

Political Parties and Women Candidates in Canada:

Influences on party selection of male to female candidate ratio

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Forward

It is sometimes said that, you think you know a story but, you only know how it ends. To get heart of a story you have to go back to the beginning. That is what I intent to do here in this forward to trace the story of how this project came to be. The origins begin in the early months in 2007, when I was attending the University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario, Canada trying to figure out where I wanted to do my master's degree at. I had course that semester about women in politics and what I was exposed to and learned about in that course formed the basis for my master's project. Once I started in the MPA program I began to develop and refine the concept of conducting a research project into women's representation. At first, I what wanted to cover was to large of a topic subject matter, which entailed looking at the various aspects of underrepresentation of women in political life however, that proved too much for a master's thesis so I eventually limited the research to simply candidate nomination in Canadian political parties. The method of data collection was originally purely qualitative at the outset however, as I was to learn over the course of doing research sometimes things can completely change from the way they were first formulated. I then start using quantitative methods in the form of regression equations in SPSS program to determine which of a select number of variables had an influence on the nomination of female candidates. The reason for the change over in research types was mostly because of the political instability in Canada for the past 6 years with a succession of minority governments and the constant threat of an immediate election; all this meant that party officials and MPs have little time for me to interview them. The next major hurdle that came in the way to finishing my project was my time in student politics. So often in life destiny, fate or whatever you want to call it sometimes has a job for you to do and that is how I saw it in 2008 when I thought the international student community in Bergen needed people to stand up for it. I will not go into the details of what brought me into student politics at UiB as I feel it is not relevant to the topic of discussion, and only the event itself is relevant to the reasons why it took as long it did to finish the project. As I write now I am only days away from submitting my thesis and awaiting the verdict of the last three years of work, and it is a strange feeling to be at the end.

I would now like to thanks the following people for their all assistance in my work in completing my master's project. I will like to firstly thank my family for allowing me to be able

to come over to Norway and study there as it has been the perhaps the best three years of my life. I would like to thank my two supervisors during the term of my research, Audun Jon Offerdal and Linda Sangolt, who spend countless hours providing guidance to me to bring to life my project. I would like to also thank Andrea Tkáčová for her constant encouragement especially when I was very depressed when something would not work in my research. I thank Zuzana Macháčková for the interesting and intriguing conversations we had in person and on Skype which were quite a joy and helped me work through the hard points. Finally, I would like to thank everyone else that had anything at all to do with this project as I could not have done it without the help from you all.

Summary

The study presented below is about which variables influence the percentage of female candidates in Canadian political parties. The study is divided into two main parts: the first part being a comparison of the two main parties in Canada over 24 years in terms of the numbers of selected and elected female candidates. The second part deals with 8 variables and the amount of influence each has on the level of female candidates in Canadian political parties. The data used in my study is taken from the 2006 Canadian census on the Statistics Canada website, and election records from the official site of the Parliament of Canada. The analysis of the data was done in conjunction with analysis program called SPSS to produce cross tabulations of the 8 independent variables with the dependent variable. In the opening chapter the reader will find a discussion of the rationale for the topic and the history of women's political representation in Canada. Chapters two, three, and four describe how the methodology of my study works, the related research, and the theoretical framework. The fifth chapter contains a literature review of political parties from different nations and the state of women's representation in those nations. In the sixth chapter, the study of the elections from 1984 to 2008 to determine which party has selected and elected more female candidates is presented. The seventh chapter deals with the analysis of the data from the election study and the conclusions produced from the data. In chapter eight, the results from the electoral district survey are displayed for the reader. In chapter nine, the analysis of the results from the data from the electoral district survey is presented there. Finally, the last chapter deals with closing comments on the findings of my study and the generalizations that I think can be made from the findings.

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

The area of candidate recruitment and nomination by political parties has been the subject of much attention by researchers over the years. This research has dealt with different aspects of recruitment and nomination processes including how women fit into the processes and to the extent that women have been able to become candidates for political parties. Much of the research into candidate nominations in political parties in various nations has showed that party leaders have focused more on bringing in democratic reforms to party nomination methods in an effort to make them more open. While this attention to party nomination structures has been good, however in some aspects it has taken attention away from the issue of women's underrepresentation on party candidate rosters. Women's underrepresentation as candidates has been studied from several angles such as candidate incumbency, income inequality between men and women, level of education, the media and the image of women politicians, social-economic status, party initiatives to increase female ratio candidates, etc.

Where women's underrepresentation as candidates has not been studied in as much detail as the other areas mentioned above; is the area of what influences political parties in the selection of its ratio of women candidates. This research study intends to explore what effect these potential influences have on women candidate recruitment and selection in political parties.

There are two types of variables that could potentially affect the selection ratio of candidates in political parties, those that exact pressure from the interior of the party, and those that exact pressure from the exterior environment. For the purposes of this study I will examine the affect of party ideology for its influence within the party. For the exterior, I will examine eight variables within each electoral district, those are: population size, average income, average education level, urban\rural location, frequency of a party winning, candidate that won in 2008, party that won in 2008, and individual party. I will now discuss the historical background to women's representation in Canada so that the reader better understands the material being researched in the coming pages.

Historical context of research topic

I believe that it is necessary to explain the historical development of women's political participation in Canada to better illustrate the problem being studied, and what I view as a great injustice in Canadian society. Beginning in the late 1800's, the women's movement in Canada began to organize and to obtain political rights, legal rights, and social reform. The Canadian women's movement differed from their counterparts in Britain and the United States in the tactics it used to achieve its goals. Canadian suffragists were not as militant as the women in British or American movements and tended to use low intensity conflict methods like petitions to politicians or appeals to public opinion.¹ By 1925, the women's movement in Canada had won the right for women to vote and to hold office in most of Canada, with the exception of the provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec, which did not have full political rights for women until sometime later. In the case of New Brunswick women were given the right to vote in 1919, however women could not run for public office until 1934. In Quebec, women could not vote and not hold public office until 1940. At the federal level things went a little differently than at the provincial level. During the First World War the right to vote was given to women who had male relatives serving in the military and to women in the military. The franchise was given to every woman over the age of twenty-one in 1918, however this did not include aboriginal women, this include aboriginal men as well, who did not receive the right to vote and run for office until 1960. However, a clause in the law stated that women were not 'persons' under the law, and could not hold appointed positions like senator or supreme court judge, which are appointed by the Prime Minister.² The women launched a number of appeals to overturn the legal definition of women being persons, first to the Supreme Court of Canada, which upheld the definition, then to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which agreed with women's movement arguments and the law was struck down.³

After women gained the right to vote and then ran for office, they began to be appointed and elected to high political office. The first woman was elected to the House of Commons in

¹ Stephen Brooks, *Canadian Democracy: An Introduction*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 337.

² *Ibid.*, p.337.

³ *Ibid.*, p.338.

1921. The first female senator was appointed in 1930.⁴ The first woman to become a provincial premier occurred in 1991.⁵ The only woman to hold the office of prime minister was Kim Campbell, in 1993 after she succeeded the outgoing leader of her party.⁶ This has led some scholars like Linda Trimble and Jane Arscott to argue that part of the complacency in Canadian society over women's participation in politics has to do with celebrating the first women to achieve a high office and that society then stops asking questions about the number of women in those positions thinking that one is enough. In their 2003 book *Still Counting: Women in Politics Across Canada*, Trimble and Arscott use the term 'a fetish for firsts' to define this phenomena.⁷ Another element to the complacency is that the general population believes that 20 percent representation of women in parliament is sufficient for a group that makes over half the population of Canada.

History of Women's Representation in Political Parties in Canada

I believe that a discussion of the political parties in Canada and women's representation within the parties is necessary for understanding the context of this research study. In her groundbreaking research on women and political parties in Canada, Sylvia Bashevkin argued that two rules could be used to describe women's place in Canadian political parties. The first rule states that if one were to inspect the hierarchy of a party going from the lower levels to the higher levels you find less and less women. An example of this first rule is illustrated by the fact that even in the hierarchy of the local riding association level women tend to occupy the position of riding secretary and not the more 'important' positions of riding treasurer or president. The second rule is that as certain positions become more competitive the more likely those positions

⁴ Linda Trimble and Jane Arscott, *Still Coming: Women in Politics Across Canada*, (Peterborough: Broadview Press Ltd., 2003), 20-21.

⁵ Brooks, p.330.

⁶ Trimble and Arscott, p.22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.20.

are to be filled by men and not women. The second rule manifests in the form of nomination of candidates in safe ridings, men tend to not to want to stand for election in ridings where there is little chance of winning and the women are likely to be placed in these ridings to make a good showing for the party even thou they have little or no chance of winning.⁸

An examination of the each party's record on women's representation within the party will now be discussed. There are several ways to assess the levels of women's participation in political parties such as the number of delegates to party conventions, the number of women serving in leadership positions in the party; and the numbers of female candidates in riding nomination elections. The Liberal Party at their 1968 national convention had 18 percent female delegates and by the 1990 national convention the percentage had increased to 47 percent. At the 1967 national convention of the Progressive Conservative Party, 16 percent of the delegates were female and the 1989 national convention had 46 percent female delegates. Thus both main line parties in Canada have gradually opened up the decision making process to female members of the party. To entrench the notion of increasing the participation of women in conventions the Liberal Party passed in 1990, an amendment to the party's constitution mandating that there be 50 percent female delegates at national conventions. The Conservative party also passed a similar constitution amendment stipulating that at least 33 percent of convention delegates be women. Moving next to the issue of having the main parties open up leadership positions to women. The Progressive Conservative party had in 1983; almost 25 percent of their national executive positions being held by women. By 1990 this had increased to 43 percent of the national executive. The Liberal party on the other had during the period mentioned had their number of female national executive members regress from 43 percent to 38 percent.⁹ The Liberals have had a female president of the party, but not a female party leader. The Progressive Conservatives have had a female party leader that was prime minister; in fact the only female Prime Minister Canada has ever had to date. The issue of recruitment of female candidates by parties is not so bright for the new Conservative party, which was formed from a merger of the P.C. and Canadian Alliance parties. Very few women have held any of the high leadership

⁸ Jacquetta Newman and Linda White, *Women, Politics, and Public Policy: Political Struggles of Canadian Women*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 115-116.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.116.

positions in the new Conservative party. This version of the Conservative party has not actively encouraged recruitment of women into the party to be candidates, and the number of female candidates has never exceeded 11.7 percent. The Liberal party has as of the 2004 election had a high of 24.4 percent of their candidates being women and have implemented measures to improve recruit efforts of women.¹⁰ These include such measures as mentorship programs and campaign colleges for women candidates and their staffs. But the most controversial measure of them all brought in by the Liberal party is the special provision that grants the leader of the party the ability to override the power of the local riding associations and appoint female candidates. This process has the advantage of allowing the placement of strong women candidates into winnable ridings, when normally in such ridings the competition is fierce and women often are have no chance of gaining the party nomination. The disadvantage of this process is that it overrides the authority of the local branches of the party and it is often viewed as anti-democratic by many in the party and the public.¹¹

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.117.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.118.

Research Questions:

1. Has the Liberal or Conservative party nominated more female candidates in the time period 1984 to 2008?
2. Of all the women nominated in the 2008 election, were there more women candidates drawn from either urban or rural districts?
3. Of all the women nominated in the 2008 election, were there more women candidates drawn from districts with high populations or low populations?
4. In districts with high levels of average income are there more women MPs elected? Or are a greater number of women MPs elected in districts with low levels of average income.
5. In districts with high levels of average education levels are there more women MPs elected? Or are a greater number of MPs elected in districts with low levels of average education levels?
6. Which political party elected the most women MPs in the 2008 election? Which party had the highest percentage of women MPs as proportion of their total caucus?
7. When the gender of candidate elected in the 2008 election is compared to the political party that has won the district the highest amount in the time period 1984-2008, which party has the highest percentage of elected women MPs?
8. Where a female candidate is selected in the 2008 election by the most winning party in a district where it has historically won, did a female or male candidate win a greater percentage of the time ?

9. Where the most winning party selected a female candidate in the 2008 election, were more female candidates elected in high frequency of winning districts or low frequency of winning districts?

In next the chapter I will outline the methodology of my study including the research approach, the type of research being used, the data collection methods, and how the data was processed and presented.

Chapter 2: Methodology of the Study

Research Approach:

The type of research that I will be utilizing in my study will be quantitative research. The purpose of using only quantitative data in my study is easily available of the data and fits the type of test I am conducting. The quantitative research used in my study will be in the form of election results from eight different elections in the time period from 1984 to 2008 as well census data from the 2006 Canadian Census.

A statistical study of federal ridings was conducted in the different provinces in Canada. The purpose of the statistical study is to test if the political ideology of a political party has an effect on the number of women selected as candidates. There are four federal parties that have seats in the Canadian parliament, for the purpose of this statistical study; I will be limiting my research to the Liberal and Conservative parties. The Liberal party is a left of centre party and the Conservative party is on the right of the political spectrum and thus this creates a good contrast to test for political ideology in candidate selection. Currently there are 308 ridings in the Canadian House of Commons. I will be using all 308 of the federal ridings in the statistical study of the ridings. The time period that the statistical study will examine will be roughly 25 years, starting with the 1984 election and continuing to the 2008 election, which is the most recent federal election in Canada. This time period was selected for three reasons. First, the 1984 election was the first federal election that women were elected to parliament in significant numbers, about ten percent.¹² Second, the 1984 to 2008 period includes eight elections (five majorities and three minorities) where women have been elected in increasing numbers and thus this period provides the richest source of data pertaining to the number of women selected as candidates by each party.

¹² Trimble and Arscott, p.30-31.

For the second part of my study will consist of a survey of the all of the 308 electoral districts in Canada based on a set of variables. The purpose of the survey is to discovery if any generalizations can be made in regards to women in Canadian politics as candidates for political parties. In the 25 years that make up the 1984 to 2008 period both the Conservatives and Liberals held power for long periods of time from more than one election, and this gives an opportunity to test to see if a party being in power has an effect on the number of women candidates they nominate for election. In addition, a second study using statistics was conducted to determine if other variables would affect the levels of women candidates. These variables are held constant across all the 308 ridings in Canada and thus can be used to make generalizations about the ridings. The variables are the geographical location of the riding, either urban or rural, the average income in the riding of individual voter in the riding, the frequency of a party winning the riding, the average level of education of the individual voter in the riding, the population of the riding, the gender of the current member of parliament (elected in the 2008 election), and the party that has won the riding the most in time period 1984 to 2008, and the relative frequency of the party winning. Data was collected for all eight variables from the profiles of the electoral districts from the websites of Statistics Canada and Elections Canada.

Adaptive Theory

In Derek Layder's book *Sociological Practice: Linking Theory and Social Research*, the author discusses the strengths and limitations of the grounded theory and mid range theory approaches to theory and research. Layder then goes on to articulate his vision of how the relationship between theory and research should operate and the two processes can be seen not be as mutually exclusive as many scholars perceive them to be.¹³ One thing that a scholar must ask themselves is whether he or she is primarily a theorist conducting some empirical research or a researcher who is experimenting with or playing with theory in their research. Another consideration is if a researcher is doing work purely with general theory is he or she really doing

¹³ Derek Layder, " *Sociological Practice: Linking Theory and Social Research*, " (London: Sage Publications, 1995), 12-13.

research?¹⁴ The answer according to Layder it would be inaccurate to claim that researchers doing research with general theory were not conducting research; it is simply that the term research is most often associated with the collecting of empirical evidence and data.¹⁵ Layder discusses the distinction between theory testing and theory generating research and he states the distinction between the two is useful to explain the different emphasises and priorities in the two types of research. However, he makes the point that in theory generating and theory testing can be found in varying degrees in most of the research conducted. Layder then states that it is an issue of some importance how various writers and approaches display their perspectives on the meaning of these terms. This debate over distinction between theory testing and theory generating also transcends into other terms as well. The distinction mostly parallels the distinction between grounded theory, formulated by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, and what is mostly referred to as mid range theory, developed by Merton also in 1967. These are two clear approaches to how to answer the question of how researchers develop theory at the beginning phase. Mid range theory states that theoretical hypothesis in advance of the research in order to guide the research and to give direction to any addition theorizing that may be required in the processes of the research and data collection. The grounded theory approach conversely believes that before starting any research study, the researcher should begin with as little preconceived theory as possible in order that as much theory can be generated in the course of the research itself.¹⁶

Now a discussion of the similarities and differences of the mid range approach and the grounded approach is warranted. Then the discussion will move to the adaptive theory approach and how Layder explains that it is a blending of the strengths of the other two approaches. Robert Merton argued even though we develop initial thoughts about a research problem by drawing on empirical observations about a particular social phenomenon, and then construct a possible theoretical explanation for the phenomena under study. This is done through a deductive, logical process, which seems to fit the available facts. The process of research then proceeds on along the line by discovering more facts and information about the subject under study in order to

¹⁴ Ibid., p.14.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.14.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.15.

verify or falsify the original hypothesis.¹⁷ The theories are of the mid range type utilize a small number of controllable variables, thus the researcher is able to make exact empirical investigations of the different variables and their relations to each other. Mid range theory places a greater value on quantitative data from social surveys and statistical techniques of analysis. Merton advocated that the social sciences should emulate the natural sciences, by using ‘solid’ quantitative data. He also did not rule out the use of qualitative data in research, but only in special situations and in a secondary role.¹⁸

Glaser and Strauss’s grounded theory approach stands in contrast to the mid range theory approach as espoused by Robert Merton. It differs in a number of notably areas, firstly that qualitative data should take a central role in research conducted by a researcher. Secondly, grounded theory is primarily a theory generating approach to research which advocates that theoretical concepts and hypothesis should be drawn from the data as it unearthed or collected in the research process itself. Such a method of theorizing tends to make the collected data bially fit into categories and concepts that have already been pre-formulated. In addition grounded theory does include certain elements of theory testing; in particular when new ideas emerge from the data they are compared to the ideas that have been previously developed in the research process.¹⁹ Thirdly, Glaser and Strauss believe that the social sciences cannot model themselves on the natural sciences. Theory in the social sciences must mirror the experiences of the people being studied and researchers need to have personal contact with the subjects and should not rely on empirical variables to draw conclusions.²⁰

Adaptive theory was developed by Derek Layder as a way to reconcile the differences and synthesis the strengths of both the mid range and grounded theory approaches to theory and research; into a single unified approach to social science research that would better address the nuances of social phenomena. This section will outline what Layder terms adaptive theory and the why it fits this research study. Layder outlines that the assumption that the creators of both

¹⁷ Ibid., p.16.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.16-17.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.17.

²⁰ Ibid., p.18.

theoretical approaches have made that the two approaches cannot operate together because of the differing focal points they have when it comes to social research.²¹ Layder believes that both approaches have limitations and drawbacks, however certain elements of each have merit and albeit in somewhat retrofitted manner. To be specific, adaptive theory tries to produce a theoretical relationship that brings together an emphasis on prior theoretical notions and concepts which flow into and direct research and at the same time attending to the development of theory from the ongoing analysis of the available data. In regards to mid range theory, adaptive theory alters certain parts of that approach in regards to how it deals with social phenomena and social-structural variables. Mid range theory only deals with variables that a researcher can use to produce a quantifiable observation with, thus abstract social concepts such as power, money, ideology, etc. need to be addressed with variables with which qualitative observations can be made. Another arena where adaptive theory modifies the methods of mid range theory is theory construction. Adaptive theory seeks to make routine theory generation an entrenched part of the research process, which is a feature that is lacking in mid range theory.²² Where adaptive theory differs from grounded theory is in several ways. Grounded theory tends to deal with only behavioural concepts and ignores systemic concepts. Adaptive theory on the other hand attempts to deal with both types of concepts in order to maintain a balance between people's social activities and the broader social systemic environment. Adaptive theory does not, like ground theory, reject the possibly theoretical contributions and useful ideas that general theory can bring to a research study. Adaptive theory tries to strike a balance between the discovery of new theories during the research process and the use of existing theory to influence the development of research.²³

The rationale for employing adaptive theory in this research study is as follows. The concept for this research study was developed from previous research I had done earlier in my university career for a course on women's involvement in politics. It was originally envisioned as a comprehensive study to explore the barriers that women face when trying to enter the

²¹ Ibid., p.18.

²² Ibid., p.19.

²³ Ibid., p.19-20.

political arena in Canada. As I started to research these barriers to women's entry into political life and discovered they were economic, social, cultural, as well as political. Theoretical hypotheses were developed based my previous experience with studying women's underrepresentation in Canada. As the research process progressed it became clear that a study into every aspect of women's under representation in Canadian politics would not be feasible for a master's thesis of this size, would be more fitting for doctoral dissertation. The topic was revised and refocused into a more narrow study dealing with what influences political parties to nominate the number of women as candidates for the party. New theory and data entered into the research and caused a reformulation of the previous developed hypotheses and a series of new hypotheses were generated from the new theory and data gathered from the refocused research. The study originally started out using qualitative data at the outset, mostly employing interviews from women in the political and others with insight into political life. However, over the months as the study evolved, indeed the methodology changed along with it. What changed was a shift from qualitative data to quantitative data and the use of analytical programs to test out hypotheses. Originally I planned to employ the ground theory approach because my research focused on social phenomena that dealt with the experiences of women in their struggles to attain political equality with men, and was decidedly feminist in orientation, and required qualitative data to examine the research problem in-depth. However, as time went on the need arose for mostly quantitative data such as statistics from the levels of women candidates in the various political parties in Canada, I began to realize that adaptive theory approach better fit the type of study I was conducting. In addition, the manner which the theory behind the development of my study was came into existence was influenced by past research I had done on the topic, which is more constant with the mid range theory approach to research. This again changed when the topic of my study was massively scaled down and refocused, and the need for adaptive theory seemed apparent.

