbating this tension is the fact that all municipal elections in B.C. are conducted under the at-large system. This electoral system particularly helps out those with name

103Ibid. 33.
recognition. In the United States in at-large systems, men report higher levels of financial support from business than women. There is no reason to suppose this is not true in Canada. Men have, generally, built up a more extensive network of business contacts than women; women can respond, if they have been shut out of the business world, by building up a network of community groups, which will provide support for their campaigns. I would expect the disparity in group membership to disappear as equality is reached in other sectors of life. Here, I echo the claims made at the end of section one about wholesale changes being necessary in society before equality in politics can be reached.

The final significant gender difference is in question 18, where women councillors are overwhelmingly more likely to support some role for the municipality in the provision of social services. The issue of social services, as Caroline Andrew details, is one that has long been kept out of municipal politics. She states that redistributive policies have been ignored at the local level because legislators claim that the property tax is not a good tool for redistribution and the provinces, in Canada, have jurisdiction over health, welfare and education. However, Andrew goes on to point out that a discourse around social services can be created if community groups put pressure on elected officials and there are several areas of municipal authority that are sufficiently porous to allow for the introduction of women's issues. To my mind, the permeability of municipal politics makes the response to question 18 the most significant response in the study. As more and more women become involved in politics, they could force municipalities in Canada to abandon

their “ratepayer” mentality. As cities become more oriented towards the outside world and less parochial in their concerns, a radical shift in thinking could occur at the local level.\textsuperscript{106}

Table 4.8: Ideological orientations, broken down by ideology.

This section discusses various perceptions towards the roles of government.

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

(Agree=1 / Disagree=0)
14) Provincial or national parties have no place in municipal elections.
**Centre/Left average: 0.79 Right Average: 1.00
15) Local politics should be as non-partisan as possible.
Centre/Left average: 0.91 Right Average: 0.92
16) Local economic development is often impeded by too much municipal red tape.
Centre/Left average: 0.52 Right Average: 0.56
17) Municipalities should be run like a business as much as possible.
**Centre/Left average: 0.69 Right Average: 0.94
18) Even though the province has responsibility for social services, there is a need for municipalities to have programs to help out the less-fortunate.
***Centre/Left average: 0.73 Right Average: 0.41
19) Age \hspace{1cm} (<30=1 / 31-40=2 / 41-50=3 / 51-60=4 / >60=5)
Centre/Left average: 3.71 Right Average: 3.73
20) Group Membership (I asked them to list any groups they belonged to prior to becoming a councillor; these are the average numbers):
*Centre/Left average: 4.2 Right Average: 2.7
* \textit{p} < .05
** \textit{p} < .02
*** \textit{p} < .005

Breaking down the responses by age and ideology, we can see that ideology turned up the expected results. I did not include age in the table, because there were no significant differences between the age groups. Left wingers support a greater role for party, do not subscribe as heavily to the “business” ideology of local government and want the municipality to play some role in the provision of social services.\textsuperscript{107} These results are all

\textsuperscript{106}Andrew has written of the change in outlook on the part of cities as the world shrinks. See Caroline Andrew, “Provincial Municipal Relations; or, Hyper-Fractionalised Quasi-Subordination Revisited,” \textit{Canadian Metropolitics: Governing Our Cities}. James Lightbody, ed. (Toronto: Copp-Clark, 1995).

\textsuperscript{107}This is ironic as it was the left in Canada that/which successfully removed provision of social services from the municipalities in the thirties/forties/fifties.
expected. If anything it is something of a surprise that the other ideology questions in this section did not produce any significant differences.

**Discussion**

The major questions posed in the literature on women as public office-holders are (1) are women different from men; and (2) if so (or not), why (or why not)? Research on these questions reveals considerably more similarity between the sexes than difference, although some of the differences are of great importance to the problem of representation."108

In the article that this quote is from, Virginia Sapiro chooses to focus on the differences that do not appear. She seeks to explain why female representatives do not represent women's interests. Her response draws upon the idea of a false consciousness. Women see their problems as isolated; individual examples are not seen as part of a larger whole, so women do not understand that there is a problem and thus do not represent other women."109

I, however, reject this approach. Far more important than the differences that do not exist are the differences that do exist. Sapiro's critique of society has the same effect that W.L. Morton claimed Marx and McCluhan's critiques did. It reduces the human being to a passive actor; our actions have been made insignificant by a wink and the claim that we would not do what we do, if only we knew. I maintain, with Morton, that no

