The Pursuit of Electoral Visibility:
The Political Communication Strategies
of Canadian Municipal Candidates

by

Angelia Caroline Wagner

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Political Science
University of Alberta

Abstract

This study examines the role of gender and municipal context in the political communication strategies of Canadian municipal candidates. Specifically, how do differences in candidates' personal characteristics, municipal context, political circumstances, and campaign resources shape their strategies for establishing and/or maintaining media and public visibility during a local election, and how do these differences help us to understand the gendered and municipal dimensions of political communication? To answer this question, I conducted a large-scale survey of candidates who ran for municipal office from 2010 to 2012, as well as interviews with a subset of respondents. Findings indicate that women and men politicians take an equally strategic approach to the use of communication techniques in their campaigns, suggesting any gendered differences in news coverage or public image are not due to differences in level of effort. In contrast, I demonstrate that major differences in the personal characteristics of city and non-city candidates, in the news media's approach to covering the two groups, and in local preferences for or against certain campaign techniques shape candidates' communication choices and outcomes. I also find that, despite the arrival of the Internet as a campaign tool, municipal candidates' enduring faith in the importance of face-to-face contact with voters suggests scholarly concern over the lack of interaction between politicians and voters either online or in person is misplaced at the local level. Many municipal candidates are keen to discuss local political issues with voters.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Angelia Wagner. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "Gender and the Political Communication Strategies of Canadian Municipal Politicians", No. 31630, June 21, 2012.

A version of Chapter 5 of this thesis is set to be published as Angelia Wagner, "Candidate Orientation to ICTs in Canadian Municipal Elections." In *Citizen Participation and Political Communication in a Digital World*, eds. Alex Frame and Gilles Brachotte. New York: Routledge.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

x

List of Tables

campaign in municipal office

List of Figures

INTRODUCTION
COMMUNICATING THE VALUE OF POLITICS

1

Among the challenges of drafting a successful political communication strategy is deciding what to say and how to transmit it. A one-term city councillor learned this the hard way when she lost her re-election bid in 2010. As a member of the outgoing council, she opposed an increasingly expensive plan for a municipal facility and supported efforts to require a new retail store to locate in a commercial, rather than an industrial, area of the city. Even today she is convinced she took the right approach to these policy issues. But she deliberately avoided talking about the two controversies in her campaign materials, addressing them only when voters asked. Looking back, she regrets not producing a campaign newspaper detailing her point of view. That communication tactic was a successful one in the previous election, when she distributed a four-page broadsheet to voters in her second bid for a council seat. Her campaign manager urged her to do it again, but she decided against it because of a hectic campaign schedule. It proved to be a mistake.

"I failed to address some issues that were on people's minds, and you can't do it with a little drop-off brochure," she said. "So if I had done my newspaper I could have done a better job on that, I think." She now realizes she did not pursue the best strategies to make herself or her policy views and actions more visible to voters. "I obviously failed as there's no better test than not getting re-elected."

In this dissertation, I identify the components of a competitive political communications strategy at the municipal level by examining the motivations, choices, and experiences of more than 300 candidates who sought office in Canada from 2010 to 2012. I am especially interested in the role that gender and municipal context plays in shaping candidate orientations toward media relations, Internet-based applications, paid advertising, and direct contact in their bid to generate media and public awareness of their

platforms and qualifications for elected office. My project is guided by the following research questions: How do differences in candidates' personal characteristics, municipal context, political circumstances, and campaign resources shape their political communication strategies for establishing and/or maintaining media and public visibility during a municipal election, and how do these differences help us to understand the gendered and municipal dimensions of political communication? Are women candidates more likely than men candidates to use techniques such as media relations, Internet-based applications, paid advertising, and direct canvassing to promote their candidacy and platform to voters? And what factors drive potential differences in communication practices among candidates who campaign in cities as opposed to towns, villages, and rural areas?

I use an exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory research design to identify the role of gender and municipal context in candidate communication choices. As an exploratory study, it undertakes the vital work of "establish[ing] the facts" (Brians, Willnat, Manheim, and Rich, 2011: 19) about how Canadian municipal candidates use communication techniques in pursuit of utilitarian goals such as electoral visibility and democratic ones such as fostering public deliberation on municipal issues. This exploratory stance is necessitated by the fact that political communication at the municipal level is a relatively new area of research, so we know little about how municipal candidates' communication choices are different from or similar to those of other types of politicians (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002: 78).