Data Collection Methods

To collect data in order to ascertain which political party has selected more women candidates over the 24 year time period under study, I will use the results of past elections from the various ridings. The results of past elections are held in the archives of Elections Canada and possibly in the records of Statistics Canada as well. Since Elections Canada is the government

agency that oversees every federal election and handles the counting of votes in every riding, they are an ideal first place to start to data collection for the case study of the ridings. Elections Canada website has online the results of previous elections²⁴, information on electoral legislation²⁵, online publications that cover a variety of topics from Canada's electoral history to literature on the initiatives by Elections Canada on electoral reform, international activities of the agency, and much more.²⁶ Another government website that will be of extensive use is the official site of the Parliament of Canada. This site has a complete history of every election since the beginning of Confederation in 1867.²⁷ In addition it has information on the total number of women candidates of every party that has participated in the particular election that is being studied. If more data is needed on election results then other record keeping government agencies can be called on provide additional data. Statistics Canada is the primary source of data for the study of the 308 electoral districts with the data coming from the 2006 census. These web pages contain demographic data on the population of each individual electoral district on wide variety of areas.²⁸

The data for the survey of the electoral districts was collected from a number of different sources. Data on the size of the population, average income, and median level of education were collected from profiles of each electoral district from the 2006 census of the Canada population. The data was collected from the online web pages of Statistics Canada, the government of Canada's information agency. The Statistics Canada web site provides statistical data on a wide spectrum of subjects and topics including aboriginal peoples, labour, language, education, health,

²⁴ Elections Canada, "Elections Canada: Past Elections," Elections Canada, <http://www.elections.ca/intro.asp?section=pas&document=index&lang=e>.

²⁵ Elections Canada, "Elections Canada: Electoral Law, Policy and Research," Elections Canada, <http://www.elections.ca/intro.asp?section=loi&document=index&lang=e>.

²⁶ Elections Canada, "On-Line Publications," Elections Canada, <http://www.elections.ca/content.asp?section=pub&document=index&dir=onl&lang=e&textonly=false>.

²⁷ Parliament of Canada, "History of Federal Ridings since 1867," Parliament of Canada, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/process/house/hfer/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=Gres&genElection=33&ridProvince=4&submit1=Search>.

²⁸ Statistics Canada, "Federal Electoral District (FED) Profile, 2006 Census," Statistics Canada, <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-595/p2c.cfm?TPL=INDX&LANG=E>.

population and demographics, income, immigration, and many others. The agency is constantly releasing new reports and these are placed on the web site and are very useful. The entire past census conducted by the government of Canada is located on the agency's website. Each census contains detailed subcategories that entail the reader a perspective into various informational aspects of the Canadian society and state apparatus. The part of census that is of particular interest to this research study is the Federal Electoral District Profile (FED) from the 2006 census. Each of these FED profiles has a wealth valuable information on many aspects of the demographics of the population in each district. Data on the geographic location of the district, the party historically that has held the district, the frequency of the party winning, and the gender of the candidate was collected from the web pages of Elections Canada, the Canadian government agency responsible for monitoring and ensuring elections are conducted in fair and open matter. On both sites each of the 308 electoral districts has its own profile that details information about the districts. The Elections Canada web site has a wealth of useful information for scholars at all levels of academia to use. Elections Canada provides general information on how electoral system in Canada works, the structure of the agency, the responsibilities of the Chief Electoral Officer of Canada who is the head of Elections Canada, and answers to frequently asked questions about the electoral system in Canada. The site also contains information about the international activities the agency does to improve democracy in the different nations, such as Iraq and Afghanistan. The agency places its publications on the web site and this is a good source for scholars to utilize in their research. Information is also available about the electoral laws in Canada, the election financing laws, and election policy. The Elections Canada site in addition features information on how can people register to vote and how the National Register of Electors works as database to store information in the people that are qualified to vote in Canada. The profiles on the Elections Canada site the individual pages on each electoral district contains information about the history of past elections including which party\candidate won each election, list of all candidates that run in any particular election in the district, the size of the population of the district, the number of electors, and if you are on the list of electors, etc.

This discussion will now proceed to a description of how the data collected was processed and presented. After the data was gathered from the various web pages mentioned above it was placed in a series of tables. The first table presents the data for the variables

geographic location of the electoral district, the party that won the district the most, the frequency of the party winning the district, and gender of party's candidate. The second table shows the data collected for the variables population of the electoral districts and average income. The third table displays data for the average level of education in the electoral districts. The data was then inputted into an analytical program known as SPSS to analysis the various variables. The SPSS program has two ways to view the data entered into it, the first, is called the data view which allows the researcher to see the presented data as the values entered to represent terms as numbers. The second is called the variable view, which allows the researcher to view the data entered into the program as the terms or concepts set as numeric values. The program can analysis the data from at least two of the variables to produce, correlative indications of how profound an influence the different variables have on the level of women candidates in each of the political parties. The program then produces charts and tables based on the results of the analysis of a combination of the different variables in the research study.

In the next chapter of my study I will discuss the research that I am comparing my research results to in the form of two studies authored by Richard Matland and Donley Studlar on Canadian women in federal and provincial politics in Canada.

Chapter 3: Related Research

In order to test the validity the results of my survey of the electoral districts in Canada, I will endeavour to relate my results to another researchers' work on Canadian women in political parties, Richard E. Matland and Donley T. Studlar. Matland and Studlar's work has focused on women's representation in the Canadian provinces, U.S. states, and in Eastern Europe; however they have done research on the Canadian federal parliament as well, particularly on the 1984 federal election. The similarities between my study and Matland and Studlar are several, both studies cover a 25 year time period of candidate selection in political parties even though the time periods cover different years, 1975 to 1994 for Matland and Studlar, and 1984 to 2008 in mine. Some of the work done by the authors has focused on the federal level of government, much like my study. The variables employed by both studies are similar as well for example urban/rural districts, educational levels, and the economic resources available to the candidate. Matland and Studlar authored three articles on Canadian politics and women's representation in political parties that only focus on the Canadian context; much like my study is only about Canada. I will compare two of the articles to the study being presented here.

Matland and Studlar's Study on Canadian Federal Politics

The first of these articles was written in 1994 and was titled *The Growth of Women's Representation in the Canadian House of Commons and the Election of 1984: a Reappraisal*. In this article Matland and Studlar investigate the landmark 1984 Canadian federal election in which the Progressive Conservative Party won a landslide majority victory and the percentage of women's MPs reached over 10 percent for the first time. Since the PCs were a right wing party many observers believed that reason the why number of women MPs increased in the 1984 elections was simply because of the tide of the election turned in Quebec and that many of the women selected in hopeless seats were surprisingly elected to parliament. Matland and Studlar believed this was too much of a basic level explanation because the party managed to elect 8 other female MPs elsewhere in different provinces, and also the fact in the 1988 election

many of these Conservative women retained their seats.²⁹ Studlar and Matland state that their research aims to examine the general relationship between political parties and female candidates, and what social and political factors affect women's nomination and election. This is similar to what my study is endeavouring to answer as well. Matland and Studlar also seek to study the effect of political ideology on women's representation by looking at which party ushered in the increasing the number women in Canadian House of Commons and which lead the way in nominating women in Canada.³⁰ Political ideology is also one of the variables that this study seeks to understand in relationship to women's candidacy in political parties in Canada. In order to test the assumption that dramatic gains in the Conservative victory was indeed a surprising result and could have occurred because of the Conservative overwhelming victory, Matland and Studlar employed a test that created two simulations to compare to the results of the 1984 election. The first simulation assumes that the results of the 1980 election were recreated in the 1984 election. The results of the simulation show that when the results of 1980 election are superimposed on the 1984 election, the same number of women would be elected if the parties had one the same number of seats they in 1980. They conclude if the Liberals had won the election in 1984; the same 27 seats would have been occupied by women. The second simulation took a different route and by using polling data from January, February, and March 1984 to predict how the election would turned out if those numbers had been the result. That point in 1984 was when many of the local riding associations were selecting their candidates and again to disprove the widely held notion that the Conservatives had nominated a large number of women in Quebec as sacrificial lambs, a number of party officials in interviews had said they expected to win at least 25 to 30 seats in Quebec.³¹ The researchers used the cumulative poll data from all the provinces and territories to provide a large sample of over 3,100 people. The combined total for each party nationally was 53 percent for the Conservatives, 33 percent for the Liberals, and 12 percent NDP. This is very similarly to the outcome of the 1980 election when the Conservatives won 33 percent of the vote, the Liberals with 44 percent,

²⁹ Donely T. Studlar and Richard E. Matland, "The Growth of Women's Representation in the Canadian House of Commons and the Election of 1984: A Reappraisal", *Canadian Journal of Science Political Science* 27 (Mar.1994): 55.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.56-57.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.62.

and the NDP won 20 percent. In this simulation just like the first the results mirrored the 27 female MPs elected in the 1984 election. Studlar and Matland did not however believe that the inevitable outcome was 27 seats for women in the 1984 election. The untested scenario, a NDP victory in 1984, would likely have produced more women MPs; however since the polling data did not show the possibility of a NDP win. Matland and Studlar conclude that the increase in the number of female candidates in 1984 was responsible for the strong gains and not distribution of party votes.³²

The second part of the study conducted in this article was a data based analysis of the variables believed to affect the chance of a women being selected as a candidate for one of the major parties. Then they follow this with an analysis of the variables that affect the probability that an MP is a woman. The data they used was the aggregate electoral results for the Conservative, Liberal, and the NDP in the 1980, 1984, and the 1988 elections.³³ The data was collected from the 1981 and 1986 Canadian census. This is similarly to the study being conducted here because both studies are trying to determine what variables affect the likelihood that a candidate will be a women and the data being used was derived from various censuses done in Canada. The dependent variable used by Matland and Studlar in their study is whether the nominated candidate is male or female. The dependent variable in this study is similarly to the dependent variable in Matland and Studlar's study. Now moving to the independent variables that the authors believe affect the probability a candidate is a women. The first is candidate incumbency and Matland and Studlar believe it has a negative effect on the probability that a candidate will be a woman.³⁴ The next independent variable is the competitiveness of the riding and Matland and Studlar hypothesis that if there is indeed a party bias against women then the probability a candidate is a woman will drop as the party strength increases. The next independent variable in use by Matland and Studlar is the political party and they deuced that if a woman is a NDP candidate it will a positive effect on the probability the candidate is a woman.³⁵

³² Ibid., p.63-64

³³ Ibid., p.64.

³⁴ Ibid., p.65.

³⁵ Ibid., p.66.

The next independent variable employed by Matland and Studlar was educational level in each riding and they believe the level of education will positively affect the probability that a woman will be a candidate because of greater tolerance of well educated voters and that there will be a greater potential pool of suitable candidates for parties. In my study I also use an educational level variable. The next independent variable is utilized by Matland and Studlar is women's labour force participation and they believe it to have a positive effect on the probability that a candidate will be a woman because research has shown that women active in the labour force are more politically active.³⁶ The next independent variable employed by Matland and Studlar is the level of unemployment in a riding and they hypothesize that it would have a negative effect on the probability that a candidate is a woman because a lack of economic resources hurts the chances of a women being elected. This variable is similar to the average income variable I am using in my study as both deal with economic resources women have at their command. The last independent variable used by Matland and Studlar is the percentage of the population that is Catholic and they believe it will have a negative effect on the probability that a candidate will be a woman because of traditionalistic role Catholics believe women should have in society.³⁷ My study also contains a population variable; however it has more to do with various sizes of population of districts than the percentage of any religion present.

Studlar and Matland's results are as follows; the party candidate being an incumbent had a significant negative effect on the probability that the candidate was a woman, and the effect was strong in all three elections. The competitiveness variable did not prove to have a negative effect of any significance on the probability that a candidate would be a woman.³⁸ The party variable results are as follows; The NDP had a significant positive effect on the probability that the candidate would be a woman in the 1980 and 1984 elections, and 1988 was positive however not significant. For the Liberals, they were only slightly significantly more likely to select a woman in 1984 than the Conservatives.³⁹ The result for the women's labour force participation

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.67.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.68.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.68-70.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.71.

variable is positive for all three elections, however only significant in 1980. The education variable had no effect in 1980, however it was strongly significant in the 1984 and 1988 elections. The Catholic percentage of the population variable has not an effect at all in any context on women's probability of being a candidate. The unemployment rate variable is barely significant in the 1980 and 1984 elections, and not significant in the 1988 election.⁴⁰

Matland and Studlar than apply their independent variables to the question of do they effect the probability that an MP will be a woman. The unemployment rate and the percentage of population that is Catholic variables were removed from the analysis because they have not showed to have much of an effect on women's candidacy.⁴¹ The incumbency variable presented a negative effect in all three elections under study; however it was only significant in one election. The party competitiveness variable was not significant in 1980 and 1984 elections. However, in the 1988 election party competitiveness is indeed strong and does reduce the chance that an MP will be a woman as party competitiveness increases. The effect is stronger and intensive for MPs than for candidates.⁴² The party variable when it comes to the probability that an MP will be a woman provided some interesting results. The NDP had not a significant effect in any of the three elections, and in fact had a negative effect in the 1988 election. The Liberals had somewhat of a mixed effect on the probability that a woman will be an MP. In the 1984 election, there was indeed a significant positive effect, however in the 1988 election the effect had fallen to both not significant and negative. The women's labour force participation variable and the percentage of the population with some university education proved to have a significant positive effect for MPs being a woman just it had for candidates.

Studlar and Matland concluded that the notion that the dramatic rise in the number of women elected to the Canadian parliament in 1984 was simply pure luck due to the fact that the Quebec electorate shifted to the Progressive Conservative Party and because of this the party's sacrificial female candidates were elected in large number, was indeed flawed. They point to the evidence that their testing shows that party strength in 1984 did not affect women's nominations. The simulations conducted prove that no matter which party the Canadian electoral turned to in

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.72.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.75.

⁴² Ibid., p.76.

1984 there were adequate numbers of female candidates on the ballot to ensure a breakthrough increase in women's representation.⁴³ They then state that in 1988 the numbers of female candidates again increased and this further casts doubts on the notion of the 1984 fluke. The women elected in 1984 were not refused re-nomination or defeated in 1988 in proportions higher than normal for male candidates. They also note that during the 1980's that in Canada the ratio of women candidates to woman elected was much more even than in any other nation with a single member district electoral system⁴⁴. A final note from Matland and Studlar about the future of women's representation in the Canadian parliament in regards to the 1993 election, which occurred after they had finished their research, allayed any fears that women would lose the gains they had made, however the percentage of woman MPs was raised from 13.2 percent to 18 percent.⁴⁵

Matland and Studlar's Study on Canadian Provincial Politics

The second article authored by Matland and Studlar on Canadian politics and women is titled *The Dynamics of Women's Representation in the Canadian Provinces: 1975-1994*. In this article Matland and Studlar explore the different aspects of women political representation at the provincial level in Canada. They examined four areas up to that point not empirically studied; what comparisons can be made between the provincial level and the federal level, to see if there were pronounced differences between provinces in their probability to select and elect women, in terms of the different political parties across each province, and to ascertain if women are pre-eminently selected for unwinnable seats as 'sacrificial lambs'.⁴⁶ Despite the fact that this article focuses on women's representation in the provincial legislatures, there are some common trends with my study. Matland and Studlar examined women's representation over 19 year time period

⁴³ Ibid., p.77.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.78.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.79.

⁴⁶ Donley T. Studlar, "Women's Representation in the Canadian Provinces: 1975-1994," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 29 (June 1996): 270.

and in my study looks at women's representation over a 24 year period. Additionally, many of the variables employed in their study are also similar to my study as will be seen below. One of the main factors that Studlar and Matland point to that defines women's representation in Canada is the two clearly articulated separate recruitment streams, federal and provincial. The common trend in many countries is that women start at lower level legislatures and then build on success there and then on move to higher legislatures. However, in the case of Canada most politicians do not move between levels of government because the officeholder must first resign that position to run for another position. Another important factor outlined by Matland and Studlar is that Canadian provinces still retain a large amount of power and thus provincial legislatures are the conduit from which this power is wielded. This makes a seat in these bodies an attractive position to have on an equal footing with a seat in the House of Commons.⁴⁷

The data and the methods used by Matland and Studlar in this article will now be discussed. The data was collected from the Canadian Parliamentary Guide and from provincial Election Officers on candidates and elected MLAs in all ten provinces on all elections between 1975 and 1994.

The first analysis is the aggregate levels of women's representation in the provinces from 1975 to 1994. There were over 11,000 candidates that participated in these elections who received more than 5 percent of the vote or more in their district, and women made up 14.7 percent of the candidates, with their share rising over time. Of the 3,755 MLAs elected women secured 384 seats or 10.2 percent. The different parties elected the following percentages of the total MLAs; The Progressive Conservative Party 37.1 percent, the Liberals 31.6 percent, the NDP 18.5 percent, the Parti Quebecois 7.5 percent, Social Credit 4.4 percent, and other parties 1.0 percent. Matland and Studlar chose to focus on the three parties that won the majority of the seats, the P.C.s, Liberals, and the NDP.⁴⁸ The number of female MLAs in the 1970's and the early 1980's was quite lacking. During the 10 years from 1975 to 1984, the total number doubled from 25 (out of 669) to 50 (out of 698) MLAs. However, their number in any one particular legislature was very low. In Ontario, the highest number of female MLAs was elected in this period with 7. From 1985 to 1994, the number of women MLAs dramatically grew two fold from

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.273-274.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.276.

50 to 134 (out of 730). In the two largest provinces, Ontario and Quebec, there were 20 women MLAs, the western provinces all over 10 women, and the four Atlantic Provinces all had below 10 women. Matland and Studlar believed that there was regional effect at play here as to why the Atlantic Provinces had fallen behind the rest of the country. They employed a difference of proportions test to find out if the percentage of women elected in the East was substantially different in the rest of the country in all the various time periods. In the mid 1970's to mid 1980's the differences were not significant. However, in period from the late 1980's to early 1990's while the rest of Canada made advances in women's representation, the East did not make as great increases and the difference is significant. From 1984 to 1988, the percentage of women's representation increased only one percent, from 6.2 percent to 7.2 percent, meanwhile in the rest of Canada it raised from 7.5 percent to 13.5 percent. In 1988 the gap between the East and the rest of the nation is significant. In the period from 1988 to 1994 the distance between the East the rest of Canada actually grows.⁴⁹ The percentage of women MLAs in the East increased from 7.2 percent to 12.9 percent, however in the rest of the country had risen from 13.5 percent to 20.3 percent. Once again the growth rates have a significant differential between them. Studlar and Matland ask the question why women's representation in the East is so regressed in comparison to the rest of Canada. The reason they point to is because the NDP is weak relatively in the eastern provinces and since the NDP is the leader nationally in increasing women's representation, this causes women's representation to lag in East somewhat. Turnover rates are higher in the East versus the rest of Canada and party organizations in this region are also far more centralized when it comes to selection of candidates and hinders women's calls for representation.⁵⁰

The second analysis conducted in this article is gender representation by party, first dealing with candidates. The general trend for the Liberal, Progressive Conservative, New Democratic parties has been that the number of female candidates has increased slowly over time to point where in early 1990's, nearly one third of NDP candidates were women, about one fifth of the Liberal candidates, and one sixth of P.C. candidates. The NDP has been undisputed leader in nominating women in the time period being studied by Matland and Studlar. The NDP has

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.277.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.278-279.

maintained its lead throughout in nominating women even when faced with increased numbers of Liberal and P.C. female candidates in the late 1970's and throughout the 1980's. The reasons stated by Matland and Studlar for why the NDP nominates more women than the parties is because of the NDP egalitarian ideology which influenced the party to implement affirmative action policies to advance women in the party.⁵¹ The NDP also recruited a large number of leftist feminists who were willing to work hard for party, and then demanded a greater voice in the party. Party competition was also a determining factor in why the NDP began to nominate increasing numbers of women to attract female voters in order to break the domination of the Liberals and the P.C. The Liberal Party for their part have been less likely to select women than the NDP, however since the mid-1980's they have begun to select women in greater numbers, although slowly. The P.C. party has shown an upward trend for nominating women since the late 1980's. Matland and Studlar previously have argued that at the national level there has been macro contagion in the selecting of female candidates in Canada, with the other parties following the trail blazed by the NDP, and they believe it could be a possible explanation for the trends observed in the provinces, however there was not enough evidence to prove the hypothesis here.⁵² The two regional parties discussed by Matland and Studlar, the PQ and Social Credit, also have an observable pattern of an increasing rate of female candidates. The PQ gradually increased its percentage of female candidates from 6.4 percent in the late 1970's to 15.6 percent in mid 1980's and then in 1989 to 26.4 percent. Social Credit differed from other parties because before 1991, the party never had above 10 percent female candidates, and then its percentage suddenly surged to 27 percent in 1991. Overall, women made slow but steady gains in most parties, with the exception being the NDP which advanced women much more rapidly.⁵³

The third analysis conducted by Matland and Studlar in their article involved analysing women's representation in regards to the amount of women elected to provincial legislatures by the different parties. The three major parties in the late 1970's elected relatively the same percentage of female MLAs, however by the 1980's the NDP had become the clear frontrunner. The NDP maintained their lead into the early 1990's by increasing the percentage of women

⁵¹ Ibid., p.280.

⁵² Ibid., p.281.