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109 This is not an isolated critique, but a cornerstone of one strand of feminist thought. See, for example, Marilyn Frye, "Oppression," *The Politics of Reality*, Marilyn Frye, Ed. (Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press, 1983).
matter how oppressive the circumstances, "man remains man in the extraordinary potentiality of his being."\textsuperscript{110}

Sapiro did not need to follow this "instrumentalist fallacy."\textsuperscript{111} She left the door open for the study of important differences. These differences are important for the study of politics and of government. First of all, we must recognise that people take their cues from a number of sources. Women exist as an interest, but so do class groups, racial and ethnic groups, age cohorts, regional barriers. All of the ways that a member of our society identifies him or herself impacts on his or her behaviour. In assuming that an objective "women's interest" can cleave through all of these different identities, feminist scholars are ignoring the empirical results of studies such as mine. My results show that there are some areas in which women have a clearly different priority, and there are many areas where female councillors are indistinguishable from their male counterparts. This is natural. We all have a deep diversity in our identifications. "Recognising the diversity of women's experiences," to use Johnston-Anumonwo et al.'s phrase, does not mean that women need not be represented.\textsuperscript{112} In fact, Anne Phillips makes a convincing case that the difficulty we have in defining an objective "women's interest" increases the need for gender parity in legislative office, as we need to ensure that the viewpoints of all women are represented.\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{111}Ibid.
Finally, this study underscores one thread of current feminist thought. A major finding is that women have more involvement in community groups prior to election. I gave one possible reason for this, that women need community groups to replicate male candidates business contacts. However, greater community involvement is also an example of what Arscott and Tremblay refer to as "informal political activity." Voluntary involvement is no less political an activity than running for office, and proof that women are more involved than men in community organisations must be taken into account when we describe politics using masculinist assumptions.

Conclusion

I wish to return to my three hypotheses.

_Hypothesis 1_: Using sex as a dependent variable, I should find very minor differences between the two sexes in attitudinal orientations.

_Hypothesis 2_: If significant differences do appear, they are likely to be clustered in "feminist" areas and will tend to place women left of men on the political spectrum.

_Hypothesis 3_: Age and Ideology should prove to be more salient dependent variables than sex.

Clearly, the first two hypotheses were supported. There are very few areas of difference between men and women, but those areas are clustered around ideological questions and feminist questions. Age and Ideology, however, do not turn up any results. The most significant conclusion that can be drawn from the failure of age and ideology as dependent variables is that perhaps the "women's interest" does exist, albeit weakly. If so, then women legislators are representing their interest.

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114 Jane Arscott and Manon Tremblay, "Il reste encore des travaux à faire: Feminism and Political Science in Canada and Quebec," _Canadian Journal of Political Science_, XXXII:1 (March, 1999) 141.
The idea of my hypotheses was to give the reader a chance to understand what is expected based on other people's research. For the most part, my research fits into the pattern described earlier. A finding that confirms earlier studies does not make the research pointless. First, there have been very few studies done on attitudes of male and female legislators in Canada, and no broad based study done on Canadian municipal councillors. Second, as I have stated previously, the Greater Vancouver Regional District is a unique area in Canada in that gender parity is within sight. Women do not labour under the same tokenistic climate as women in other parts of the country. There is no reason for a woman to suppose she is a special case and must represent all of womankind just by being present; therefore, the differences that I have found become more meaningful. Female councillors in the GVRD do not feel that they are "female councillors." Instead, they are just councillors, looking out for their communities' best interest. The fact that they are more likely to support increased women's participation and municipal social services indicates that there are some genuine male-female differences. Thus, I do not see this survey as "merely" confirming previous research, but confirming previous research while at the same time helping to erode claims that women behave differently because of a siege mentality.
CONCLUSION

"Variation is a universal and truly primitive trait. It occurs in any group of entities - razor-blades, measuring rods, rocks, trees, horses, matches or men."

John Steinbeck

Over the course of my study, two conclusions have become apparent. First of all, it is not possible to simply dichotimise men and women as sexes and expect differences to flow out of these two categories. Secondly, there are some important differences between men and women as legislators that could have important implications on governance.

I have dealt at length with the problems with using sex as a variable. Not all women behave the same; I think that this study has amply proven the variation within the ranks of female councillors. To some extent, I have disproved the idea of female legislators being able to put forth an objective "women's interest." The inclusion of women into municipal politics in more than token numbers has not resulted in a wholesale change in the operation of political structures. Instead, women have slotted into place alongside their male colleagues, according to personal orientations. One of the key idea's in Kanter's argument in regard to tokens was that as minorities lost token status, they would assert their differences. In the municipalities that compose the GVRD, women do not seem to be asserting any clear differences. On the majority of issues, and in the majority of cases, female and male councillors are indistinguishable.