As a cross-sectional descriptive study (McNabb, 2010: 43-44), it details the communication habits of municipal candidates in various political, electoral, and social settings. It also provides research participants with an opportunity to contribute their insights, experiences, and expertise to social science research. Finally, this study is explanatory in that it analyzes the implications of their communication choices and motivations to assist in building theory regarding the role of gender and municipal context on political communication and the role of communication in local politics (McNabb, 2010: 45-46).

To determine the components and nature of municipal political communication, I relied on a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods. I conducted a large-scale survey of candidates who sought municipal office in select provinces and territories from 2010 to 2012. The questionnaire included a mixture of multiple-choice and open-ended questions. The former are the basis of the statistical analysis while the latter provided qualitative data regarding respondents' assessment of their different communication strategies. While 385 candidates responded to the survey, I excluded from the analysis those who were acclaimed to office and therefore did not have to use political communication techniques to secure a council seat, leaving a final sample of 307. I followed up the survey with a series of interviews with a subset of respondents to gain an in-depth understanding of their motivations for using, or not using, specific communication techniques and their opinions on the future of these techniques in municipal campaigning. The result is a rich collection of quantitative and qualitative data with which to explore the gendered and local nature of political communication in Canada.

An analysis of the survey and interview data leads me to four main conclusions about political communication in Canadian municipal politics. First, gender has little influence on communication choices. Women and men politicians alike take a strategic approach to the use of communication techniques in their campaigns, though their motivations for doing so can sharply differ at times. Second, the influence of municipal context on the strategies that candidates pursue is more nuanced than originally anticipated. While I expected the size of the electorate to push city candidates to devise a more sophisticated communication plan than their counterparts in towns, villages, and rural areas, the data reveal that it is actually differences in the personal characteristics of city and non-city candidates, in the news media's approach to covering the two groups, and in local preferences for or against certain campaign techniques that shape candidates' communication choices and outcomes.

Third, Canadian municipal candidates' enduring faith in the importance of face-to-face contact with voters despite the arrival of the Internet suggests scholarly concern over

the lack of interaction between politicians and voters either online or in person is misplaced at the local level. Municipal candidates are keen to discuss and debate political issues with voters—they would just rather do it in person than on social media platforms, where negative posters could derail the conversation. Fourth, and related to the previous point, municipal candidates exhibit a remarkable and encouraging commitment to the democratic ideals of political communication. They are not only interested in securing elected office but also engaging voters in discussing the issues facing the community. They want voters to have access to extensive and substantive information about candidates and campaign issues, and urge local news organizations to improve the amount and quality of election coverage to help achieve this aim. Municipal candidates do their part by using pamphlets and, to a lesser extent, Internet-based applications to transmit information about their platforms and qualifications for elected office and they initiate personal contact in order to debate those policy ideas with voters. This dissertation thus attends to both the instrumental and democratic aspects of Canadian municipal candidates' political communication strategies as they generate name recognition and transmit their campaign messages to voters.

WHY STUDY ELECTORAL VISIBILITY?

The pursuit of electoral visibility is important for any serious bid for elected office. Candidates need to establish a sufficient level of media and public awareness of their campaigns in order to be electorally viable. Without that strong public profile, candidates are not likely to receive enough votes to win. Acquiring visibility is admittedly an issue that both women and men candidates must address in any communication strategy (Melich, 2005), especially those seeking elected office for the first time or holding a regular seat or spot on the party backbenches. But it is arguably a special concern for women because of their historical exclusion and only recent large-scale entry into politics.

Unlike their male counterparts, women have not traditionally been seen as legitimate political actors. Early cohorts of aspiring women politicians had to overcome

objections to their very presence in politics, resistance that is still apparent in less news coverage of some women's electoral ambitions (Bystrom, 2005; Falk, 2008; Heldman, Carroll, and Olson, 2005; Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991; Kahn, 1992, 1994b; Moldovan, 2009). Women's ability to be involved in public affairs depends, in part, on their ability to achieve visibility and, by extension, public recognition as viable policymakers (Carroll and Schreiber, 1997).

Once that visibility has been attained, it must be maintained to further the continuing involvement of women in politics. David E. Campbell and Christina Wolbrecht note that some women politicians are well aware that "in addition to providing exemplary public service, their candidacies and terms in office offer positive models of female political leadership for women and girls. Male candidates, on the other hand, rarely trumpet their status as role models, reflecting the fact that men and boys need little additional evidence that the halls of power are open to them" (2006: 233). Invisibility therefore runs the risk of slowing the representative gains women have made.