⁵³ Ibid., p.282.

elected under the banner of the party to the point that one quarter of all NDP MLAs were women. The Liberals and the Conservatives were electing about the same percentage of female MLAs, about 5 percent, and by the early 1990's both parties were in the mid teens for women legislators. In general, all three parties have increased their share of female MLAs over time, and the NDP has widened its lead over time.⁵⁴ The two regional parties, Social Credit and the PQ, when it comes to electing women two factors stand out; first, the amount of MLAs elected depends on the electoral strength, and second, the amount of MLAs strongly reflects the amount of female candidates in those parties. During the time when Social Credit was one of the two main parties in British Columbia the party elected relatively the same percentage of women as it nominated, about 8.5 percent at the height. However, when the party fell to third place in the 1991 election, it did not elect any women MLAs at all despite selecting 27 percent female candidates. The PQ has the position of being one of the two main parties in Quebec and has helped elect many female representatives, and their elected MLAs percentage mirrors their percentage of female candidates. Starting in 1976 the percentage of female PQ MLAs was 5.6 percent (6.4 percent candidates), 6.3 percent in 1981(13.1 percent candidates), 17.4 percent in 1985 (15.6 percent candidates), 27.6 percent in 1989 (26.4 percent candidates), and 19.5 percent in 1994 (22.4 percent candidates).⁵⁵

The last analysis conducted by Matland and Studlar in this article was one covering the women's representation by party in competitive seats. In order to measure this, a number of methods can be employed. One way would be to examine the proportion of male and female candidates who actually win in elections. However, this has a difficult in the form of the fact that most incumbent candidates are male and incumbents to be re-elected in a high percentage. Thus only using these numbers would end in a result showing that men are more likely to be elected, when in reality this resulted due to incumbency. To counter this difficult Matland and Studlar decided to examine the proportion of male to female non-incumbents who win elections. Non-incumbents are defined as all candidates who are running in a district held by the party where the incumbent has retired, candidates running for an open seat with no incumbents running for any party, and candidates running in districts with a sitting incumbent. When the

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.282.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p.283-284.

analysis for each party was conducted all the districts where the party had an incumbent running were edited out of the equation. The success rates of men and women non-incumbents for the five parties analyzed in this study across both the entire time period and in sets of three, four, five years with at least eight elections as many as thirteen. Glancing at the situation over the entire time period, there is evidence that non-incumbent female candidates were selected in poorer seats than men in both the Progressive Conservative party and Parti Québécois. In the 1970's period, the data has shown that both the P.C. and N.D.P were biased against female non-incumbents candidates in the quality of districts they able to secure.⁵⁶ The Social Credit party and the PQ in this period were certainly not discriminating against female non-incumbents. Moving into the 1980's the data indicates that both the P.C. and the NDP were selecting non-incumbent females in quality districts in the same ratio as men, however in the Liberal party female non-incumbents were given less quality districts than men. The theory that women were selected as sacrificial lambs in unwinnable districts has not found support in this data according to the authors after the early 1980's, however the ratio of women to men non-incumbents receiving better quality districts were slightly higher for men. The overarching pattern of discrimination seen in the Conservative party and the P.Q. does not equal a present day bias because of the data originates from various periods in Canadian politics. In the case of the Conservatives, it comes from extensive gap in the success ratio of male and female non-incumbents in the early periods under study which later periods of equality did not overtake. In the curious case of the P.Q. has shown intriguing results when it comes to why there is a significant effect showing less favourable treatment for women overall, however not in any one time period. In years when the P.Q. did well electoral in the earlier periods, when all the party's candidates did well a much lower percentage of P.Q. candidates were female. In the later periods when the P.Q. fielded many more female candidates, the party's non-incumbents failed to win in large numbers. On the surface it would appear that the Parti Québécois would have a preference for male candidates, however it appears on closer examination of certain elections this may not be the case as data shows that PQ women do as well as men in certain instances.⁵⁷ In the 1985 and the 1989 elections in Quebec, PQ female non-incumbents fared better than male non-

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.285.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.287.

incumbents; however this was only a statistically insignificant percentage. In the 1994 election, the total number of female PQ MLAs increased, however their proportion of MLAs and candidates decreased. Overall, in the P.Q. there is a statistically insignificant gap between male and female non-incumbents.⁵⁸

Of the three categories of non-incumbent candidate a potential candidate could hope to be, the most sought after is being a successor candidate in a district where the party has held the district in the recent past. Evidence for the desirability of such a district is the percentage of the time that a successor candidate wins in district of this type; successor candidates for the three major parties won 58 percent of time, while open seat candidates and true challengers won only 14.7 percent of the time. Matland and Studlar came to the conclusion that it is entirely plausible that women won fewer seats in earlier periods because they were selected as challengers rather as successors or because they were nominated in less competitive districts. The authors' data has shown different patterns of bias against women for each party. In the Liberal party women were much more likely to be selected in a district that was an open seat or against an incumbent than in a district where a Liberal has stepped down. In the period from 1975 to 1986, women made up only 6.7 percent of successors, while they were 14.0 percent of candidates selected in open or incumbent held seats. This changed during the period from 1987 to 1994, when women were about 20 percent of both groups of candidates. Examining the NDP now, in the 1975-1986 period women were also less likely to be nominated in districts where the party held the district. Females consisted of 10.1 percent of successor candidates, however 18.7 percent of open and challenger seats. In the period after 1986, NDP women were more probable to receive a nomination in a successor district than in open or challenger districts. Women in the NDP were 42.3 percent of the successor candidates, and 30.6 percent of open and challenger candidates. The results for the Conservatives were rather interesting in that there was no pattern of bias against women across all the district types. In the entire time period women are just as likely to receive nominations as successors, open, or challenger candidates. The explanation for this is that women were likely to be given nominations in districts where the P.C. did not do well. This trend is especially illustrated when examining the open and challenger seats. For the time period from 1975 to 1986, 25.4 percent of PC men running against incumbents or open seats won, while

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.288.

only 14.3 percent PC women won. Just like the other two parties, over the next decade there was a dramatic shift in the numbers with 7.4 percent of men winning selection for open and challenger seats and women winning 7.8 percent of those selection races.⁵⁹

Matland and Studlar made the following conclusions in regards to this final test. Women tended to get nominations in poorer quality districts from the mid 1970's to the early to mid 1980's. The bias for the NDP and the Liberals is manifested by women getting far fewer successor candidate nominations in the early periods. The Conservatives' bias takes form in more women being selected in districts where the party did not fare well. However, Matland and Studlar noted that there is no cross-provincial evidence that any of the three parties is biased against women in selecting candidates for winnable districts either across riding type or within those types. The authors also state that any remaining differences in the probability that a female candidate will become an MLA are due to residual effects of incumbency.⁶⁰

The conclusions that Matland and Studlar drew from their cross-provincial study of gender differences in electoral politics in Canada will now be discussed. The authors conclude that the major parties in Canada were slow to open up the nomination process to ensure women were given a fair shot at securing a nomination in winnable districts in the earlier periods under study. Data also showed that women had a greater chance of getting a better quality nomination in regional parties; however it must be noted that these parties had limited opportunity because of being restricted to one province or hardly electing anyone at all, whether it was a male or female. Matland and Studlar state that it is presumptuous to conclude that the parties were intentionally conspiring to keep woman from receiving nomination in winnable districts and this is for two reasons. The first is that the central party organization has little power over the nomination process in Canada and thus the individual local district organizations make the decision based upon on their unique set of circumstances and not some overarching party strategy. The second reason is attractive districts will attract better potential candidates to contest the nomination, and in earlier time periods these candidates more often than not men.⁶¹ Another

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.288-289.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.289.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.290.

explanation for why they were slow in opening up the candidate selection process, and the one that the authors find more likely, is that the fact women more politically mobilized to a greater degree in the 1980's and 1990's versus the 1970's and early 1980's. This can be explained by the rapid increase in strength and number of independent women's groups from the 1980's on. Women have also increased their representation in internal party organizations since the 1980's and this enabled them to put pressure on the party leadership to develop groups and programs to promote or to increase women's participation in party politics. Despite all this Matland and Studlar's data does show that the provincial organizations of the major parties were slow in reacting to second wave feminism in Canada, in regards to the issue of candidate nomination at least. This fact may be responsible for the currency that the sacrificial lamb argument has received in political science literature, however by the 1980's the data shows that parties were no longer practicing this tendency.⁶² When looking at the whole time period, from the mid-1970's to the mid 1990's, the authors contend it is clear that there was a steady increase in number of female candidates and MLAs. The increase was proportionally greater in the second decade in comparison to the first. Matland and Studlar believe that it appears all the major parties have accepted women's demands for a certain level of representation as a norm and have taken steps to ensure more women are elected.⁶³

In the chapter, I will discuss the theoretical framework used in my study. The theories discussed are the political party contagion theory of the left and the model of the recruitment process. The variables used in my study and their relevance to the theories being utilized is also discussed below. Finally, hypothesises of my study are outlined below in addition.

⁶² Ibid., p.291.

⁶³ Ibid., p.292.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

In this chapter of this research study on what influences the nomination of women candidates, the theoretical framework that forms the lens which the subject being studied is observed, is presented and discussed in the following pages. The theoretical framework of any study is an important part of the research being conducted. The theories employed to analyse a research topic are integral to the validity of the study, and thus must be carefully selected. Theory is often viewed as a guide to research process itself, to direct the course of the research goes into a study. However, there is a competing view that the research process should generate the theory in a study. These are the two competing views of the relationship between theory and research, the grounded theory approach and the mid range theory approach. Derek Layder endorses adaptive theory as an attempt to strike a balance between the two approaches to empirical research, as discussed in the previous chapter. Here in this chapter we will discuss the various theories being used in this study. Contagion theory of political parties and women's representation developed by Richard Matland and Donley Studlar is employed in this study. This theory describes the phenomena of when left wing minor parties began to nominate more women this causes a cascade effect across the political spectrum and centre and right wing parties feel pressure to nominate more women to stay electorally competitive. Finally, I am utilizing the model of the recruitment process developed by Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski. This theoretical perspective describes how the levels of the recruitment process, as articulated by Norris and Lovenduski, effect women's under representation in national parliaments.

Political Party Contagion Theory of the Left:

The first theoretical perspective that I am using in my research is known as the contagion theory of political parties and women's representation. The contagion theory states that if a minor party starts to nominate more female candidates it will force the traditional parties to

follow suit to maintain appearances. Richard Matland and Donley Studlar researched the contagion theory in the context of comparing a single member district system to a proportional representation system by using Canada and Norway as a comparison. Research has long proved that in multimember electoral systems; particularly in proportional representation systems tend to have much higher levels of women legislators than single member district systems. Matland and Studlar theorized that since both Canada and Norway are multiparty democracies that contagion pressures should exist in both nations, however the political system should act as an intervening variable. Since contagion is more likely to be present in proportional systems, and this in part explains why those types of systems have higher portions of women in parliament and faster growth rates of in the number of women members.⁶⁴ Contagion theory is not something new to the literature on political parties. Duverger in 1954 made the case that a ‘contagion from the left’ would happen because Conservative and Liberal cadre parties would be forced develop mass membership structures in order to compete with Socialist parties. Then in 1967 Epstein counter with the idea of a ‘contagion from the right’ stating that parties of the left would have to adopt modern means of campaigning such as public opinion surveys and mass media advertising, both of which were first used by parties of the right.⁶⁵ Matland and Studlar’s version of contagion theory states that as smaller but competitive parties, usually on the political fringe, start to promote women actively, larger parties will move to emulate the smaller parties. This happens for two reasons, first by nominating more women; the smaller parties will be able to demonstrate that there is no electoral plenty for nominating women candidates. The second reason is that the larger parties will feel increased pressure to respond by increasing their own promotion of women. This is especially true for parties that are ideologically close to the smaller party initiating the increase in women candidates.⁶⁶ This theory is relevant to my study because in Canada the increases in women’s representation have always been lead by the social democratic New Democratic Party, which has continuously finished third in elections. The other two major

⁶⁴ Richard Matland and Donley T. Studlar, “ The Contagion of Women Candidates in Single Member District and Proportional Electoral Systems: Canada and Norway.” *The Journal of Politics* 58 (Aug.1996): 707-708.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*,710.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.712.

parties, the Liberals and Conservatives, have followed the trail blazed by the NDP, however not as vigorously. The Liberals, for their part have essentially followed the path set out by the NDP, however in less proactive way. The Conservatives have been the slowest in introducing measures for the special promotion of women in the party.⁶⁷

The Model of the Recruitment Process

The last theoretical perspective I am using in my research is known as the model of the recruitment process. Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski developed the model to compare the features of the recruitment process across various countries. Political parties are often the primary gatekeepers of candidate recruitment in the political arena, for both women and men. The notable exception to this rule is the United States, which employs a system of state controlled primaries where voters select candidates for the different parties. In many nations citizens are legally allowed to stand for election without a party brand name attached to their name, although they rarely win election to legislatures. There are gatekeepers in addition to political parties that effect women's recruitment as candidates. The political system of a nation can also play a part in women's underrepresentation in national parliaments. There are other peripheral interest groups that also act as gatekeepers alongside of political parties; these include organized labour unions, churches, and interest groups of all types.⁶⁸ The model of recruitment process also was created to focus on women's representation in national legislatures; the most profound indicator of women's progress in politics, and to bring together some of the various common empirical strings that appear in the national contexts. Previous research into comparative candidate recruitment dealing with variations across different nations has tended to rely on only a few case nations, mostly the USA and Britain.⁶⁹ Additionally, the research has not incorporated particular variables that influence women's representation into the literature. The

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.718

⁶⁸ Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris, " *Gender and Party Politics*," (London: Sage Publications, 1993), 309.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.310

model seeks to understand and identify the factors influencing candidate recruitment in different countries. The model explores three different levels of analysis within the recruitment process.⁷⁰

First Level of Recruitment Model

The first level is the political system level which deals with factors that set the broad context within any country being studied, the electoral system, political culture, party system, and legislative competition. The variables that make up the political process are removed from the recruitment process, however they are still of relevance because they set the sanctions under which the political games is played. These factors are often overlooked by most studies that investigate party developments across countries. The political culture of a given nation is defined by Norris and Lovenduski as the dominant values and attitudes towards the role of women in society and in political life. So in nations where a more traditional political culture exists one would expect that women would not be recruited, nominated, or elected for or to public office as in great numbers in these types of nations. By contrast, more egalitarian political cultures would be expected tended to produce a better climate for women to enter political life. The evidence has shown that there is indeed a visible divide in the levels of women's representation in countries with egalitarian political cultures like the Scandinavian countries and other nations with similarly democratic inclined systems of government.⁷¹ The next systemic variable in political system level is the electoral system of a particular nation. Electoral system is one of the most often pointed to explanations for cross-cultural variances in the women's representation around the world. There are many different electoral systems in use in various nations in world today, the main types are simple plurality (first passed the post, FFTP), alternative vote (AV), the second ballot, single transferable vote (STV), additional member (AMS), and party list. Studies have recognized three factors in electoral systems that have an influence on women's representation, the ballot structure, whether is party list or single candidate in effect, district magnitude, the number of seats per district, and the degree of proportionality, meaning the allocation of votes to seats.⁷² Women tend to be elected more often in multi member districts

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.311.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.312.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.312.

with a high number of seats. The party list system has been shown to be the most effective in levelling the playing field for women. Single transferable vote systems come next in the order, however their effectiveness depends on the number of seats in each district. Lastly, plurality and majority systems are the least conducive for women.

The evidence for these conclusions is as follows, when the countries studied by Norris and Lovenduski are compared the case becomes clear. In Australia, the House of Representatives employs an alternate majoritarian vote system in single member districts, while the Senate elects members with a proportional vote within multi member state level districts, and more women are elected to the Senate. The country often cited by scholars to prove the validity of this argument is Germany. In federal elections in Germany, half the seats in the Bundestag are distributed by majoritarian single member districts and the other half is elected by proportional regional party lists. In the 1990 federal election, 80 percent of the women elected to Bundestag were drawn from the regional list portion of the election. In the case of Germany, one can see the two different systems under operation, and that party list dramatically increases the odds of women being elected. Then there are countries that have changed their electoral system over time, France is one such nation. France from 1945 to 1958, and again in 1986 used a proportional system of voting using appointed party lists, although in 1986 the party lists used very few per appointment. Comparing that to the period from 1958 to 1981, when France used a single member first ballot majority system, with a second round runoff election that employs a plurality ballot. When one compares the two time periods using the two different voting systems, the years when the proportional system was in place more women were elected to the National Assembly than when the majoritarian system was in effect, except in the elections of 1981 and 1988. There are also some broad generalizations that can be made when examining all of the nations under study. Within all the countries that have more than 20 percent female parliamentarians a regional or national party list is in use. On the other side, the countries that employ a majoritarian or plurality system; with notable exception of Ireland which uses a single transferable vote with small member constituencies, are the nations with the lower percentages of women in their parliaments.⁷³ Interesting, in the nations that occupy the middle of the spectrum the choice of voting system is not uniform, Canada uses a single member plurality

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.313.

system, while Italy has a proportional party list system, but both nations have relatively the same percentage of women law makers. Norris and Lovenduski conclude that when electoral systems have multi-constituencies with a high number of seats, this tends to help women enter legislatures, however it should not be assumed that this variable can be separated from larger discussion involving political and cultural contexts in countries. On the question if party list systems would increase the percentage of women in legislatures, there are three primary reasons. The first reason is that under a proportional system the mentality of voters is different than under a first past the post system. This gives parties more of a rationale to nominate women as candidates in an effort to present a balanced ticket because of the greater number of positions, instead of just one position under a first past the post system.⁷⁴ Secondly, speaking from a strategic viewpoint, if parties want to increase the number of women under the party banner by employing selection quotas, affirmative action programmes, positive training mechanisms, or financial assistance, a scenario with a proportional system with national or regional lists is the best available to achieve this goal. Finally, there is an argument to be made that in a proportional system there would be an increase in the turnover of seats and also party competition, and this helps to increase representation for underrepresented groups, not just and including women.⁷⁵

The next systemic variable in the political context is legislative competition. Norris and Lovenduski define legislative competition as the amount of contestants seeking nomination and election. A number of factors affect the level of legislative competition including, the status, power and rewards of legislative office compared with other political positions, the number of elected offices that are available, the function of the parliament, the geographic location of the capital, the full or part time demands of the legislature, the ability to combine a legislative career without outside occupations, the salary of the office, the fringe benefits of the office, the ability to use patronage powers of the office, the number of competitive parties, the risks of standing for the office, and mostly important of all the turnover of incumbents.⁷⁶ When it comes to systematic evidence of comparing legislative competition between nations; there is not much, and the evidence that does exist, deals with basic salaries and incumbency rates, however it does

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.314.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.315.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.315.

suggest substantial differences between nations. The observation that has been made is that in countries with weak legislative competition, so called 'out groups' such as women have better chances of being elected. Where legislative competition is strong; 'out groups' such as women may face more barriers to being elected. This leads Norris and Lovenduski to conclude that legislative competition may indeed be an important factor in the explanation of cross cultural variations in recruitment. When it comes to incumbency turnover rates, there are low levels of turnover in many of the nations studied. In the U.S. House of Representatives and the British House of Commons for example, in which both legislatures 90 percent of incumbents who chose to re offer are usually returned. Comparative data on turnover rates in various nations is relatively lacking and has been confined to United States mostly. One study contends that from the 1950s to the mid 1970s turnover rates in the U.S., Italy, and U.K. were similar, in the 17 to 19 percent range, and in Ireland, France, and West Germany the turnover rates were slightly higher.⁷⁷ The relatively low rate of incumbency turnover in these democratic countries has presented the growing number of women with political experience at the local and state levels with few opportunities into political life. The constitutional framework of a state can also influence the number of opportunities open to women. In a unitary state, like Britain the path to government office is rather thin because of the centralization of power in Westminster and that a seat in parliament is virtually a requirement to rise to ministerial office. By contrast, in federal states like Germany and Australia, where there are multiple jurisdictions with strong state governments this provides more career avenues in politics.

The last systemic variable in the political context of the recruitment process is party competition. The party system of a particular country can be considered as another influence on the opportunities available to potential candidates. While the number of parties vying for votes and the number of seats in the legislature work to determine the number of opportunities open to a candidate, however it is party competition in the legislature that determines the opportunities to be become an elected representative. Party competition has two main aspects, the strength of the parties, conventionally measured by how many seats the party has in the legislative, and the position of parties along the ideological spectrum.⁷⁸ In U.S., Canada, and Ireland there exists

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.315-316.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.316-317.

party systems that feature few parties represented in national parliaments and mostly tend appeal to as many votes as possible in the ‘catch that’ tradition. In the Canadian context, The Progressive Conservatives, Liberals, and New Democratic Party have had held hegemony over the House of Commons, however have faced competition from the Reform party and the Bloc Quebecois. For most of the history of party politics in Canada, the different parties appealed to voters on the non-ideological lines, however this has changed in recent years. In the case of Ireland, the two main parties are Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, which are right of centre parties. These two parties face electoral competition from Labour and Worker’s parties on the left, and the Progressive Democrats on the right. In the U.S., party competition is restricted almost exclusive to the two institutionalized parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, which act as candidate producing factories for elections and the candidates act largely on their own. However, occasionally third party candidates like Ross Perot and John Anderson rise to challenge the status quo. The party competition in Britain and Australia differs somewhat than the countries previously mentioned with a major party of left and right and a number of smaller minor parties holding a few seats. In the case of British parliament around 90 percent of the seats are held by the Conservatives or Labour, while the other 10 percent are held by the Liberal Democrats, Scottish Nationalists, Plaid Cymru, and the separatist parties from Northern Ireland. In Australia, the party system is dominated by the Liberals and Labour with the Australian Democrats and National party in the mix. Still a third type of party system exists which involves a fragmented system with many parties across the ideological spectrum. Nations that have this system in service are Norway, Italy, the Netherlands, and France.⁷⁹ The question of whether or not the growth of new parties opens the door for more women to become candidates can partly be answered.