On the other hand, there are some issues where different policy styles can be seen to emerge. Women seem to be more likely to join what I would term the left-wing blocs

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on councils. In each of the three councils looked at, Langley, Surrey and Coquitlam, two out of the three anti-development councillors were female. Women do appear to be more left-wing - or more centrist - in orientation than men. Why are women more to the left? It is hard to say for certain. Most importantly, women are far more likely to support increased numbers of women in elected office. The desire to have a greater female presence is a sign that the fear of failure that Kanter describes is diminishing. If women were uncertain of their abilities as councillors, then they would not support increased numbers of women in council positions. As well, lending support to the notion that women see themselves as having a distinct interest, women are overwhelmingly more likely to state that the presence of women changes the operation of a council.

The original idea for this study came from Linda Trimble's statement that we do not know anything about the different attitudes of male and female councillors. This study is a partial remedy to that situation. The results that I turned up conform to many of my expectations. Councillors, male or female, subscribe, for the most part to the dominant ideology of municipal governance. A councillor in Canada is supposed to a rational entity who makes decisions for the good of the city. Most councillors accept this ideology, but, women do not accept it to the same degree as men. More women than men see council as being a political body. In effect, more women are using the utilitarian or even feminist model of representation than are subscribing to the Burkean. The implications seem obvious. As women get elected in greater numbers, the focus of council is going to shift - councillors will be forced to admit the political nature of many of their decisions. Hopefully, the underground Burkean ideology that has governed municipal discourse for so long will be forced into the open and at least be baldly debated. The idea behind the
electoral project is that the election of more women will change politics. At city hall, to some small degree, that change seems to be occurring.
Bibliography


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Munro, Harold, “Few visible minorities show on lists of council candidates” The Vancouver Sun, Monday, November 15, 1993 A3.


Please try to answer all of the questions. If you have any comments, you may put them on the back.

Have you any previous involvement with community groups? If so, which ones?

Why did you enter municipal politics?

Section 1
In your opinion, what should the priorities of municipal government be? Please check off the five that you feel should be the top priorities.

- Planning
- Libraries
- Child Services
- Parks and Recreation
- Public Safety
- Housing
- Development
- Transportation
- Cultural Services
- Police
- Engineering (e.g. Water/Sewer)
- Other:________________

Section 2
This section consists of a series of questions regarding the powers and jurisdiction of municipal governments.

Do you feel there are any areas in which municipalities should receive more powers or responsibilities? If so, which ones?

In your opinion, should the GVRD have more planning powers, the same powers it has now or fewer powers?

More Powers____ Same Powers____ Fewer Powers____

Recently, in Ontario, a number of independent municipalities were amalgamated into the Toronto “megacity.” Do you think that this option should be explored within the Lower Mainland?

Yes____ No____

In your opinion, should municipalities be a constitutionally protected third order of government?

Yes____ No____

Section 3
This section discusses the role of women in municipal politics.

Please give a yes or no answer to the following questions:
Do you think women councillors generally have different perspectives on local matters than men councillors?  
Yes___  No___

Do you believe that men generally have an easier time being successful in local politics than women?  
Yes___  No___

In general, would you prefer to see a greater proportion of women councillors than is currently the case?  
Yes___  No___

Would you approve of any of the following measures to increase women’s representation?  
(Use a scale of 1-5 with 1 being strongly approve and 5 being strongly disapprove)
- The UBCM running election clinics for women to help them get elected.  1 2 3 4 5
- Having incumbent women councillors mentor potential candidates  1 2 3 4 5
- Having the mayor/council encourage civic organisations to nominate women candidates.  1 2 3 4 5
- Provincial support for first time female candidates.  1 2 3 4 5

In your opinion, does the presence of women on local councils affect how policies are made on that council?  
Yes___  No___

Section 4
This section discusses various perceptions towards the roles of government.

How would you describe your personal position on the left/right spectrum?  
Check one. Left___  Centre-Left___  Centre___  Centre-Right___  Right___

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. Provincial or national parties have no place in municipal elections.  
Agree___  Disagree___

2. Local politics should be as non-partisan as possible.  
Agree___  Disagree___

3. Local economic development is often impeded by too much municipal red tape.  
Agree___  Disagree___

4. Municipalities should be run like a business as much as possible.  
Agree___  Disagree___

5. Even though the province has responsibility for social services, there is a need for municipalities to have programs to help out the less-fortunate.  
Agree___  Disagree___

Gender:  Female___  Male___

Municipality:  
Age (optional):  <30___  31-40___  41-50___  51-60___  >60___

Occupation (optional):