Norris and Lovenduski conclude that increased competition between parties, coupled with the growth of new parties, would in theory provide more opportunities for women candidates. However, there is little systemic evidence to prop up this conclusion. Further research must be done to understand the complex interrelations between political culture, the party system, and the electoral system. Overall, it seems that multi party systems, in which there are more parties and thus more opportunities for women to be candidates, have more women in

⁷⁹ Ibid., p.318.

office versus systems with few parties, and this is constant whether the parties are catch-all centrist or ideologically polarized along the left-right axis.⁸⁰

Second Level of the Recruitment Model

The second level concerns factors are internal to the any particular political party, like party ideology and organization. Norris and Lovenduski have identified three types of policies enacted to further women's representation in elected office. The first, known as rhetorical strategies are designed to change to party ethos by affirming the need for more women in leadership speeches, official statements, and party platforms. The second type is called positive action programmes which are geared towards encouraging women to run for office by providing training sessions, advisory gender targets, special conferences, financial assistance and gender monitoring. The third is known as positive discrimination and applies to gender quotas, whether 20, 40 or 50 percent, to internal party bodies, shortlists of applicants, or lists of candidates. In practice, gender quotas can be interpreted differently either as advisory targets or mandatory quotas, this can occur if clear gender quotas rules are not put in place.⁸¹

The first systemic variable in the party context is party ideology. Norris and Lovenduski pose a crucial question about the reason why some parties favour one strategy over another. Party ideology has emerged as an explanation for which strategy a party chooses. Social democratic and Green parties are far more partial to direct intervention in the recruitment process and thus positive discrimination is justified to bring about short turn change within the party. Parties on the right and the centre of the political spectrum tend to employ rhetorical strategies, and possibly affirmative action with the view that women should be encouraged to run for office, and that party members should be encouraged to select them, however the nomination and the selection process so be open and fair competition as possible. The use of more direct intervention in the recruitment process by left leaning parties is evident by its use by various parties in different countries. In France the Socialists use a 20 percent quota, Labour in Britain only for

⁸⁰ Ibid., p.319.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.320.

short listing candidates, the Socialist Left and Labour in Norway use a 40 percent quota, Labour in Netherlands 25 percent quota, and the Social Democrats in Germany which use a 40 percent quota. By contrast, parties of the right tend to favour non-intervention or regulation of the recruitment process.⁸² Norris and Lovenduski point to one major corollary to this generalization. When left wing and Green parties successfully introduce positive discrimination, other parties are stimulated to follow the lead of the left leaning parties. When this occurs, the left wing parties and the Greens are the ones that set the pace of the change. This phenomenon came together in Sweden in the form of the Social Democrats in the 1960's enacting advisory guidelines stating that both sexes should have representation of 40 percent, and since the Social Democrats were the by far dominant party the other parties followed their lead. On the side, in Norway the opposite has been observed, with the Conservative and the Christian's People parties have not followed the lead of the left and centre parties.

The next systemic variable in party context level is the party organization. Like party ideology, the type of organization a party uses determines the type of rules the guide their recruitment process. Norris and Lovenduski outline a classification of four types of recruitment machines that parties employ based the degree of centralization and institutionalization in the machinery. The first element of the classification compares parties' recruitment process based the level of institutionalization of the process. In formal systems the application process is structured by internal party sanctions which are detailed, explicit, standardized, implemented by party officials and granted by party documents.⁸³ The decision making structure, voting procedures, and the relative importance of various party decision making bodies in choosing candidates, are transparent to an extent to observers. In instances where there may be a violation of the rules, there exists a formal process of appeal. The strength of the rules in administrating internal party power means proposed changes may cause heated conflict. On the hand, in informal systems the nomination procedure is relatively closed, the different stages of the application process are well known, however they are rarely if ever spell out, and the rules that govern the select may vary from nomination to another. If the guidelines are indeed written out in official party documents or in the party constitution, however these rules tend to have force in

⁸² Ibid., p.320.

⁸³ Ibid., p.320-321.

principle rather than in practice. Thus there are few avenues to appeal a decision. The process is less bureaucratic and more open to personal by party elites. The second element in the classification has to do with the centralization of the decision making process. Within a centralized system the main players are the central authorities in the party. Central authorities can include national executives, elected or appointed party and faction leaders at the national and regional/state leaders. In a localized system, on the contrary, the main players are at constituency level, which includes local leaders, constituency executives, local factions, grassroots members and voters in constituency meetings, conferences, or conventions. How to define who the main players are is a complex question because power over the nomination process can be exercised by multiple organs which interact with each other. The various systems can differ on a spectrum from highly localized to highly centralized, and do not neatly fit into precise categories. The nomination process itself will be influenced by those who have control over, implement, and adjudicate the rules of the process, and those who participate directly in the nominating process at different stages. However, Norris and Lovenduski are convinced that the main players can be found by examining whether within each party the decision making is centralized or localized.⁸⁴

The first of the four types in the classification is the informal centralized recruitment. The best manner in which to show the differences between the types is to present examples of each. An example of a party that uses the informal centralized recruitment system in Italy is the Christian Democrat and the Socialist parties. In these two parties, a central elite exercises great control over the nomination of candidates, the process is a series of negotiations between the leaders of several internal party factions. The local leaders attempt to make their voices heard in the process of selection; however the faction elites possess the largest influence in the nomination of candidates. In France, the UDF and the French Socialist parties both use a version of the informal centralized recruitment system. UDF is organized into a loose network of political activists with similar ideologies formed around local and national elites. In parties like the UDF, the selection process is primarily controlled by national party leaders and regional notables, who have their preferred candidates in high positions on the party lists after taking into account the views of department organizations. Since the UDF has no mechanisms of

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.322.

internal party democracy and history of it, party members have no say in the process. The Socialist party provides a weaker example of the informal centralized recruitment system. This is because in principle the candidate selection in the party is decentralized, with the local branches selecting their candidates by secret election of party members.⁸⁵ However, in practice the national leadership of the party has sweeping powers to intervene and change local choice of candidate during the final phase of the process. In informal centralized systems of recruitment, the party leadership can promote gender equality if wishes to do so, to say attract more women voters to the party, then can do so relatively easily with power they wield. So depending on the views of the party leadership in this type of recruitment system, they can either through patronage improve the position of women on party lists or place them in safe districts, or put up barriers preventing the advancement of women to maintain the status quo within the party. A positive discrimination strategy would probably prove not to be effective, since any rules or guidelines would be mostly ignored.⁸⁶

The second of the four types in the classification is the informal localized recruitment system. In this system, it is rather hard for the central party officials to a major role, whether good or bad, in the recruitment process. The most extreme example of parties that use this type of nomination is in the United States. With the rise of primary elections, the party officials lost the control over choosing candidates they once enjoyed, and independent candidates, with their own funding and organization. In the countries under study in Norris and Lovenduski research, U.S. political parties are the only ones that allow voters to select their candidates. Only a small amount of parties elsewhere have employed the use of direct voter primaries. Another difference when compared to other countries is the fact that state law rather than internal party rules dictates the rules of the nomination game. Also any candidate may run for the party nomination if they met the legal requirements. In this different world of candidate selection outside internal party control, there are different types of gatekeepers. These gatekeepers include Political Action Committees (PACs), the local media, individual financial contributors, campaign professionals and local volunteers. Potential candidates must be prepared to impress these gatekeepers or it might hinder their abilities to run effect campaigns. On the other hand, party organizations

⁸⁵ Ibid., p.322-323.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.323.

cannot any longer block the candidacy of women, nor can they help to facilitate the increased nomination of women. Another example of the informal localized recruitment system is the case of Canadian political parties.⁸⁷ The Liberals and Conservatives give wide autonomy to their local district associations in determining the methods with which they elect their candidates. Thus some districts associations open up the nomination process to the entire membership, and others leave it mostly to party officers. The national organizations did not interfere much in the final selection of the local district authorities, however the national executive has the final say on all nominated candidates within the party. This national veto has rarely been used by any party. In the area of women's representation, the major parties have encouraged women to stand as candidates, tried to help district associations to find suitable candidates, and to provide some candidate training schools, however these efforts have been hindered by the local nature of the selection process. Norris and Lovenduski conclude that in informal-localized systems, the opportunities for women candidates are not inhibited by the national party officials. They also state that the only strategies that will affect an increase in the women's representation in this system would be rhetorical encouragement and positive action.⁸⁸

The third of the four types in the classification is known as the formal localized recruitment. This system is mostly commonly found in Western European political parties, where there exists explicit bureaucratic rules are put into action and standardized to govern the selection process throughout the party organization. In the formal localized system, the decisions about who gets nominated as a candidate is made primarily by the local constituency level, however the regional organizations play a role as well. Examples of the parties that use the formal localized system are in Britain, Sweden, Ireland, and Germany. In the British Labour and Conservative parties the decisions about who gets nominated, placed on short lists, and selected is made at the district level. As in the case of Canada; the national leadership in British parties have the power to reject candidates selected by the local district organizations. The Conservative central leadership enshrines 'model rules' for the local branches as guidelines, screens potential candidates, and then after the screening process places approved names on a candidate list. The Labour party central officials lay out detailed rules for the selection process; monitors the

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.324.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.324-325.

process, and then at the last stage formally approves the nominations. It's rare that the central officials in Labour will ever interfere in a selection of individual candidate. There are three distinct stages of the selection process in Swedish parties. The three stages are putting forward names, ranking the nominees, and adopting the list. The middle stage is the most crucial part. The non-socialist parties in Sweden often rely on meetings of activist members at the local and district level. The Social Democrats, for their part employ their local nominating committees and districts executives in a major role. Since the party lists are based on large multiple member districts, the party aims to balance the list by ranking the candidates in certain order to reflect certain demographic realities.⁸⁹ The Social Democrats to make sure women are selected to be candidates and inserted into winnable places on the party lists, the party recommends to the local branches that 40 percent of the party's candidates should be women, and that every other place on the list should be the other gender. These recommendations are not always followed to the letter; however they do form the basis of the expectations for the local districts associations. The parties in Ireland, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, select their candidates at the local district level either by selection conferences or conventions of party members. These meetings are for nominating three to five candidates depending on the size of the district in question. The central party leaders do have the authority to impose candidates on local branches, however this is rarely put in to practice and usually to balance the ticket to in terms of locality, age, electoral appeal and gender etc. Finally, Germany illustrates a weaker example of the formal localized system model Germany has a formal party system based on 'mass branch' party organizations, and the method of candidate nomination in districts is enshrined by electoral law. The methods of selection are either nomination meeting where all party members may vote, or party members select delegates to represent them and vote on candidates in turn on their behalf. The local organizations play the principle role in the searching for candidates; however the regional organizations heavily influence the selection process, particularly in the nomination for the state lists. The national and regional organizations have also played a major role in influencing the local district organizations to select more female candidates. The names of potential candidates are compiled into lists by the local and regional executives, and sent to the local party

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.325.

membership for approval. The Social Democrats and the Greens use gender quotas to govern party list composition, and the other German parties reserve certain positions for women.⁹⁰

The fourth of the four types in the classification is known as formal centralized recruitment. There are few parties in the nations studied by Norris and Lovenduski that use the formal centralized recruitment system. In a formal centralized system the national leadership, national executives or national fraction have absolute control over which candidates are nominated and placed on the party ticket, and force the candidate choices on the local district organizations. Historically, this system has operated most transparently in traditional communist parties organized according to the principle of democratic centralism, like the PCF in France. PCI in Italy had a very close knit leadership elite which selected candidates for the party lists. In Holland, there is wide range of centralization across the various parties, however the national executive plays an important role in the People Party's for Freedom and Democracy and the Liberal party. Other parties in which the national leadership selects the party's candidates are the Austrian Socialist party, many of the Israeli parties before 1977, the New Zealand Labour party, in the Greek PASOK and New Democracy parties, in the Japanese Liberal Democratic party, and many of African one-party states. Through pressure for more internal party democracy, and the importance of increasing the links between representative and the local party organizations, all this adds up to very few instances of the formal centralized system in the parties in the countries under study here.⁹¹

Norris and Lovenduski then discuss the implications for the classification of recruitment systems. First, the classification seeks to discover the common features of how recruitment works across a range of countries, and therefore what strategies might be effective to change the process in different systems. The classification indicates that each type of party can use rhetorical and positive action strategies; however positive discrimination operates most effectively in formal-localized systems. It would seem to make sense to consider employing positive discrimination in the major parties in the U.S. or Canada, and even if such rules would be put in place, they would not be likely to implemented, like in the case of French UDF or the

⁹⁰ Ibid.,p.326.

⁹¹ Ibid., p.326-327.

Italian Christian Democrats. Norris and Lovenduski believe that positive discrimination quotas are taken more seriously in rule bound and bureaucratic culture where decisions by different bodies within the party organization are standardized. The German Social Democrats for example, decisions about who gets nominated is made at the local level, however they are taken within a framework of positive discrimination which has been effective in raising the proportion of women candidates, and their position on party lists. This has also been the case in Sweden in most parties as well.⁹²

Third Level of the Recruitment Process

The third level involves the factors, which more directly influence the recruitment of individual candidates within in the selection process, like the resources and motivation of candidates and the attitudes of the gatekeepers. This theory is relevant to my research study because it analyses what influences the recruitment and nomination of candidates at different levels. More importantly it deals with what influences candidate selection within in the political parties, which is what part of this research study seeks to answer. Norris and Lovenduski then come to the recruitment process within parties, the factors that most closely influence the nomination of candidates. Here the level of analysis moves from the party level to the individual level. A distinction must be made here between ‘supply side’ factors, which influence whether individuals choose to stand for nomination, and ‘demand side’ factors, which influence whether or not people are selected as candidates. The model of recruitment assumes the individual decides to run for office in the same matter as employee entering the workforce, by calculating the costs and benefits within a particular opportunity structure. Moving to the supply side first, individuals decide to pursue a political career based on their motivation and personal resources. The eligibility to be candidate is determined by the person’s resources like time, money, support networks, political experience, and relevant skills. The conventional wisdom is that individuals must serve a long political apprenticeship before they can be viewed as credible candidates for national parliaments. In various nations, an individual must demonstrate a political track record in local government, community activism, party service, possibly trade union work, professional networks or family connections, or in factionalized systems, loyal service within factions.

⁹² Ibid., p.327.

Running for government office in single member districts is often extremely time intensive enterprise often requiring preparation for a campaign takes two to three years before the formal event. This includes organizing volunteers, attending community functions, canvassing door to door, speaking at public meetings, raising money, cultivating the press, meeting local groups. The formal campaign is only the beginning of a long journey.⁹³ Some candidates may experience successive electoral losses before finally winning an election. In the multi member districts candidates may spend less time on local campaigning, however, as in case of Germany a good place on the party ticket requires a long-term investment in party-work. The personal financial costs of electioneering vary substantially cross-nationally. The motives of individuals are also very important because candidates need ambition to elected office, they must show personal confidence to ride out the ups and downs of political life. The personal motives of individuals can vary and be numerous; the desire for power, public service, status, sociability, group representation, material rewards, partisan loyalty, ideological goals, etc.⁹⁴ The motivation to run will vary depending on the type of legislature, thus local government may provide a sense of community service while national parliaments may give greater status and financial rewards. In addition to resources and the motives need to seek elected office, there is 'feedback' element of previous candidates' character traits may be an influence for new aspiring candidates. This has implications for parties trying to diversify their slate of candidates because if potential candidates see parties only nominating white males, who are rich, middle class professionals, this may prevent some qualified individuals from not standing for selection. Party officials can also help encourage women to stand for nomination by showing their willingness to select women. This is important because studies have shown that at least one fifth of candidates were talked into running for the party. Moving to the 'demand side', potential candidates must pass through the barrier of the acceptability lens of the party gatekeepers. Party gatekeepers look through a catalogue of potential candidates and must ask a number of questions to themselves to determine who is suitable. The key to understanding who gets selected as candidates is what are the attitudes of the selectors and what do they look for in an ideal candidate. Research thus far has

⁹³ Ibid., p.328.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.328.

focused on the outcome of the selection process, as well as the actors, rather the internal decision making process.

Norris and Lovenduski conclude that the recruitment process can be viewed as complex and multi-layered. Individual decisions by selectors operate within a particular party context. In turn, the ideology and organization of any party operates within a broader political system. While we can focus our attention on the political system, the party context, or the individual level candidate and selector, any comprehensive explanation needs to take account of all three levels, and extremely interrelated relationship they coexist in.⁹⁵

Variables of the Study

In this section the dependent and independent variables of the research study will be discussed. The independent variables will be divided into two subcategories to differentiate between the two sections of the study.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable of the research study I will be conducting is the gender of the candidate of the most winning party. It is important to define the dependent variable in any study for the sake of clarity and understanding of the reader. The dependent variable in this study is defined as gender of the candidate selected by the political party that has won the electoral district the highest amount in the time period from 1984 to 2008. This variable was developed out of the party competitiveness variable, also known as ‘sacrificial lambs’ variable, that appears in some studies on women in electoral politics, through it has largely been discounted as a cause of women’s underrepresentation in electoral politics. By examining the electoral records from each general election for each individual district from 1984 on, and by highlighting the percentage of the time each political party has won the a given district and seeing what gender of candidate the party chose in 2008 and combining the two is how the variable was created.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p.329.

Independent Variables:

The independent variable of the statistical study of the electoral districts in Canada, which is the first section of this study, is political ideology. The political ideology of the party itself defines all of the actions a political party undertakes. Since the ideology of a party defines the policies it promotes and the values that the party seeks to champion, and this includes women's issues. This tendency permeates into such things as the party's attitude towards women in the party and their role. In the case of Canada, the two largest political parties are the Liberal and Conservative parties, a left wing and right wing party respectively. Comparing the candidate nomination records of these two parties provides an excellent test for the political ideology variable. Previous studies into the nomination habits of political parties suggest that there is a difference in the practices based on the ideology that the party espouses. Since there are well known pronounced differences between political views on various subjects between right and left ideologies, then one can see why then examining political ideology is an important variable to study in this topic.

The independent variables for the electoral district characteristic survey are as follows. The first variable is the geographic location of the district, in this instance in either an urban or rural setting. Research into urban and rural type areas has shown that there are varying views on a wide spectrum of social issues, in the case of this study women's role politics. So this variable is a natural indicator of how much geographic setting affects women's political representation. This variable is relevant because research has shown that urban and rural populations have explicitly varying views on social and political issues such as women's place in politics.

The next variable is the population of the district in question. The number of people that reside in anyone district can vary widely, from the high of 170,422 in the Brampton West district to low of 26,364 in the Labrador district. One possible test to construct would involve using the population variable to develop a scale within the urban\rural variable. This scale would feature two sub variables in the urban setting, called 'densely urban' and 'outlying urban'. An urban district with the 'densely urban' label would be a district with over 100,000 inhabitants and an urban district with the 'outlying urban' label would be a district with between 75,000 and 99,999 inhabitants. For the rural setting the two sub variables would be labelled 'rural town' and 'rural country'. A rural district with the label 'rural town' will be defined as a rural district with a

population of 74,999 to 50,000. For a rural district with the label 'rural country' will be defined as rural district with a population with less than 50,000 inhabitants. This variable is relevant because in order to determine if different size population centers are more accepting of women candidates in comparison to each other.

The next variable in the survey is the average level of income in the electoral district. This variable is defined as the amount of income the individual voter in the district accumulates in one year. Its relevance to the study being conducted here is that average level of income is often an excellent indicator of women's status in different areas. A scale was developed for this variable in order to quantify the data and create a testable data set. Three categories were devised, the first was dubbed 'high average income' pertaining to the districts with an average income of between 30,000 to 40,000 dollars, the second was named 'medium average income' referring to the districts with an average income of between 20,000 to 30,000 dollars, and the third called 'low average income' meaning districts with an average of between 10,000 to 20,000 dollars. This variable is relevant because people from different social economic backgrounds tend view the role of women in politics differently.

The next variable is the average level of education in an electoral district. This variable is defined as the average level of education attainment whether it be secondary, post-secondary, post-graduate etc. Four categories were developed to label the 308 districts and they are: Less than high school, high school, post secondary, advanced post secondary. Research has shown the level of average educational attainment has a usually has a positive effect on women's social status, thus like the income variable it is relevant from that standpoint to the study.

The next variable is the gender of winning candidate in the 2008 election. This variable is defined as the candidate that was successful in the 2008 election, either male or female. The purpose of this variable is to determine where or not the gender of a winning candidate is affects the likelihood of election.

The next variable in the survey is the frequency of each party winning a district. This variable is defined as the number of times a certain political party has won the district in the time period starting in 1984 and ending in 2008. The purpose of this variable is to determine whether or not the number of times a political party has won a certain riding has an effect on women winning elections in Canada. To quantify this variable a scale was created to measure it. It consisted of two categories, the first known as 'high' referring to the all the districts where the

winning percentage of the party that historically has won the district is over 50 percent, and the second is called 'low' and refers to the all the districts where the winning percentage of the party that has traditionally won the district is below 50 percent. The relevance of this variable is that party competition is often cited as major factor in the decision where parties select their female candidates.

The next variable is the individual political party variable. This variable is defined as which political party has won a given district the most over the 25 year time period being studied. The purpose of this variable is to determine which party has selected the highest amount of female candidates in the 308 districts under study. This variable is relevant because the number of women candidates a political party nominates is depended on a number of factors that are specific to that party.

The next variable is the party that won in 2008 variable. This variable is defined as the party that won the district in the 2008 election. The purpose of this variable is to determine whether or not the party that won the district in 2008 had an effect on the number of women being elected. This variable is relevant because it allows for comparing the party that won in a certain district in the 2008 election to the party that won the district over 25 year period the most. Comparing the long and short term effect of a certain party on women's representation as candidates is critical for understanding topic under study.

Theoretical Framework Relevance to Variables:

As the title of this section implies we now examine the relevance of theories being used in this study to the variables being used. The dependent variable of my study which is the ratio of male to female candidates in a political party is relevant to the Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski's theory known as the model of the recruitment process. This is because this model describes how certain variables affect the amount of candidates from either gender is selected. The political ideology variable can also be related to this model as well. The model has three levels of the recruitment process, the second level known as the party level is the one that is of particularly interest. The party level deals with factors that internal to any political party, like party ideology, organizational structure, and party policies. In the first section of my study I examined the number of female candidates that each of the four major parties in Canada selected over a 25 year time period from 1984 to 2008, the purpose of this was to see if left wing parties

nominate more female candidates than as Norris and Lovenduski theorize because of the more proactive measures used by socialist and left wing parties to promote into positions of power in the party and select more women as candidates for winnable seats. The contagion theory as articulated by Richard Matland and Donley Studlar in the context of comparing a single member district system to a proportional representation system is relevant to a number of the variables in my study.

Firstly, it relates to the political ideology variable as the contagion theory as it being used here states that minor socialist parties, in this case the NDP, will start to select more female candidates at some point in time and the other more mainstream parties will follow suit to maintain party competition. The point in time is the 1984 federal election and the minor social democratic party is the NDP and then moving along to the succeeding elections and determining if the other parties started to nominate more women in proportion with the NDP increases in female candidate ratio.

Secondly, this form of contagion theory relates to the party variable in electoral district survey section of my study. Since some of the hypothesis of this study involve predictions that the NDP will have the highest percentage of female candidates in its caucus over the 25 year period and also in the 2008 election, so this would relate it the contagion theory also to the party that won in 2008 and gender of winning candidate in 2008 variables. The average level of education variable and the average income variable can related to the third level of the model of the recruitment process. The third level of the model of the recruitment process involves factors that influence the selection of candidates like personal characteristics, financial resources, political experience, etc. The educational attainment and the personal economic resources of potential candidates have been identified as some of the most critical characteristics political parties search for in their candidates. Following this logic I determined that using them as indicators would provide an interesting measurement for each electoral district to determine how the percentage of female candidates is affected by different levels of education and income. In their version of contagion theory Matland and Donley contend that from those areas with multi member districts more women will be elected than in single member districts. Now keeping in mind that Canada uses only single member districts, however by extension can be argued that since urban areas with higher population will have more women elected because there more seats in urban areas versus rural areas.

Hypotheses of the Study:

1. Over the 25 year time period from 1984 to 2008, the Liberal party has nominated more women to be candidates than has the Conservative party.
2. There was a higher amount of the total women candidates selected for the 2008 election in urban districts versus rural districts.
3. The Liberal Party nominated the highest number of women candidates for the 2008 election in the districts where the party has historically won the district and the NDP nominated the highest percentage of female candidates for the 2008 election in the districts where the party has historically won the district
4. A greater number of women MPs were elected in districts with high levels of average education attainment versus districts with low levels of educational attainment.
5. The Liberal Party elected the highest number of women MPs in the 2008 election and the NDP had the highest percentage of women MPs in its caucus.
6. In the 2008 election where a female candidate was selected by the party that has historically won the district, more women were elected than men in those districts.
7. In the 2008 election in districts where the party that has traditionally won the district selected a female candidate, the female candidate had greater chance of being elected in the districts with high frequency of winning by the party.
8. In districts with higher populations more women were selected in the 2008 election than ridings with lower populations.
9. A greater number of women MPs were elected in districts with high levels of average income versus in districts with low levels of average income.

In the next chapter, a review literature is presented looking at countries that are similar to Canada in a number of ways. The review explains the different aspects of women's representation in those nations in an effort to compare and contrast them to Canada.

Chapter 5: Literature Review

This chapter contains a literature review that showcases political parties in various nations across the world in terms of the amount of female candidates they nominate, the amount of women that occupy leadership positions in the party, and what measures are employed by different types of parties to ensure that women receive a fair chance at nomination. The reasons for writing this literature review are several. Firstly, Canada is an extremely multicultural nation that embraced that fact as the central part of its national identity and because of this examining the status of female candidates and MPs in other cultures is of interest as these cultures form part of the culture of Canada itself. Secondly, to provide further evidence for the hypothesis in this study that left wing and social democratic ideology political parties are more likely to have higher levels of female candidates, females in leadership positions, and grant women greater opportunities for advancement. Thirdly, there is a need to search the other nations to ascertain if the other variables in the study are influential as well. Fourthly, it has been noted in previous research that countries with proportional voting systems have higher rates of female candidacies versus ones with single member plurality systems. However, Canada has a higher rate of female candidacies than some countries with proportional voting systems and by comparing different countries with similar and different voting systems it may explain why Canada is an anomaly to the rule. Finally, this study covers the time period from 1984-2008, tracing the 25 year period after which the percentage of women candidates rose over 10 percent and researchers started to take notice. By looking for this trend in other nations seeing what the nations have in come with Canada may be of note.

The rationale for comparing Canada to the countries below will now be explained. India, like a Canada, is a Westminster style parliamentary government and is also a very diverse nation in terms of its religious and linguistic make up. Botswana, like Canada, is a former British colonial possession and its government formation heavily influenced by the British with some modification. Additionally Botswana is one of only two nations in Africa that has maintained free and open multi party elections since the 1960's, the other being Mauritius. The United Kingdom not only being the mother country of Canada is also the one that most closely reassembles the U.K. in terms of governmental structure and political culture. The Republic of Ireland is another culture that has had a major influence on the development of Canada's

political culture. Ireland has also had a history of female leaders from right wing parties, like Canada and the U.K. France is important to this conversation because as the other founding culture of Canada it has had a profound impact on the values of the country. Germany is a federal state like Canada, and that has also taken regional interests into account when designing its system of government. The Senate in Canada was created to balance the differences in population in the various regions of the country and the Bundesrat in Germany was designed to address similar regional differences however, it functions in a different matter and not as upper house of bicameral legislature would. The United States is often thought as the same Canada, and with it being the neighbouring country it is hard to avoid comparisons. However, below surface there are major differences in the political cultures of the two nations. Australia and Zealand like Canada are also former British colonies with the Westminster model as the inspiration for governmental foundation and are also federal states. Norway is often compared to Canada because of the progressive political culture both nations nurture. Both nations share a similar view of the world and what approach to international events should be adopted. The purpose of discussing the women's parties in Iceland, Northern Ireland, and Russia is contrast with Canada which never had an electoral viable women's party. The various nations will be divided into groups with the older democracies being grouped together and with the younger and newer ones in their group. The nations with the women's parties will be in their own group as well.

Old Democracies

United Kingdom

This section consists of a discussion of women's representation in political parties in the United Kingdom. Looking at leadership positions in political parties in the U.K., Margaret Thatcher is the women ever lead a major political party, the Conservative party in the late 70's to

the early 90's. The Labour party has had a deputy leader in Margaret Beckett for a short time. In the 1980's the Green Party was led by a women named Sara Parkin.⁹⁶

The Labour Party for its part has included women's organizations in its structure throughout its history. Organizations called Women's Sections were created starting in 1918 at the constituency level, and in 1999 these were replaced with Women's Forums. The first two Labour MPs were elected in 1923, and these were Margaret Bonfield and Susan Lawrence, later Bonfield become the first female cabinet minister as Minister of Labour in 1929 and also she was also the first woman to be the chair the Labour National Executive Committee. However, in the Labour party with its trade union culture has been somewhat apathetic towards women since women were not in the workplace as much and could be unionized in great numbers. What changed all that was the Labour's 1979 election defeat, and the reality of that its base in old line industries was eroding and they needed to form a new coalition and feminist groups were one group Labour sought out. One outcome of the coalition building was the establishment of the Women's Action Committee to promote women's advancement in the party and the WAC set about that task with zeal. The members of WAC faced considerable, however not aggressive resistance to change in the party, and women in the party did speak out bitterly against men who stalled change in the party. However, change eventual come and gender quotas were first agreed on at the 1989 party conference.⁹⁷ The reasons for the introduction of gender quotas was because of a general failure to increase women's representation at any level of the party, the success of other socialist parties in other countries which had used quotas to increase the number of women in their own organizations, post election analysis in 1977 indicated that Labour was seen as male dominated party, and the general recognized that having more women in positions of power would bring electoral gains. A number of gender targets were set including a 40 percent quota for the National Executive Committee, constituency Labour parties, branch officers and delegations. A 50 percent target was set for the Labour members of parliament within ten years or by the next three elections, whichever came first. A 50 percent quota of women candidates was then implemented for the seats of retiring Labour MPs and in half of the winnable seats in the next election. For the selection of candidates for the 1997 election the party introduced all

⁹⁶ Wendy Strokes, *Women in Contemporary Politics*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005): 100.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.101.

women short lists to be used in half of all winnable seats that were available. There was opposition to this measure from within party from one group claiming it would result in the selection and election of women who were mere tokens and another group worried it alienate men who had worked hard in constituencies and should have the right to contest the nomination. In 2002, a law was passed making gender quotas legal and Labour has vowed to reintroduce the all women short lists for the 2005 election.⁹⁸

The Conservative Party on the other hand has gone about women's representation in a different way than Labour. There is a curious contrast in the Conservative Party because its membership is over 50 percent female and the last time the party won a general election in 1992 it only elected 6 percent women to parliament. However, the women of the Conservative Party organized fairly early with the creation of Primrose League in Wales in 1883, and then in 1884 in Scotland.⁹⁹ By the 1885 there were several thousand women organizing for the Conservative machine. Also in 1885 the Ladies Grand Council of the Conservative Party was created. Between 1918 when women gained the vote and 1928 when women were granted the equal political rights as men, the Conservative women organizations grew and evolved. This included the creation of a yearly Women's Conference and the introduction of Women's Committees at the constituency level. When Iain Duncan-Smith was elected leader of the party in 2002, he appointed the first woman as chair of the party. But, despite this notable event there were still very few women in the senior ranks of the Conservative Party. The lower one goes in the party organization the more women are found and this is seen especially at the constituency level.¹⁰⁰ When it comes to Parliament only 8.4 percent of Conservative MPs are women, 8.7 percent of the Shadow Cabinet, and 7.4 percent of the Front Bench speakers. Since the advent of women's suffrage in 1918 in every succeeding election Labour has put forward more women than the Conservatives. Party members and officials seem to find the notion of women running for election strange. The nomination process within the party is generally viewed to favour men and this is shown in the number of candidates that are male and female. During the 1990's the average proportion of women that were on the pre screened approved candidate lists was 17.3 percent, 7.6 percent of

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.101-102.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.102.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.103.

the candidates, and 4.5 percent of the elected MPs.¹⁰¹ Several female party officials such as Emmy Nichol森, who was Vice Chair for Women, and Lady Seccombe, who was Vice President for Women, have made testimonials to the fact that when they undertook initiatives to increase the number of women candidates in the party they encountered great sexism. All of this seems to clash with the fact that Conservatives are the only major party in the U.K. that has had a female leader and the only female prime minister. However, even though Thatcher was successful at the polls and keep the party in power for 11 years; she did not promote women's advancement within the party. There were several prominent women in the Conservative caucus including Angela Rumbold, Gillian Shephard, and Virginia Bottomly, but none of them made it into cabinet. When John Major succeeded Thatcher in 1992, he appointed two women to cabinet; however the party did not make any significant moves to increasing women's representation as candidates and MPs. The Conservatives have expressed an interested in seeing half of all winnable seats, however as before the effort has not equal the desire. The first stage of the selection process has been reformed to make it more accessible to women by focusing on key skills attractive in an MP. Since Michael Howard took over as party leader the Conservatives have not placed women's representation at the top of their program.¹⁰² In 2004, Conservative shadow cabinet had only two women among the twelve main shadow minister positions, and of the 151 shadow cabinet positions only 26 are held by women. When selection of candidates for the 2005 election began; of the 134 target seats only 27 women were selected or 20 percent of the total seats. This is an improvement over the 16 percent in the 2001 election, however not still up to party expectations.¹⁰³

Looking at the Liberal Democrats next, this party has mixed record on women's representation. On the one hand its policies of equal rights for both women and men give great appeal to female voters, but its liberalism makes it so that the party cannot bring itself to implement steps such as gender quotas or the different variations of positive action. There is fortunately a group called the Women's Liberal Federation that advocates for women in the party and has some influence. The party itself is organized into a series of internal committees. In

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.103.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p.104.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.105.

2003, there were six women out of fifteen members of the Federal Executive Committee, on the Federal Policy Committee out of 16 members two were women, half of the 12 member Federal Conference Committee were women, and three women were elected to the ELDR Council delegation of eight places. However, no women were elected to the International Relations Committee. In 1993 the party published a consultation paper titled *Women*, to articulate the party's positions on and views on women's issues. The paper states the Liberal Democrats are for the equality of men and women in education, the workplace and the family, taxation and welfare benefits, and health care and the law. However, the paper does not address women's participation as elected representatives in politics. Another paper entitled *Equal Citizens*, released in 1995 dealt with reforms to the political systems that would benefit women. Some of the recommendations were that one third of all appointees to public sectors bodies should be women and that all public sector positions should be adequately advertised and selected utilizing equal opportunities methods, including gender balanced short lists. As for internal party democracy, the paper suggests that a guarantee included in the party constitution that women would make up one third of all committee seats and on short lists for elections to Westminster. When selection began for candidates for the 2005 election, the party choose 35 percent female candidates for the 78 key target seats and the three seats where Liberal Democrats incumbents were retiring.¹⁰⁴

Now to a discussion of women's representation in the other national political parties in the United Kingdom. Starting with the Green Party, which is overtly feminist and egalitarian in its methods in sharp contrast to other parties. The Green Party has had great success in selecting women candidates, but not electing them unfortunately. Even through the party has never elected an MP to parliament it does have members in the European Parliament, regional assemblies, and local councils and women figure prominently among their number. Then there is the British National Party (BNP), which is still a very small minor party, but has recently high profile mostly because of dubious legitimacy and grand ambitions. In the 2002 local elections where the BNP elected four councillors, of which one was a woman. 20 percent of the BNP candidates were women as well. BNP has no official policy when it comes to women and women's

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.105-106.

issues.¹⁰⁵The party and the party ideology variables are at work in British national political parties in the form of the different methods that each party utilizes to raise the standing of women in the party and the number of candidates that the party nominates for election. Based on their political ideology the Labour party instituted gender quotas to ensure a certain level of women's candidacies, while the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats cannot bring in similar measures as it clashes with their respective ideology. The parties of the left in Britain tend to select more women as candidates and have more women on committees and in leadership positions. Since in Scotland and Wales the parties already discussed exist there as well are, one in the same, further discussion is not required.

France

In the case of France, the parties that dominate politics in the country have done little to advance their women's representation since the 1970's and the rise of the parity movement. Political parties in France have been well known as not keeping accurate membership records, so it hard to gauge the number of women in the different parties. In a 1985 report, the Rassemblement pour la Republique (RPR) stated that it had 43 percent female membership, the Parti Socialiste (PS) asserted that it had 21 percent, and Parti Communiste Français (PCF) said had 36 percent.¹⁰⁶

There is interesting contradiction in the PS when it comes to women's representation and gender equality. On the one hand the party implemented gender quotas in 1973 after facing pressure from feminists party activists. The quota was first set to 10 percent in 1973, this then rose to 15, 20, and finally 30 percent. In practice thou these quotas are not respected at either the local or national level because there is no mechanism to oversee their implementation. Despite this on the National Executive women held 18.5 percent of positions and women were 21.4 percent of positions in the party's National Legislature in 1990. Only seven women held the position of first secretary in the 100 local federations that make up the party. Also one of the 14 national secretaries of the PS was a woman; however she was the secretary for women's rights. It

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p.106-107.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p.117.

should be noted that The PS is seen as the party that has most favourable view towards women issues\rights, however this support was been mostly based in the party's desire to capture the shifting women's vote.¹⁰⁷

The party created and led by Charles du Gaulle in 1965, the RPR, has always had a parallel women's organization known as Centre d'Études et d'Information (CFEI) for purposes to recruit and organize women to vote for the party. However, the female members of the party saw this as more of attempt to push them to the sidelines and blunt and influence women members would have on the party's policies towards women. Over time the CFEI evolved into a more political group and advocating for women's rights, supporting women candidates, and taking part in the party congress. Women's section was established in the 1980's; however it faces an uphill battle with the party's longstanding culture of indifference to gender issues. Internally, the RPR shares the common attitude that most conservative and liberal parties have in regards to women's representation that it will naturally increase mirroring the increase of social status for women in society. So it does not use any mechanism to reserve places on committees and boards for women. In 1985, 5 percent of the National Secretariat members were women, 7.1 percent of the Executive Bureau, and the party Legislature was 11.1 percent women. Then in 1990, one quarter of the Assistant General Secretaries were women, and 24 percent of the Secretaries were also women, however they held positions that were tied to traditional female sectors.¹⁰⁸ The party variable in France can seen as a barrier to increasing women's representation because the parties do not respect their own rules on nominating women or are indifferent to the issue of gender equality.

The United States

The United States has a party system and method of selecting candidates is that is unlike anything else in the world today. Many of the factors that are present in many of the party democracies throughout the world, such as party discipline, centralized party control over

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p.117.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p.117-118.

candidate selection, and rigid party organizational unity etc., are not in the environment in U.S. politics. Another key feature of the U.S. system is the open primary system which is governed by state law and not by party procedures, in which anyone may run and the voters decide who is nominated. A lot of the variables missing from the U.S. system are seen as barriers to women's advancement in politics however, it seems that when examined what appears on the surface would help women gain entry into politics, in fact it has not been conducive for women. When the two major parties and their records on women's representation, it appears they have a long tradition of women's organizations within the parties. The Republican Party has had since 1918 a National Women's Executive and in 1919 the Republican Women's Advisory Council of One Hundred was formed. Then in 1929, the Republicans decided to have seven women to be on the National Executive Committee at some point in the future, and also in 1924 to select one man and woman from each state for the NEC. The Democrats for their part started in 1932 to include women on all Democratic Party Convention standing committees. In the 1970's the party introduced a number of reforms to the Presidential nomination procedures to include minority groups such as women and young people in the each state's delegation in proportion to each group's share of the population and, that there should be equal numbers of both genders attending the National Convention. In 1974, the party funded a Campaign Conference for Democratic Women with the objective of electing more women to office that was attended by 1,200 women.¹⁰⁹

When it comes to their women candidates, both the Republicans and the Democrats have take measures to aid them. The Democrats have established the Eleanor Roosevelt Fund; which has the mission of aiding women running for local and state office. The Democratic Women's Council was created in the 1990's to be the official party organization that recruits and supports female candidates. The Republican Party in the 1970's decreed that there should be equality in representation for both genders on the RNC. In the 1980's the party created the Women's Congressional Council to help raise funds to help women candidates for the House of

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.121.

Representatives. Finally, in the 1990's the National Federation of Republican Women, which is a fully independent that helps educate women activists for the party.¹¹⁰

As for women in leadership positions in the two parties, there have been some in both. In the Democratic Party a women has held the position of Political Director of Democratic National Committee, in 1991 five of the Democratic state party chairs were women, and seventeen of the state party executive directors were women. In the Republican Party a women has held the position of Chair of the Republican National Committee, in 1991 seven of the state party chairs were women, and eight of state party executive directors were women. It can that seen by the proceeding that both Republicans and the Democrats are doing what they can for women candidates given what little authority they have over candidate nomination in the United States.¹¹¹ In the curious case of the U.S., the party variable plays a different role than in most other nations. Faced the fact that they do not control the nomination process and thus cannot directly intervene to help increase the percentage of women candidates, they go about it in roundabout ways like setting up foundations that help to fund women running for office, creating organizations to support women candidates, and offer candidate training to teach potential candidates campaign skills.

Australia

The next to be explored in this section is Australia. Up until very recently women were also ignored in discourse about Australian politics. This largely attributed to masculine intercultural phenomenon known as 'mateship'. Often mateship has been portrayed as one of a kind Australian equalitarianism that started in the trade union movement that extended into the Australian Labour Party. However, it has been heavily criticized for being racist, sexist, ethnocentric, conformist, and oppressive. The irony of this fact is that in the one major political party that women should be able to enter into Australian politics with the least resistance, in

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.121-122.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, p.122.

reality it has been rather difficult for women in the ALP until the 1990's. We will now take a look at the Australian political parties and their records on women's representation.¹¹²

Starting with the already mentioned ALP, it can be seen that the party taken steps to improve the position of women within the organization. In 1981 the ALP introduced affirmative action principles to increase the representation of women in the party and in parliament. However, a decade later these principles had not amounted to much. Then at the 1994 ALP national conference, the party enacted a new set of national rules, in which there was included a affirmative action program for women within the party; it should be noted that some of this was simply the formalization at the national level of previous rules, and some of it was new. These new sanctions included the requirement that one third of all elected positions within the party should be held by women, delegations to state and territory party conferences must include at least one third women, and in candidate selection a minimum of 35 percent of candidates should be women. There were further rules introduced to enable the national level of party to enforce aforementioned measures. The key policy for the ALP was the mandatory requirement that union delegations must have fair proportions of women. ALP, just like the British Labour Party, involves trade unions in party decision making and thus it is even more significant to appropriate numbers of women in union delegations. With the introduction quotas and targets have progressed Australian politics forward to more of a state where women can be major players. For the ALP with creation of the 35 percent principle and the subsequent call for a 50 percent rule has showed them that women do indeed have an interest and the skill sets to be in politics, they just need the opportunity. Since the introduction of gender quotas into the ALP the percentage of female members of the Labour parliamentary caucus has grown steadily, to about 22 percent depending on the state.¹¹³

The National Party of Australia is the largest conservative party in the country. Interesting, like other conservative parties throughout the world, NPA has had women rise to head office in the party, however at same time the party cannot achieve high levels of women's representation in the party and electorally. Instead of making use of quotas, reservations, and

¹¹² *ibid.*, p.123-124.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p.124-125.

enabling measures; must like other conservative parties, the NPA utilizes female candidate encouragement, exhortation, and training. The rank and file of the party membership are greatly against gender quotas, however are in favour of on gender targets. This can probably be attributed to the awareness in the party that the selection process is biased towards women, and there are actions being taken to ensure that women are selected for winnable seats.¹¹⁴

The Australian Liberal Party has had a long established and well documented tradition of egalitarian representation. The party has had since its advent reserved places for women in its structure. The Federal Women's Committee of the Liberal Party was created at first Federal Conference of the party in 1945 and was entrenched into the constitution as well. The mission of the Women's Committee was to advocate for women's progress, policies that took women's concerns into account, and organizing for elections. An enduring symbol of the success of the Women's Committee is the female vice-president that is one of two vice-presidents elected each year, which written into the constitution of the party. Other things that can be found in the party constitution concerning women's representation are that the president of every woman's section from each state division should be on the Federal Council, that the president of the Women's Committee should have a seat on the Federal Executive and on the Advisory Committee on Policy, and that there should be a male and female vice-president at every level of the party from branch to state executive. However, even with the all these measures women are still underrepresented in the party. The Federal Executive, which has sixteen members in total, only had one other female member besides the two that were reserved in 1996. The success of women also varies when it comes to the different state branches, for example in Victoria there is close to equal representation and in Queensland women have low representation. Must like other Liberal parties in the world, the Australia version does not favour the use of gender quotas, and alternatively uses candidate training programs and encouragement to enrich their pool of female candidates. One program used by the Liberal Party was the Liberal Women's Forum Program, which was designed to change attitudes about women as candidates, and to recruit, train, and support women candidates. This program and others are credited with the rising number of ALP members in Australian Parliament.¹¹⁵ In Australian politics the party variable appears to be

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p.125.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p.125-126.

significant as illustrated by the history of women's representation in the Australian Labour Party, which at one point forces in the ALP such as the macho culture of mateship and the non-enforcement of party rules formed a barrier to the advancement of women in the party, and then things started to shift with the formalization of nomination regulations previously adopted but not enforced and the introduction of new ones regarding women, the party structure has become the enabler of women and not the suppressor. The political ideology variable is also present as well in Australian politics because as seen as other countries listed here the mechanisms used for increasing the number of female candidates in the party. The right parties tend to favour non-interventionist positive action measures to increase the number of female candidates and left parties are more inclined to use positive discrimination methods, and the Australian parties are no exception.

New Zealand

New Zealand is the next nation on the discussion list about political parties and women's representation. New Zealand differs from other Westminster model countries; it has introduced a proportional representation electoral system. This has transformed New Zealand from a de facto one party state to a multi party government with high voter turnout and many parties. New Zealand has been a democracy of first for women, in 1893 it became the first nation to give women the vote, and in 1999 it became the first democratic country that featured an election with two female leaders of major political parties, Jenny Shipley and Helen Clark. Jenny Shipley had been appointed the first female Prime Minister in 1997 as well. The Green Party was also co-lead by a woman, Jeanette Fitzsimmons. The leader of ACT (Association of Consumers and Taxpayers) lost his seat to a woman in the 1999 election as well. Much like in other democracies across the globe, in New Zealand the parties of left tend to be more inclusion of women, and the parties of right tend to be less so. The Labour and the Green parties are disposed to using positive discrimination methods in regards to women. ACT is not in favour of using positive discrimination.¹¹⁶ The political ideology variable appears also in New Zealand party politics as well in the form of which methods that are used to increase the percentage of women

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p.126.

candidates. The Labour and the Greens being left wing parties in favour of employing positive discrimination measures to foster the elevation of women in the party. The right parties and ACT are more disposed to positive action measures.

Norway

We now turn to a discussion of political parties in Norway and their record on women's representation. Women in the Norwegian Storting never rose about 10 percent until the 1970s, but after that point women reached near parity in rapid rise by the early 1990s. The parties in Norway were quick to increase their numbers of women candidates as well. The Labour party had increased its ratio of women parliamentarians to 51 percent by 1989.¹¹⁷ The Labour party had in 1983 introduced gender quotas and this is what caused the increase of women in Labour's delegation.¹¹⁸ The Socialist Left raised its portion of women members to 41 percent by the same year.¹¹⁹ The Socialist Left since the 1977 election has made sure that 50 percent of its candidates are women. The oldest of Norway's political parties, the Liberal party, was able in part to recover from the near destruction it suffered over the Common Market issue in the 1973 election, by increasing its women's representation and support for women's issues. The Liberal party elected a female leader in 1974. Then the party passed an amendment to the party constitution mandating 40 percent female candidates for the party slate.¹²⁰ In fact all other parties with the exception of the Progress Party increase their female contingent to at least 25 percent.¹²¹ The Center party become the fourth party to enact gender quotas at the end of the 1980's. Norwegian women have also risen to become the leaders of political parties as well. Gro Harlem Brundtland, who became the first female prime minister of Norway in 1986, was the leader of Labour party for over 15 years. In fact in the 1993 parliamentary elections three of the six major

¹¹⁷ Donald R. Matthews and Henry Valen, *Parliamentary Representation: The Case of the Norwegian Storting*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 136.

¹¹⁸ Richard E. Matland and Donley T. Studlar, "The Contagion of Women Candidates in Single-Member District and Proportional Representation: Canada and Norway," *The Journal of Politics* 58 (Aug.1996): 717.

¹¹⁹ Matthews and Valen , 136.

¹²⁰ Matland and Studlar, 717.

¹²¹ Matthews and Valen , 136.

parties where led by women¹²² In Norway the party and party ideology variable can be seen to influence women's representation as the nearly all the parties have enacted gender quotas to ensure a minimal percentage of female candidates. The Progress Party, with its ultra right wing ideology is the sole exception to this rule.

New Democracies

The Republic of Ireland

The Republic of Ireland is the next country on the list to be discussed. In Ireland, from independence in 1922 to the late 1970's women did not make up more than 25 percent of party membership and held no positions of power in the party or in government. The two major parties are Fianna Fail and Fine Gael.¹²³ Fianna Fail has formed the majority of the governments in Ireland since 1922, 21 of 35. However, despite this before 1977 women did not figure at all in the party as candidates. In that election there were only ten female candidates for the party. So in 1981 a Women's Consultative Committee was formed to increase the women's representation in the party, to encourage the participation and representation of women in party structures, and to influence party policy. It was renamed in 1985 to the National Women's Committee and then later in 1996 to the Fianna Fail National Women's Forum. By the year 1997 women were 18 percent of the National Executive of the party and 24 percent of the constituency office holders. In the 1997 election, there were 14 women candidates for Fianna Fail for a percentage of 12.3 percent, and the party had a female candidate for president who was successful, and who remained president until 2004. In the 2002 election, the party elected six female members to the parliament in Ireland. Fianna Fail is against the use of gender quotas and prefers the use of positive action methods to increase women's representation in the party.¹²⁴

¹²² Matland and Studlar, 717.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p.113.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.114.

The other major party in Ireland is Fine Gael and it had similar attitudes towards gender and politics. Throughout the 1980's the party courted women voters and modernized its organization. This allowed women to accessed highest positions in the party, the National Executive was made of 28 percent women, and the percentage of constituency office holders that were women was 44. As mentioned before just like Fianna Fail, the party opposes gender quotas and instead implemented a number of positive action initiatives to increase the number of women in high office in the party and the number of women candidates for the party. The results of this are that while there are no reserved seats on the National Executive Committee, however by the late 1990's, 33 percent of the members were women. For the 1997 presidential election, the party put forward Mary Banotti as its candidate. Then in the 2002 election, Fine Gael elected three women to the Dail.¹²⁵

The Irish Labour Party takes a more proactive approach to women's representation than either of previous parties discussed. In 1981 the party took the step to reserve two seats on the National Committee for women, and in 1985 a gender quota of 25 percent was introduced for candidates to local elections. Then in 1989 a Gender Quota Committee was created which resulted in the implementation of a 20 percent quota for all decision making bodies in the party and for electoral politics beginning in 1991. This was further progressed by the commitment to increase the quota to 40 percent and was introduced in 1992. In 1990 Labour was able to elect its candidate for president, Mary Robinson, and in 1997 it nominated another woman for president, Adi Roche. At the 2002 election Labour managed to elect 6 female members to the Dail.¹²⁶

Now turning to the smaller parties in Ireland and how they dealt with women's representation. The smaller parties in Ireland are progressive in their policies towards women, however it is argued that these parties promote these policies because they would never have to test the political waters with them in government. The Progressive Democrats, who were splinter group of Fianna Fail that broken off in 1985, and has 5 percent of the popular vote. Although the party is ideologically conservative, it has very high level of female activism in the party. The party was founded by a women, Mary Haney, has 30 percent women office holders at the

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p.114.

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, p.115.

constituency level and similar levels on the National Executive. In the 2002 election the Progressive Democrats returned female four members to the Dail. The Green Party, formed in 1991, has 41.6 percent women in its coordinating committee and a 40 percent quota for all bodies and candidates however, did not manage to elect any women in 2002. The newest party, the Democratic Left which was formed in 1992, is deeply committed to gender equality, and thus has 40 percent quota for the National Executive, candidates, and local party bodies.¹²⁷ Once again the party ideology variable is present in the political parties, this time in the Republic of Ireland. The parties on the left in the Rep. Ireland are more in favour of positive discrimination methods to increase the levels of women's representation within the party, while the parties on the right tend to favour the usage of positive action methods.

Germany

The history of women's representation in Germany has been affected and hindered by the National Socialist era and the 50 years of Cold War partition in the form of East and West Germany. During the half century of separation, West Germany went down a path similar to other Western democracies, while in East Germany only the appearance of gender equality was given, but did not exist in reality. While East and West German women both engaged in progressive politics however, the women in East Germany did not have a feminist agenda in mind.¹²⁸ After the unification, voter turnout dropped off, it was high in West Germany, but slightly lower among women. Party membership has increased, as well has the proportion of women party members. Now we will discuss the different German parties and their record on women's representation.

The Social Democratic Party throughout its history had keep women in a separate organization; however it did reserve a number of seats for women on the Party Executive. Then in 1994, a measure was enacted stating that women should not hold less than 40 percent of all party offices; lasting until 2013 when the party hopes that equal will be achieved. A result of this measure the number of women has increased on the party executive from 6 percent to 36 percent; women now make up 38 percent of Presidium of the party, up from 8 percent, on the Party

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, p.115.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p.118.

Council from 6 to 37, and Congress delegates from 6 to 42.

The Christian Democratic Union takes a different approach to women's representation than the SPD. Instead of focusing on the question of women's participation within the party, the party chose the route of adapting its policies to the shifting role of women in society. Instead of instituting gender quotas, a program of positive action was put into force and a recommendation that women should be represented in the party hierarchy in proportion to their membership size. CDU had a curious method to attempt to increase membership in the party, which at same time helped and hindered women. They recruited prominent women into the party leadership over the heads of the party membership, this had the effect of placing women in the cabinet when the CDU was in power, but also it created no career path for women to follow. By 1991, 21 percent of the Party Executive was women, 18 percent of the Presidium, and 17 percent of Congress delegates.¹²⁹

The next party is the Free Democratic Party; another party endorsed the idea of increasing women's representation without creating a process to enact it. Starting in 1987 the FDP has produced yearly reports on women's representation in party offices and placing a new focus on including women in the party leadership. Like some other parties in Germany the FDP has recruited women for political office who have not serviced any length of time in the party. In 1991, women consisted of 18 percent of the Party Executive, the Presidium had 31 percent, Congress Delegates were 21 percent, and 8 percent of the Party Committee.

The German Green Party was the organization that led the way in promoting women's representation. In 1985 the party adopted a 50 percent quota into its constitution. Since this act women have held at least half of all party posts, candidacies, and parliamentary seats. It should be noted that these positions have not been confined to traditional women's areas of policy.¹³⁰ The party ideology variable can be observed in Germany as there is a divide between the parties on the left and the right when it comes to the methodology to increase women's profile in the party. The left wing German parties favour the use of positive discrimination methods, while the German right wing parties are more inclined to use positive action methods.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, p.119.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*, p.120.

India

The government of India is a bicameral parliamentary democracy that operates with a strong multiparty system. The lower house, the Lok Sabha has 545 members, and the upper house Rajya Sabha has 250 members. The elections in India are regularly held and are free and fair. The Bharatiya Janata Party, which was the dominant party in Indian politics for a long period until its defeat in the 2004 election, its defeat marked the end of one party dominant system and led to the rise of a competitive, vibrant, multiparty system. This increase in the competitiveness of party politics has caused parties to seek the votes of women. Often by appealing to their interests and addressing their concerns in party platforms. The voting rate of women in India rose from 37 percent in 1952 to a record high of 68 percent in 1984, although it fell to 47 percent in 1991. However, political parties have often approached female voters in less than a good faith matter. They had often made a number of promises in party programs, only to go back on them at later date. Their record in selecting women as candidates for political office is very poor. As an effect of this women are greatly underrepresented in higher office in India politics. Party politics is at the heart of the Indian political culture because the parties that control national or state parliaments have sway over large and substantial government resources. As mentioned before, In India was a single dominant party system until very recently, however slowly changed into multiparty system. Within this multiparty system there are four major parties with national standing, The Congress Party, the Janata Party, the Bharatiya Janata Party, and the Communist Party of India. Congress and Janata are more or less centralist parties, while BJP is a right leaning religious party, and CPM is a left wing party. The different parties have entered into coalitions at points, an example of this was the aftermath of the 1996 election when the Janata Party and the CPM along with a few smaller parties formed the United Front and which constituted two short lived left leaning governments. The Congress party remained the premier political party in India from the independence in 1947 to 1990s. In the 1950's, under the leadership of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, the party was the unquestioned ruling party of India. Eventually, the ironclad empire of Congress's rule began to erode in the 1960's. The decline of Congress's power can be linked to the empowerment of lower caste citizens, who until then relied on village "big men" for political guidance. Smaller regional parties began to mount a

credible alternative to Congress as result of this. However, a saviour appeared in the form of Indira Gandhi and she promised to raise the poor of India out of poverty, and this promise resonated with the poor. Congress was able to hang on to power and stayed in power until 1989, except for a brief interlude from 1977 to 1980 when the Janata Party was in government. After 1989 Congress lose some of its traditional electoral groups including the poor, lower castes, and Muslims. The party regained power in 1991 and ruled until 1996. Then in the 2004 election, Congress put out a surprise win by defeating the BJP and formed the national government.¹³¹ The party variable seems to gain support from above because in India the political party politics controls so much of what occurs in Indian society and thus determines policy towards many groups in society, for the purposes of this study women. The gender ratio variable also can seen highlighted here as party competitiveness increased in India the various parties to varying degrees sought out women voters to broad their electoral appeal by placing women's issues in their party programs.

Women were actively involved in India's nationalist movement, which was led by the Congress party. Many of the most prominent female leaders in India of the post-independence era came into politics through the nationalist movement. One of the reasons Congress declined was that women became dishearten by the party's move away from its social democratic roots to more of a right wing position. Congress further damaged its relations with women voters over the party waning commitment to secularism and women's rights, which are closely linked with the ideology. Successive Congress governments passed a number of acts that hurt women's rights; all this brought into question the credibility of Congress in the eyes of the women's movement to defend women. The party ideology, gender ratio and the gender of candidate variables is underlined in this section by the fact that the Congress party lost the support of women because it moved away from the left\social democratic ideas that women usually are in favour of.

The current version of Communist Party of India was formed in 1964, and it's has roots in the original Communist party in India which is also as old as the Congress party. The current CPM has a national presence and has almost always returned members to the Lok Sabha,

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p.20-21.

however its base of support is located in two of India's states, West Bengal and Kerala. CPM got its first opportunity to influence national politics after its strong result in the 2004 election as it will be providing support to the Congress government. CPM is really only a communist party in name only and organization only, in reality it is a social democratic party along the lines of the British Labour party and the German Social Democrats. In the national parliament the CPM often speaks out against policies that will hurt the poor, and it runs state governments it has been noted to run relatively honest and stable administration. Some of issues it has pursued are a moderate reform program to ensure that the rights of agricultural tenants, providing services to those living in shanty towns, and encouraging public investments in rural areas. CPM has been quite active in trying to engage women in politics. However, the party has placed women's issues in a secondary position to issues of class inequality. With the simultaneous rise of an independent women's movement and stronger religious right, this caused some of the younger members of CPM to raise gender issues more forcefully. This had the effect of CPM in 1981 creating the All India Democratic Women's Association, which unlike previous organizations under the old communist party, accepted members who were not affiliated with the CPM. The party ideology variable is seen as the left wing views of the CPM and the rise of a strong right religious movement and women's movement influenced it to solicit more women into politics.

As the Congress party started to lose ground it presented an opportunity to the Hindu nationalist BJP to fill the position that Congress had left open. BJP appealed to the majority Hindus by blaming many of the social ills of Indian society on Muslims. With the support of Hindu religious political movement, which had not been very active before emerged after the 1989 election as third largest party after Congress and Janata. BJP continued to capitalize on Hindu nationalist sentiment to win second place in the 1991 election. In 1996, BJP tried to form a government but was unsuccessful and then in 1998 the party had a short term in power, after this the BJP formed a successful coalition that was able to govern.¹³² The new BJP coalition was different from the previous one because it was able to attract the support of regional parties and present a more moderate, centrist position on issues. Although the BJP has officially showed a more centrist face to the public it has not fully moved to the center or given up its militancy. It has made public statements in regards to its commitment to secular principles; however it has

¹³² *Ibid.*, p.22-23.

taken steps behind the scenes to alter the conditions in which secularism functions. One of the major reasons why the BJP was unable or not willing to end its militant ways is because of the party links to a religious organization known as Visva Hindu Parishad. It is hard to see the BJP ever completely severing ties with VHP and other groups because there are several advantages to having them around. At different points the groups have helped heal rifts within the party and allowed the BJP to stay together unlike other Indian parties that split into two. Also many of the leaders of the BJP come from the RSS group and the various leaders maintain connections with the group. An additional electoral advantage the BJP gets from its alliance with VHP is the riots caused by the group that pitted Hindus against Muslims and helped the BJP at the ballot box. Women have played a highly visible and intensive role in the Hindu national movement in both the higher echelons and the rank and file levels. In the most militant phases of the Hindu national movement in the late 1980s and early 1990s, women were deeply involved in violence at all levels of the movement. Some of the best orators of the movement were women and their voices were played on tape recorders to encourage the mob to destroy the mosque at Ayodhya in 1992. Thousands of women were trained to use rifles and other weapons by the Durga Vahini and the Rashtrasevika Samiti, women's organizations that allied with the VHP and RSS respectively. These foot soldiers of the Hindu nationalist movement participated in the many riots that took place in the early 1990s, directing Hindu mobs against Muslim neighbourhoods, stopping the police from helping Muslim families, and engaging in post-riot looting of homes and shops. BJP has also stood up for women's rights supporting a number of policies that would benefit women including taking a firm stand in supporting the Uniform Civil Code, an act that would give the same rights to men and women regardless of their religious faith. The party has also condemned sexual violence against women and has supported the creation of more opportunities for women.¹³³

In the 2004 election, Both BJP and Congress both had party platforms that featured substantial policies concerning women's issues. The BJP platform contained promises to develop a national policy on women's economic empowerment that would work to ensure some means of livelihood for all women and would increase the incomes of all categories of working women. The platform also made promises to set up a national childcare plan, workplace flexibility, greater career opportunities, hostels for working women in every town, and the removal of

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p.23-24.

gender disparities in education, wages and property rights, to promote female self-employment and entrepreneurship, to enforce laws against female feticide, dowry, child marriage, trafficking, rape and family violence, and to introduce a bill reserving 33 percent seats for women in parliament and state legislatures in the first session parliament.

Congress's political platform in contrast proposed a number of measures for the welfare of women. The Congress program contains similar content to the BJP program by supporting such measures as the 33 percent reservation of parliamentary seats for women, legislation curbing the dowry, rising the age of marriage and improving widows' conditions. The Congress platform also promises to create micro credit schemes and producer cooperatives, and it allocates more space in the document to decentralization through the panchayats or village assemblies. The platform also featured a comprehensive legal equality package for women to give them the status as men under the law; this included giving women the right to equal share in matrimonial property by protecting their rights to property accumulated in the marriage, and giving them equal rights of ownership of assets such as houses and land.¹³⁴

Now to elections in India and how well women are represented in them as candidates for political parties. Throughout the electoral history of India the percentage of women candidates was very low and even in the 1980's and 1990's when the women's movement was a intensely virulent force and, pecking order of political parties was changing with the decline of Congress and the rise of BJP. In the 1984 election of the total number of candidates from all parties was only 4.5 percent; this increased to 4.7 percent in 1989, in the 1996 election in went up to 5.3 percent, and in 1999 election in had risen to 7.6 percent. The number of women elected to parliament is slightly better than the number of women nominated: in 1984 women were 8.2 percent of the total candidates elected and this had only slightly improved to 8.9 percent in 1999. When one examines the data with regards to women's underrepresentation in political office in the case of India it becomes apparent that it is party bias, rather than voter bias, that explains the low proportionality of women candidates to the total number of candidates. The proof is in the fact that women are actually more likely to be elected than men in Indian politics. Even though women have always been a very small part of all candidates, they have always had a very high

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.25-25.

proportion of elected candidates within their number. In 1984, 61.8 percent of the all women candidates to run in that election were elected. In the succeeding elections this trend of a high percentage of women being elected in proportion to the percentage selected has continued. So the electorate is thus willing to vote for women, however if parties believe that the electorate is less willing to vote for women then the evidence would suggest, then if the party wants to increase its number of woman MPs it would place women candidates in districts where the electorate would be more likely to vote for a women.¹³⁵ As mentioned above both the Congress party and the BJP support in their party programs reserving one third of the seats in parliament for women. BJP leaders had claimed that the party wishes to have more women candidates but there are few women candidates that want to run. However, research shows that if women were given a chance they can win and often do win in elections in India. The BJP has had a lacklustre record in selecting women as candidates for the party throughout the history of the party. In the 1996 election women only made up 5.7 percent of the party's candidates, increased to 8.2 percent in 1998 election, however it fell to 7.4 percent in the 1999 election. The party's women candidates have had a higher percentage of winning than the male candidates. In the 1998 election, 51.9 percent of women candidates from BJP were elected, in 1998 46.9 percent were elected and 60 percent were elected in 1999. The Congress party has better record when it comes to nominating women candidates than the BJP. Congress had 7.9 percent women candidates on its slate in 1984, and in the succeeding elections the number has been around 8 to 11 percent. Congress has selected more women as candidates than BJP in every election. In the 1984 election, Congress's women candidates had a winning percentage of 94.9. In the 2004 election, the number of selected women candidates was in keeping with the previous elections, with BJP fielding 8.24 percent women, Congress nominated 10.79 percent women candidates, and 11.59 percent of CPM candidates were women.¹³⁶ The party ideology variable can be seen at play in India as the parties closer to the left nominate more women in every election mentioned. The gender of candidate that won in variable appears in India as the some of the parties' female candidates have a higher winning percentage. The party variable is relevant in India because of

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.26.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*,p.27-28.

the fact party bias is blandly present and that female candidates have had a high success rate in being elected and parties continue to not nominate them in large numbers.

Botswana

In the case of Botswana with its status of being only one of two nations in the Southern Africa region to have a blemish free record of open and fair elections, has at the same time had a rather lackluster record of women's participation in politics. The percent of women in the Botswana parliament has never risen above 5 percent at any one instance. A number of women's groups emerged to agitate for greater female participation in politics and for political parties to address women's issues. One of the largest and most radical was Emang Basadi and was formed in 1986.¹³⁷ Emang Basadi produced a women's manifesto which outlined the status of women in Botswana economically, politically, legally, educationally and in terms of security, rights and freedoms. The manifesto was at the same time a list of demands on political parties and government for greater equality for women and it also served as rallying to tool to organize women for future elections.¹³⁸ Another issue laid in the perceptions of the women members of political parties that seemed to accept the status quo of being second class party members and thus the women's movement turned its efforts to raising awareness among the female party membership and leaders of the women's leagues to encourage them to push for a greater role. Another aspect of this was to have the women's leagues realize that their true function was to advance the issues of women within their parties, to represent the interests of the female electorate, enable women to compete for political power in the party, and to eventually help women become candidates for the party and then enter the legislature. However, just simply increasing the political knowledge and awareness of women was not enough to affect real change. So the women's movement undertook a number of programs to embed women with a variety of practical skills to prepare them to be candidates in elections. The women's movement also set out to convince the female electorate that women were viable candidates and could be

¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p.6.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, p.7.

effective female leaders.¹³⁹ The results of all this was the ruling party and the opposition parties took notice that they could not any longer take women's votes for grant because the programs of the women's movement had worked to such a degree that by the 1994 election that women voters were better informed and equipped to articulate their views. In the aftermath of 1994 election the status of women in politics started to change in major way. The ruling Botswana Democratic party used the power of special elections to appoint more women to parliament to boost their numbers. This increased the percentage of women from 5 percent to 11 percent a large increase. In the 1999 election the percentage of women further increased to 18 percent. In the cabinet of the ruling party the previous high was 6 percent before 1994, in the 1994 election improved to 13 percent, and in 1999 to 24 percent. The main opposition party, the Botswana National Front, has also undertaken great measures to increase the number of women candidates and who hold positions in the party. This includes the creation of a quota system ensuring that 30 percent of positions on all party committees are held by women and this was realized in 1998. However, BNF then suffered a fracturing and broke into smaller groups with women's agenda getting lost in the shuffle as various fractions are fighting simply for survival.¹⁴⁰

One of the barriers to allowing women to bring change to government in Botswana is the fact that the electoral system has the fractured opposition at a serious disadvantage. This can be observed when examining the results of the 1994 and the 1999 elections in which the opposition received 45 percent of the vote, however only claimed 33 percent and 18 percent of the elected seats in the parliament in the those respective elections. In the 2004 election, all of the advances women made were reversed in all of the political parties' electoral results.¹⁴¹ In the ruling Botswana Democratic party only 12 percent of the candidates that were successful in the primary elections were women and half of those candidates were contesting safe seats. The Botswana National Front for its part only had 7 percent woman candidates and the majority of these were nominated in districts where the party did not have much support. Overall women only made up about 12 percent of the 2004 parliament members. The news has not been completely negative; there are some positive events as well only that it has come from inside the different parties in

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p.8.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.9.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.9.

regards to women's representation. The BDP has managed to increase the percentage of women on its central committee to 25 percent. The BNF as mentioned earlier had implemented a number of measures to increase women representation within the party and this increased the number of women on its central committee to 26 percent and to 14 percent on the executive committee of the party. The main reason behind the inability of political parties in Botswana to select large numbers of women candidates is the electoral system used since 1980's in the primacy elections and in the general elections: the single member plurality system. Before the advent of women's group's empowerment programs, the primary elections were controlled by the party leadership through the mechanism of electoral colleges and if the candidate was to the not liking of the central party leadership then the candidate was not approved as an official party candidate. The chief success of the women's movement was the ending of the Electoral College practice and this allowed all party members to stand in the primary elections.¹⁴² In the case of Botswana the party, educational, and income variables are apparent in its political system and the course women's representation has taken. The way in which the party variable has affected the situation in Botswana has been the different parties having not taken much increase in empowering women in the party or nominating women as candidates until the women's movement forced them to increase percentage of women candidates and the number of women occupying leadership positions in the party. The educational and income variables played a role because the women's movement had to embark on a series of programs to teach women the practical skills to be attractive candidates as well raise funds for them to run campaigns. The party ideology variable seems to be less of a factor in Botswana as both major parties had made similar efforts to nominate women candidates, however it this case it was the right wing Botswana Democratic Party that has nominate more women.

Women's Parties

An interesting research question might be, what if a political party existed that took up the mantle of women's issues and was made of women only. Well these women's parties do

¹⁴² *ibid.*, p.10.

indeed exist and are more wide spread then one may think. A number of countries have experienced a women's party in their political history. In the United States in the early 1900's there was the National Women's Party, Even Peron formed a women's party in Argentina in 1949, and in Spain a women's party existed in the 1930's. Historically, women's parties have emerged in nations that were undergoing revolutionary change, and also in countries with a tradition with a separate women's political culture. The prime example of a women's party is the Women's Alliance in Iceland, in which there was a tradition of separate women's organizations starting in the early twentieth century. The women's parties in Russia and USSR successor states are also products of a political culture that featured separate women's organizations and the post-Soviet political turmoil and conflict. The women's parties that popped up in Northern Ireland, Israel, and the Yugoslav states like Slovenia and Serbia seem to be by-products of the chaotic conflict in those regions. There are also women's parties in Holland, Australia, the Philippines and Greece. Most of the women's parties share a common set of policy objectives such as achieving increased political representation of women, getting issues that are important to women on the political agenda, and the pursuit of peace in conflicts. We now will explore some of the better known and successful of these women's parties in more detail.¹⁴³

Northern Ireland

In Northern Ireland, a women's movement developed in concert with that in the Republic of Ireland and everywhere in the world. The Northern Ireland women's movement organized around similar issues as other women's movement, however their made motivator was the abortion rights equality with rest of the U.K., this was because that in Northern Ireland abortion was against the law, even thou it was legal in the rest of the U.K. Then in 1996, the Northern Ireland women's movement formed the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC). In the 1996 local elections the NIWC elected one candidate to the Down District Council. In the 1998 elections to newly created Northern Irish Assembly, the NWIC ran six candidates, and two of them were elected in the North Down and South Belfast districts. Then in the 2001 elections, NIWC won 0.4 percent of the vote, however did not win any seats. Then in the 2003 election to the restored Northern Ireland Legislative Assembly, NWIC fielded seven candidates along

¹⁴³ Ibid., p.130.

including the two incumbents from 1998, however none were elected. Despite the all the reversals, the NIWC still remains active in politics in Northern Ireland.¹⁴⁴

Iceland

Perhaps the most famous of the women's parties is the Icelandic Women's Alliance. The history of separate women's lists in Icelandic politics goes back to the advent of the twentieth century, and even before women got the vote in Iceland. Women also ran in local elections all women lists from 1908 to 1921 in Reykjavik and two other towns. In 1922 the first women was elected to the Icelandic parliament from an all women's list. The all women lists went away until the 1970's, when the women's movement facing mainstream political parties that did not act to include women and struggling against unchanging social factors, decided to resurrect them. In 1982 women's lists were set up to run in the local elections of Reykjavik and Akureyri. In the Reykjavik election the women's list won 11 percent of the vote and two seats on the council, and in the Akureyri election the women's list won 17 percent of the vote and two seats on the council. From 1982 to 1994 there were women's lists entered into elections in seven municipalities. Having the women's lists in politics in Iceland has help to increase the representation of women by forcing the established parties to select more women candidates or otherwise the votes of women ever further. Then in 1983 the Women's Alliance was formed order to run in the national election. The Women's Alliance ran candidates in three of the eight constituencies in Iceland, gathering 5.5 percent of the vote and three of seats in the parliament. The party ran in the next three elections winning votes and seats and generally scaring the mainstream parties into nominating increasing numbers of women. From 1971 to 1999 the number of women elected to parliament increased from 5 percent to 34.9, even with the fact the Women's Alliance never had more than 10 percent of the seats in parliament. Then in 1994, the Women's Alliance Reykjavik list joined with three other parties to create a united ticket to defeat ruling Independence Party.¹⁴⁵ This coalition was able to overthrow the Independence government and proceeded to implement many of the policies that the women's list had been advocating, especially the policies in regards to day care. Having accomplished its organization goal of

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.130-131.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p.131.

increasing the presence of women in Icelandic politics; the Woman's Alliance ceased operations as organization in 1994. Since then, women have made up at least 50 percent of the city councillors, and a woman has elected mayor. For the 1998 local elections; the women who been candidates on the women's lists that had compromised the Women's Alliance ran on unified lists with the Social Democrats and the People's Alliance. At the 1999 election this cooperation further evolved into a new party known as the United Alliance, and which managed to win 17 seats, of which 9 went to women.¹⁴⁶

Russia

In Russia, there is the Women of Russia that exists to improve the position of women in Russian society and politics. In Soviet Russia, women were accustomed to having their own separate political organizations and so it was only natural when the Soviet regime fell that women in Russia continued to organize. It should be noted that the Women of Russia is more of a political movement rather than a political party. Between 1993 and 1999 they did consist of a faction in Duma, the lower house of the Russian parliament. As it stands now the profile of women in Russian politics is rather low, and some have charged that the political rights of women are even being violated. Russian society is still undergoing radical and unstable change and its possible most women are focusing on the social and the economic, rather than the political.¹⁴⁷ In the Soviet era women found a voice in the Soviet Women's Committee. After the fall of communism, this was renamed the Union of the Women of Russia. Then this new organization joined with the Association of Women Entrepreneurs, the Alliance of Women of Russia, and Women of the Naval Fleet to form the Women of Russia movement, which was registered as political organization in October 1993. The organization had to collect 100,000 signatures from various regions of Russia before the organization could place its slate of candidates on the ballot. With its extensive network of women groups, Women of Russia managed to gather the required signatures in about a week. In the 1993 election; Women of Russia in the proportional representation round won 8.1 percent of the vote and 21 seats, making it the fourth largest party in the Duma. In the second round of the election, the single member

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.132.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p.132.

constituencies, Women of Russia won a further two seats. In total, the organization won 13.5 percent of the vote and 23 seats in the Duma. Women's opinion on the Women of Russia is mixed as some Russian women interviewed believed that women's organizations should run separately from other parties, however at the same time some women said that they were not sure if women possessed leadership potential. Once Women of Russia entered the Duma, it made clear its main objective to clean up politics and make it more accepting to women. The Women of Russia's place on the ideology scale is centrist, favouring economic reform and new market relations. The policies that Women of Russia campaigned and struggled for included that the government should increase social guarantees for women when it came to employment (70 percent of the unemployed are women), housing, education, and health care. The organization has also had a prominent place in their program for law and order issues, stopping violence against women, and advocating against pornography.¹⁴⁸ In the successive elections in 1995 and 1999, Women of Russia did not fare as well as in 1993. In 1995, Women of Russia fielded 80 candidates for the election, however only won 4.6 percent of the vote and did not qualify for any of the PR seats. The organization did manage to re-elect its two seat member incumbents. In the 1999 election, Women of Russia only won 2.04 percent of vote and no won seats at all. For the 2003 election, Women in Russia did not stand and instead they supported the United Russia party, and some of the Women in Russia candidates ran on the United Russia list.¹⁴⁹

What can be seen with the all women's parties is a response to clashing of the gender and party variables. When political parties did not respond to women's calls for representation and did not take up women's issues in the countries discussed above women formed their own political parties to fight for the causes that are personal to them. These women's parties have met with some electoral success, especially in Iceland, with Women's Alliance, which allied with other parties to bring down the ruling party and brought in many progressive policies.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.133.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.134.

Conclusion

From the proceeding, one can see that certain variables have an effect on women's representation in various countries. The party variable has the effect of either limiting or enhancing the position of women in a given political party based on a number of factors such as the regulations governing candidate selection, the framework for enforcing the regulations, and the different factions within in the party. The political ideology variable can be seen affecting a party's choice of regime to address gender equality in representation within the party, whether it is positive discrimination or positive action. The percentage of candidates that are female for each individual party seems to be also governed by the ideology variable. The gender variable can come into play in certain ways as well when the party is clearly biased against women in favour of men, especially when it is clear women can win elections as is evident in India. Gender often determines what policies political parties pursue as women and men have different social issues that are important to them, and often the issues women want addressed are vastly different or are not on the radar of mainstream parties, and women also form their own parties in order to pursue their agendas.

In the next chapter, a discussion of the results the election study data is presented with two charts showing the number of female candidates nominated and elected by both parties and in total through the years 1984-2008.

Chapter 6: Election Study Data Results

In this chapter, the topic is the results from the data collected for the first part of the research study, the examination of the results of eight elections to test for political ideology as an influence on the number of women selected as candidates by political parties. This part of the study involved looking at the results of the eight federal elections between 1984 and 2008, in terms of the overall number of women nominated, the number of women nominated by the largest party on the left in Canadian federal politics, and the number of women nominated by the largest party on the right in Canadian federal politics. The results of this data collection will be presented in this chapter and then analyzed to try to explain the results of the collected data. The researcher will attempt to explain any observable trends in the data.

The period that the eight elections take place in, 1984 to 2008 was chosen because in the 1984 election women were elected for the first time in significant numbers, in this case over 10 percent of members of parliament. There is an election currently going in Canada at this very moment and this data will be added to the study when it becomes available. These eight elections prove to be a good frame of comparison between the two political parties being studied, both has been in government during this time period. The elections included in the data provide sufficient evidence of which political ideology is more conducive to the nomination and the election of women in Canada. The largest party on the left in Canada is known as the Liberal party, and it has dominated Canadian federal politics for most of the last one hundred years in the history of the nation. The largest party on the right in Canada federal politics is known as the Conservative party and has only ruled periodically in the last one hundred years.

Results:

Chart 1: Rise\Decline in Number of Female Candidates 1984-2008

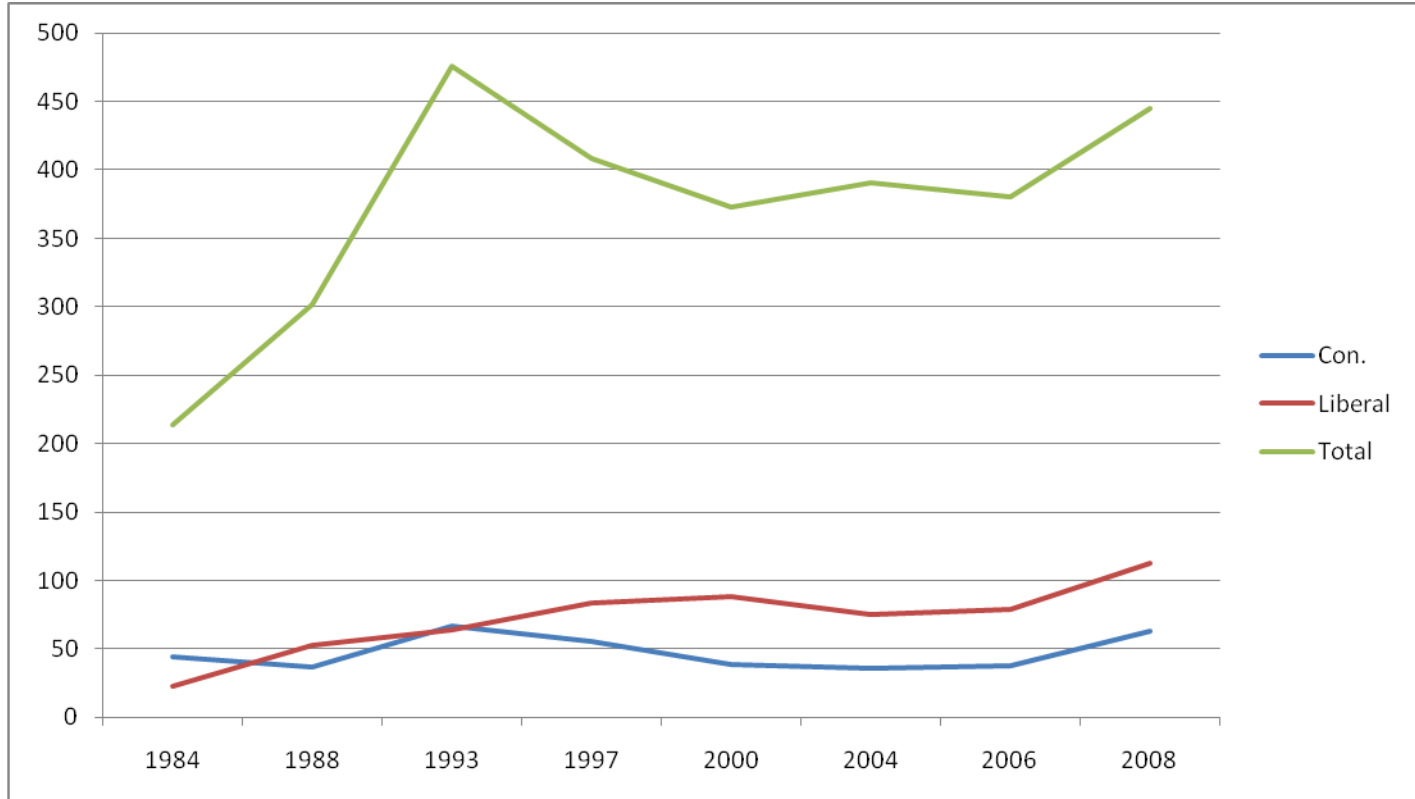
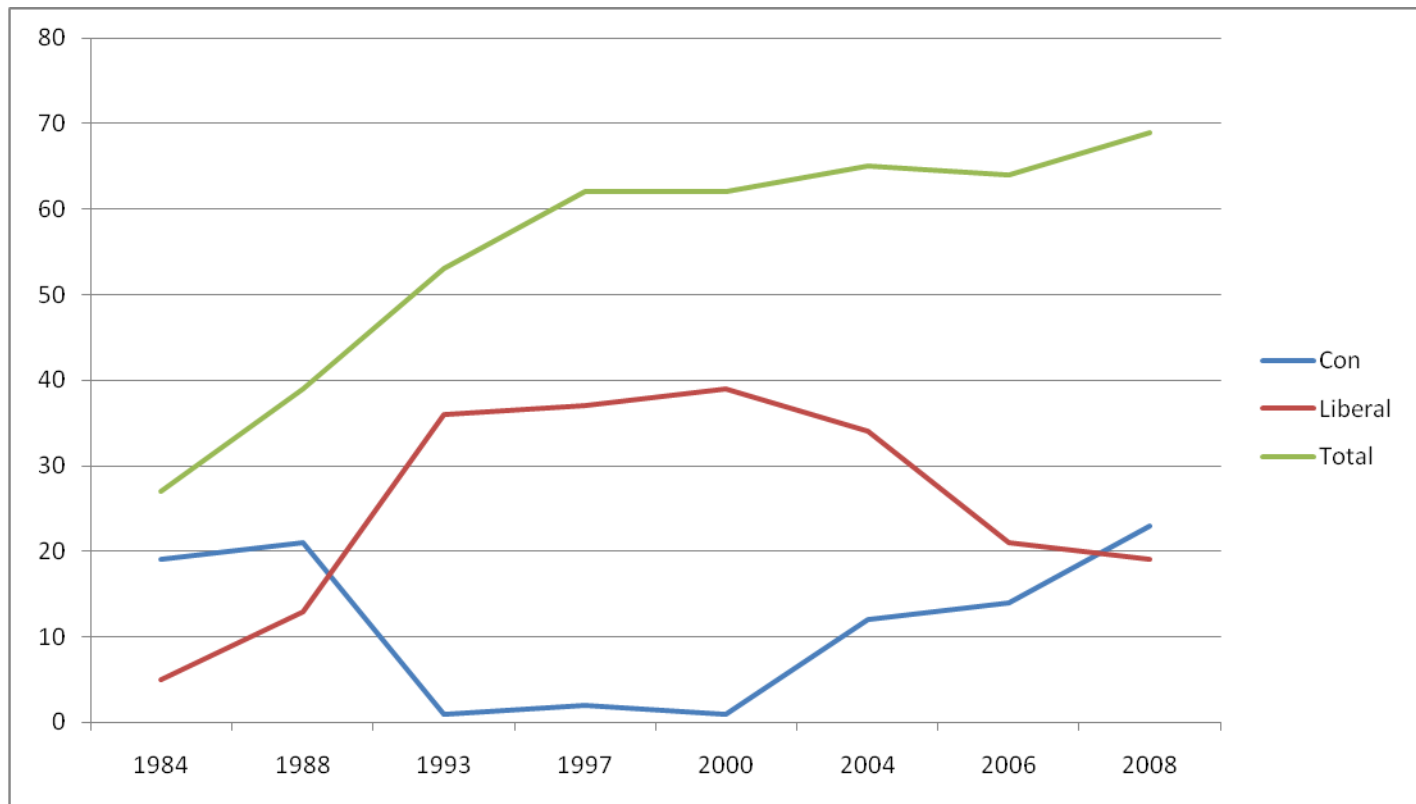


Chart 2: Rise\Decline in Number of Elected Female Candidates 1984-2008



The results from the election data will be presented in this section. In the 1984 federal election there were 214 women nominated to be candidates for political parties. Of these 27 were elected to parliament. The Liberal party during this election nominated 44 women to be candidates for the party. Five of these women were elected as members of parliament. The Conservative party in this election fielded 23 female candidates and 19 of these were elected.¹⁵⁰

In the 1988 federal election, there were a total of 302 women nominated to be candidates for the different political parties. The number of women elected to parliament in this election was 39. The Liberal party nominated 53 women to be candidates for the party in this election, of these 13 were elected. The Conservative party nominated in the 1988 election selected 37 to be

¹⁵⁰ Parliament of Canada, "Women Candidates in General Elections," Parliament of Canada, <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/Sites/LOP/HFER/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=WomenElection>.

candidates, and the party returned 21 female members of parliament.¹⁵¹

In 1993 federal election there were a total of 476 women selected to be candidates for the different political parties, and 53 were elected. The Liberal party nominated 64 women candidates in this election, of these 36 were elected to party's parliamentary caucus. The Conservative party nominated a total of 67 women as candidates for the party, and of these only one was elected.¹⁵²

In the 1997 federal election a total of 408 women were candidates for the different political parties, of these 62 were elected. The Liberal party selected 84 women candidates for this election and 37 were elected to parliament. The Conservative party selected a total of 56 women to run as candidates for the party and 2 were elected.¹⁵³

In the 2000 federal election a total of 373 women were nominated as candidates for the different political parties that took part in the election. The number of women elected to parliament was 62. The Liberal party nominated 88 women to be candidates for the party in this election and 39 were elected to parliament. The Conservative party nominated 39 women candidates and of these only one was elected to parliament.¹⁵⁴

In the 2004 federal election there was a total of 391 women nominated to be candidates for the different political parties. The number of women elected to parliament was 65. The Liberal party nominated 75 women as candidates for the party, and 34 of these candidates were successful in their bid for a seat. The Conservative party selected 36 women candidates in this election and of these 12 were elected to parliament.¹⁵⁵

In the 2006 federal election there was a total of 380 women selected to be candidates for the different political parties. The total number elected of the 380 candidates was 64. The Liberal party nominated 79 female candidates for this election and of these 21 were elected to the House

¹⁵¹ Parliament of Canada, "Women Candidates in General Elections," Parliament of Canada, <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/Sites/LOP/HFER/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=WomenElection>.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, Parliament of Canada.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, Parliament of Canada.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Parliament of Canada.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Parliament of Canada.

of Commons. The Conservative party in this election nominated 38 women candidates and of these 14 were elected to parliament.¹⁵⁶

In the 2008 federal election there was a total of 445 female candidates that were nominated by the different political parties. The total number elected from the 445 candidates was 69. The Liberal party selected 113 women candidates and of these 19 were elected to the House of Commons. The Conservative party selected 63 women candidates and of these 23 were elected to party's parliamentary caucus.¹⁵⁷

An interpretation and analysis of the data presented above is contained in the next chapter. This is followed by a section in which I draw some conclusions based on my analysis of the presented data.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., Parliament of Canada

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., Parliament of Canada.

Chapter 7: Election Study Analysis and Conclusion

Data Interpretation and Analysis:

Interpretation and analysis of the election results data presented above is now needed. First, the general trends observed for the total number of women candidates will be discussed, and then the discussion will move to an explanation of the two political parties' trends on female candidate nomination. Beginning in the 1984 federal election, the total number of women being nominated as candidates increased, and this continued until the 1993 election. In the 1997 and 2000 federal elections the total number of women candidates nominated decreased. In the 2004 federal election, the total number of women candidates increased slightly over the total number in the 2000 federal election. In the 2006 federal election, there was a slight decline in the total number of women nominated to stand for election when compared to the total number in 2004 election. However, in the 2008 federal election the total number of women nominated for public office jumped dramatically over the levels of the 2006 federal election, and was also the second highest number of women candidates nominated in the time period. The greatest total number of women candidates nominated was in the 1993 federal election. An examination of the data from the eight elections being studied here reveals that an underlying trend that the number of women being elected to parliament has been steadily increasing since the 1984 federal election.

An interpretation of the candidate nomination data of the two political parties that are being studied is now warranted. The Liberal party has continuously increased its number of female candidates from the 1984 election to the 1997 election. However, in succeeding federal elections in 2000, 2004, and 2006 the number of Liberal women nominated has dropped off slightly. However, in the 2008 federal election the total number of woman nominated by the Liberal party increased greatly over the previous three elections. The number of female Liberal candidates winning election to parliament increased from the 1984 federal election to the 2000 election. However, the number of Liberal female candidates winning election to parliament has

declined in the 2004 and the 2006 election. In the 2008 federal election, the number of Liberal women candidates elected declined further.

The Conservative party, for its part had its total number of women candidates increase beginning with the 1984 federal election and continuing to the 1993 federal election. However, the total number of Conservative party female candidates nominated to run for the party declined from the 1997 federal election to the federal election in 2004. In the 2006 and 2008 federal elections the number of Conservative party female candidates increased slightly in 2006, and greatly in the 2008. Moving on to the number of Conservative party women candidates elected to parliament, the total number of women candidates elected to parliament increased during the 1984 and 1988 federal elections. Then the total number of Conservative party women candidates elected to parliament dramatically decreased between the 1993, 1997, and 2000 federal elections. The total number of Conservative party women candidates elected to government rebounded in the 2004 and 2006 elections, and 2008 elections.

Conclusions

Now a number of conclusions must be drawn from the analysis of the data presented above. Since the 1984 election, the number of women nominated as candidates has grown dramatically over the levels in the 1984 election. However, the levels did not always increase in every election during the studied time period. In the 1997, 2000, and 2006 elections the number decreased over the previous election's total of women candidates. This growth in the number of women nominated by both political parties has translated into a constant grow in the number of women elected to public office. Since the 1984 election the number of women candidates elected has increased at every election cycle. Both the Liberal and the Conservative parties have seen their total number of women nominated as candidates increase over several elections, usually when the party was in power. This observation can also be made when the increases in the number of women elected from each party to parliament are examined. The data shows that in the time period 1984 to 2008 the Liberal party nominated more women as candidates than has the Conservative party. The data would seem to support the notion that left wing parties nominate more women than right wing parties in the case of Canada. The hypothesis that

political ideology does influence the number of women political parties nominate as their candidates is apparently valid.

In the next chapter, the data from the second part of my study is presented. The results from the electoral district survey are contained in eight tables in the chapter below.

Chapter 8: Electoral District Survey Data Results

In this chapter of this research study, the second part of the study will be presented and the data collected analyzed. The second part of the study comes in the form of a survey of the 308 electoral districts in Canada; the survey was conducted to compare the districts on different variable indicators. The purpose of the survey of the electoral districts is determine if any generalizations can be articulated about women in Canadian politics as candidates. Six variables were chosen as indicators to compare the electoral districts to generate a number of correlations to discovery which variables had what effects, if any, on the level of women candidates in Canada and in what instances and settings. Canada, being a large, diverse, and multicultural nation can be expected to produce results that are varying by many different factors. This is sure to produce very interesting and enlightening results from the survey.

Results:

Table 1: Gender of cand. of most winning party * Urban/rural

			Urban/rural		
			Urban	Rural	Total
Gender of cand. of most winning party	Female	Count	59	17	76
		% within Urban/rural	29,4%	15,9%	24,7%
	Men	Count	142	90	232
		% within Urban/rural	70,6%	84,1%	75,3%
Total	Count	201	107	308	
	% within Urban/rural	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Phi	,149	,009
Nominal Cramer's V	,149	,009
N of Valid Cases	308	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

When explaining the data from the table above, it is observed that 25 percent of the candidates of the most winning party are female. It is also clear from the table that when I compare urban to rural ridings, it is shown that urbanism has an effect on the election of female candidates. There are more female winning candidates in urban than rural ridings. The difference is 13 percentage points and is significant at the .01 level.

Table 2: Gender of cand. of most winning party * Party

			Party				Total
			Conservative	Liberal	NDP	Bloc	
Gender of cand. of most winning party	Female	Count	20	34	10	12	76
		% within Party	18,2%	27,9%	28,6%	29,3%	24,7%
	Men	Count	90	88	25	29	232
		% within Party	81,8%	72,1%	71,4%	70,7%	75,3%
Total		Count	110	122	35	41	308
		% within Party	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Phi	,113	,271
Nominal Cramer's V	,113	,271
N of Valid Cases	308	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

It appears that the when it comes to the individual party it has an effect on the election of female candidates. When we compare the four different parties, the Conservative party has less female candidates than Liberals, Bloc, or NDP. The difference is 10 percentage points and is not significant.

Table 3: Gender of cand. of most winning party * Education Level

			Education Level				Total
			Less than High School	High School	Post Secondary	Advanced Post Secondary	
Gender of cand. of most winning party	Female	Count	13	12	25	26	76
		% within Education Level	21,7%	32,4%	18,8%	33,3%	24,7%
	Men	Count	47	25	108	52	232
		% within Education Level	78,3%	67,6%	81,2%	66,7%	75,3%
Total		Count	60	37	133	78	308
		% within Education Level	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Phi	,152	,069
Nominal Cramer's V	,152	,069
N of Valid Cases	308	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

The above table shows that when I compare the different types of average education in the ridings, is it clear that in the ridings with the highest educational levels a higher percentage of female candidates are present. The difference is 11 percentage points and is weakly significant at the 0.07 level.

Table 4: Gender of cand. of most winning party * Party that won in 2008

			Party that won in 2008					Total
			Conservative	Liberal	NDP	Bloc	Independent	
Gender of cand. of most winning party	Female	Count	28	18	15	15	0	76
		% within Party that won in 2008	19,4%	23,4%	40,5%	31,3%	,0%	24,7%
	Men	Count	116	59	22	33	2	232
		% within Party that won in 2008	80,6%	76,6%	59,5%	68,8%	100,0%	75,3%
Total		Count	144	77	37	48	2	308
		% within Party that won in 2008	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Phi	,171	,062
Nominal Cramer's V	,171	,062
N of Valid Cases	308	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

The above table at the same time informs us that in the 2008 election when we compare the various political parties taking part, that the NDP had the highest percentage of female candidates elected. It is clear that the political party under which a female candidate is running for election does effect the election of female candidates. The difference between the NDP and the other parties is 9 for the Bloc, 17 for Liberals, and 21 percentage points for the Conservatives. The difference is weakly significant at the 0.06 level.

Table 5: Gender of cand. of most winning party * Gender of winning 2008

			Gender of winning 2008		Total
			Female	Male	
Gender of cand. of most winning party	Female	Count	61	15	76
		% within Gender of winning 2008	88,4%	6,3%	24,7%
	Men	Count	8	224	232
		% within Gender of winning 2008	11,6%	93,7%	75,3%
Total		Count	69	239	308
		% within Gender of winning 2008	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Phi	,794	,000
Nominal Cramer's V	,794	,000
N of Valid Cases	308	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

An observation that can be made from the table is that in the ridings where a female candidate was chosen by the most winning party in 2008 a female won a higher percentage than a male. It is clear that when parties place female candidates in ridings they have traditional won; the female candidates won more times than male candidates. The difference is 82 percentage points and is strongly significant at the 0.1 level.

Table 6: Gender of cand. of most winning party * Relative frequency of winning

			Relative frequency of winning		Total
			High Frequency	Low Frequency	
Gender of cand. of most winning party	Female	Count	64	12	76
		% within Relative frequency of winning	25,8%	20,0%	24,7%
	Men	Count	184	48	232
		% within Relative frequency of winning	74,2%	80,0%	75,3%
Total		Count	248	60	308
		% within Relative frequency of winning	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Phi	,053	,349
Nominal Cramer's V	,053	,349
N of Valid Cases	308	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

The table can also show us that when high frequency of winning districts are compared with low frequency districts that the frequency of winning has little or no effect on the election of female candidates. The difference is 6 percentage points and is not significant.

Table 7: Gender of cand. of most winning party * Population

			Population				
			Densely Urban	Outlying Urban	Rural Town	Rural Country	Total
Gender of cand. of most winning party	Female	Count	51	20	4	1	76
		% within Population	25,0%	25,6%	17,4%	33,3%	24,7%
	Men	Count	153	58	19	2	232
		% within Population	75,0%	74,4%	82,6%	66,7%	75,3%
Total	Count	204	78	23	3	308	
	% within Population	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Phi	,052	,843
Nominal Cramer's V	,052	,843
N of Valid Cases	308	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

The above table shows us that when the densely urban and outlying urban categories are compared, the percentage of female candidates in both types of district is virtually the same. There is a more visible difference in the percentage of female candidates in the rural town and rural country district types. While it appears that while urban areas have a greater percentage of female candidates, as seen in the first table, it does not appear that a greater urban population affects the percentage of female candidates. The difference between the urban district types is 1 percentage point and is not significant. The difference between the rural type districts is 16 percentage points and is not significant.

Table 8: Gender of cand. of most winning party * Average income

			Average income			Total
			High Average Income	Medium Average Income	Low Average Income	
Gender of cand. of most winning party	Female	Count	14	56	6	76
		% within Average income	25,0%	24,2%	28,6%	24,7%
	Men	Count	42	175	15	232
		% within Average income	75,0%	75,8%	71,4%	75,3%
Total		Count	56	231	21	308
		% within Average income	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Phi	,025	,906
Nominal Cramer's V	,025	,906
N of Valid Cases	308	

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

The table also shows that among the three types of average income districts the percentage of female candidates is relatively constant. The effect of the average income in a district appears to have a very limited effect on the selection of female candidates. The difference between the three average income types is between 4 to 1 percent and is not significant.

In the following chapter the interpretation and analysis of the data results from the electoral survey data are discussed, and the conclusions drawn from results are discussed as well.

Chapter 9: Electoral District Survey Analysis and Conclusion

Now to summarize the conclusions provided by the data from tables in the preceding section, and to see if we can either prove or disprove the different hypotheses. The first hypothesis was addressed in chapter 4 and was confirmed and thus no further is needed on it here.

The second hypothesis stated that there was a higher number of the total number of female candidate selected for the 2008 election in urban districts versus rural districts. From the data located in table 1, it is clear that urbanism does exert an effect on the number of female candidates as there are more female candidates selected in urban districts, and this seems to confirm the second hypothesis.

The third hypothesis stated that the Liberal party nominated the highest number of female candidates for the 2008 election where the party has historically won the district and the NDP nominated the highest percentage of female candidates for the 2008 election where the party has historically won the district. From the data provided by table 2, it is clear that the Conservatives nominated ten percent less female candidates than the other three parties. The Liberals did indeed nominate the highest number of female candidates however; it was the Bloc and not the NDP that had the highest percentage of female candidates in the 2008 election, and this partial confirms the third hypothesis.

The fourth hypothesis stated that a greater number of women were elected in districts with higher levels of education attainment versus ones with low levels of average education attainment. From the data contained in table 3, it is clear that districts with higher average education attainment levels produce more female members of parliament, and this seems to confirm the fourth hypothesis.

The fifth hypothesis stated that the Liberal Party elected the highest number of women MPs in the 2008 election and the NDP had the highest percentage of women MPs in its caucus. From the data presented in table 4, it is clear that the Conservatives elected the highest number of female MPs and the NDP elected the highest percentage of female MPs, and this seems to

partially confirm the fifth hypothesis.

The sixth hypothesis stated that in the 2008 election where a female candidate was selected by the party that has historically won the district, more women were elected than men in those districts. From the data displayed in table 5, it is clear that in the districts where a female candidate was nominated in the 2008 election by the party that has historically won the district, in the vast majority of the cases a female was elected, and this seems to confirm the sixth hypothesis.

The seventh hypothesis stated that in the 2008 election in districts where the party that has traditionally won the district selected a female candidate, the female candidate had a greater chance of being elected in the districts with high frequency of winning by the party. According to the data in table 6, there is little or no difference between the probability that a female candidate will be elected in a district with either a high or low frequency of winning. This result seems to disprove the seventh hypothesis.

The eighth hypothesis stated that in districts with higher populations more women were selected in the 2008 election than in districts with lower populations. From the data presented in table 7, again urban areas tend to be more favourable to female candidates however, it appears more populous areas do not have a more pronounced effect on the likelihood a female candidate will be elected. From this result it can be said that the eighth hypothesis is correct.

The ninth hypothesis stated that a greater number of women MPs were elected in districts with high levels of average income versus in districts with low levels of average income. From the data in table 8, it can be observed that the likelihood that a female candidate will be elected is not greatly affected by the average income of the district. Based on this result, the ninth hypothesis cannot be confirmed.

In the final chapter, a summation of the findings of my study is discussed and also what trends can be observed. An effort is made to draw a number of generalizations from the observations.

Chapter 10: Generalizations and Closing Comments

To close out my study on political parties and female candidate nomination in Canada, a discussion of the study results is required. The results that surprised me the most were the average income, population, and frequency of winning variable crosstabs. All the evidence that I have ever come across in my research points to the conclusion that urban areas are more receptive to women candidates, and yet however when I examined the more urban districts in Canada it appears that the increased urbanism does not equal a greater occurrence of female candidacy. It is possible that if major electoral reform, in the form of some kind of proportional representation was introduced into Canada at some point that the larger population districts would become more important in increasing the number of female candidates as the addition of more seats per district would cause parties to balance their tickets more to please voters. This would also possibly increase the number of elected female MPs in Canada and more would come from the larger population districts. The result of the average income crosstab was surprising to me because in the research I conducted it was apparent that economic resources are a major factor in being a candidate for political office. However, in this case it appears that the district average income does have a limited significant effect on the percentage of female candidates. The disparity between the amount of money women make versus their male peers is often pointed to as a reason why there are so few women candidates, and with this result from my study it seems to partly reinforce that notion, albeit not to the extent that is portrayed in the literature. The result of the frequency of winning crosstab was surprising as one would think that in districts where the party places a female candidate in a district were the party usually wins, a female would have a better chance of being elected. However, in this case the logic does not follow what normally would be thought of as the natural result. A theory in the literature that perhaps relates to this result is the mirror representation theory, which states that composition of a legislative body should reflect the make-up of the population it claims to represent. Thus if the population of Canada is 52 percent female then 52 percent of members of the legislative body should be female. The debate is over whether or not political parties should select more female candidates and elect them and will it lead to a more representative democracy. An addendum to

this issue is the fact Interparliamentary Union average for female members of parliament is 16 percent and the percentage of female candidates in Canada is 22 percent, which leads to the debate over how far is far enough to claim victory in the fight for electoral equality for women. The results that did not surprise me at all were the urban\rural and party crosstabs. The reason why the result of the urban\rural crosstab did not surprise me was in the articles and books I read on this topic seemed to come to the consensus that the highest portion of female candidates is selected in urban districts. The result of the party crosstab was not surprising because the Conservative party selected ten percent less female candidates than the other parties which are all of the left wing side of the political spectrum and a lot of the research I have conducted from previous studies showed that left wing parties select more women as candidates. The education crosstab result was not surprising in the least as research has shown districts with populations with higher education achievement tend to vote for women more often than districts with populations with lower education achievement. The result that stands out the most in my mind is the average educational crosstab. This is because at the same time as more people started to gain the access to higher education, the percentage of female candidates seemed to increase, and so hopefully the higher education levels continue to rise. Since women make up about 75 percent of the post-secondary students in Canada, which is probably why voters with higher education seem to vote more for women candidates, this gives hope for the future as more young people obtain greater educational opportunities and vote in a greater percentage of women candidates, hopefully.

I will now discuss the differences in the results of the work of Matland and Studlar and my own. Matland and Studlar applied their variables to two different situations, how much of an affect would the variables have the probability that a candidate would be a female and also the affect on the probability that a MP would be a female. The variables they used were party candidate incumbency, the percentage of the population with some post-secondary education, party competitiveness, political party, percentage of the population that is Catholic, women's participation in the labour force, and the unemployment rate. Matland and Studlar found that the unemployment variable and the percentage of the population that is Catholic had little or no effect on the likelihood that a female would be a candidate. The education variable was found to be strongly significant in two of the three elections. The incumbency variable was found to have a significant effect on the chance that a candidate would be female. The party competitiveness

variable did not appear to have a significant effect on the probability that a candidate would be a female. The party variable proved to be somewhat significant as in two of three elections the NDP had a strongly significant effect and Liberals in only one.

When the same variables were tested to see which had an effect on the probability that an MP would be a woman the following was observed. For this part of their study the percentage of the population being Catholic and unemployment variable were eliminated from the analysis. The incumbency variable was significant to whether or not a MP was a woman, however only in one election. The party competitiveness variable was only a factor in the 1988 election. The party variable had different results for MPs versus candidates because the NDP was not a significant factor in any of the three elections. The Liberals were a mixed result as they were a significant factor in the 1984, but not in 1988. The education and the labour force variables proved to be a significant factor in the probability that a MP would be a woman.

The first key difference is that they employed some different variables than I used in my study, those being the percentage of the population being Catholic, and the party candidate incumbency variables. As well I have some variables that they do not use, those being urban\rural, population size, party that won in 2008, and gender of winning candidate in 2008. My other variables are either used by them or are very closely related, those being average income, party, relative frequency of winning, and education. When it comes to the individual political party, I found that has an effect on the likelihood that a female candidate will be elected, however it was not significant. I found that the average education of a district does have a weakly significant effect on the percentage of female candidates. When I examined whether or not the average income of a district has an effect on the percentage of female candidates, the data showed that average income has very a limited effect and is not significant. When I looked at the frequency of a party winning a district the data showed that it does not affect the probability of the election of female candidate and is not significant.

The second study by Matland and Studlar was an examination of the rates of female candidacies and elected MLAs of the major political parties in the Canadian provinces over the years 1975 to 1994. They examined all the major parties: The Progressive Conservative party, the Liberal party, and the New Democratic party, and two regional parties: The Parti Québécois and the Social Credit party. It should be noted that I limited my research to the Liberal and the

Conservatives and federal politics. I will also limit myself to discussing the results that pertain to my study as some of the things Matland and Studlar addressed are things that have been discredited in the literature and thus it is pointless to retrace. When examining the whole time period from 1975 to 1994, there was a stable and gradual increase in the level of female candidates and MLAs. The increase was proportionally greater in the second decade when compared to the first. They also found that women had a better chance at being selected in the regional parties, however at the same time because those parties did not elect as many MLAs that chance of election was significantly lower. They also point out that all the major parties were slow in responding to demands for representation in terms of candidate nomination at least.

When I examined the numbers of nominated and elected female candidates over the 24 year time period 1984-2008, I found that broadly the total number of women selected as candidates has grown dramatically since 1984. However, in the 1997, 2000, and 2006 the number of female candidates dropped. The number of women elected also increased broadly since 1984, however without the drops at certain points. Both parties have seen their total number of selected and elected candidates increase over the 24 year period, usually when the party is in power. The Liberals selected more female candidates in this time period than the Conservatives.

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