But candidate gender is not the only factor that could vary the challenges individual candidates face while seeking electoral visibility. Potential variations in the political, media, and physical characteristics of cities, towns, villages, and rural areas could lead municipal politicians to employ a wide range of strategies in their bid to make the public aware of their candidacies and platforms. With the exception of parts of Quebec and British Columbia, political parties do not operate at the local level in Canada. The non-partisan nature of Canadian local government means all candidates must create their own personal political brand, including generating electoral visibility, rather than rely on an established political party brand to secure votes.

The level of effort and expense that candidates must expend to cultivate their own political brand might be regulated by the physical and population size of the municipality, the nature of local political customs or expectations, the composition of the local news media industry, and the overall personal characteristics of candidates who seek elected

office in cities, towns, villages, and rural areas. For example, establishing electoral visibility might not be a major hurdle for candidates in smaller municipalities, as voters in towns, villages, and rural areas are likely familiar with many of the individuals seeking local office. The issue for small-town candidates might be shaping, or reshaping, public perceptions of them as political leaders.

Despite the challenges of securing visibility, political communication studies are usually focused on the political messages that politicians convey in their advertising and that journalists circulate in news coverage. Since many scholars believe such rhetoric shapes political discourse, these messages—and, by extension, their messengers—are assumed to already have visibility. This exploratory study of the political communication strategies of Canadian municipal candidates, however, does not assume all messengers have the same degree of visibility or, for that matter, the same resources, opportunities, and inclination to achieve that visibility. It steps back from analyzing political texts to identify the manner in which politicians pursue visibility. Visibility is typically achieved in one of three ways: (1) through news coverage (media visibility), (2) direct communication (public visibility), or (3) a combination of the two. Analyzing extensive survey and interview data, this study identifies how candidates earn news coverage and deploy Internet-based applications, paid advertising, and direct contact with voters during a municipal election.

WHY STUDY POLITICAL COMMUNICATION?

This study of the role of gender and municipal context on the pursuit of electoral visibility is necessary because of the importance of political communication to a well-functioning democratic system. In essence, political communication is the means by which we collectively decide how to govern ourselves (Young, 2000). Iris Marion Young asserts that the "[d]emocratic process is primarily a discussion of problems, conflicts, and claims of need or interest. Through dialogue others test and challenge these proposals and arguments" (2000: 22). Since democracy is predicated upon an assumption of political

equality, Young asserts that everyone must be included in this decision-making process and treated as equal partners. Candidates are those individuals who seek a formal role in this democratic process—in this case, as elected representatives in municipal, provincial, and federal legislatures. Like other members of the public, candidates use political communication to "explain their background experiences, interests, or proposals in ways that others can understand" (Young, 2000: 25). I would suggest political actors need visibility before their contributions to political discourse are recognized, considered, and potentially endorsed by members of the public. Candidates first need to be accepted as legitimate participants in the political process, and securing electoral visibility is one way to receive that acknowledgement.

Candidates communicate through the news media, Internet-based applications, advertising, and direct contact with voters during an election. Elections are an especially intense period of political communication. In a democratic system, elections are the primary mechanism through which citizens periodically select the individuals who will represent them and their interests on legislative bodies like municipal councils. Citizens' power to shape the destiny of politicians makes elections an "institutionalized and regularly recurring communication process between political representatives and voters" (Asp and Esaisson, 1996: 73). Politicians typically make an extra effort to inform and persuade citizens during an election, and citizens pay more attention to what politicians are communicating. Elections are not only contests for political positions but also over political ideas and policies (Thurber, 1995). While elections occur at set intervals at the municipal level in Canada—up to every four years, depending on the jurisdiction—they can be far from routine affairs. Each election is the product of a unique confluence of personalities, issues, circumstances, traditions, and practices (Mancini and Swanson, 1996).

Among the ideas contested during elections are notions about political leadership. Since politics has historically been a male domain, the qualities expected of political leaders have traditionally been the same as those expected of men in general while women have

often been viewed as possessing attributes that are incongruent with effective leadership

(Eagly, 2007; Eagly and Carli, 2003, 2007):

> Women are associated with communal qualities, which convey a concern for the compassionate treatment of others. They include being especially affectionate, helpful, friendly, kind, and sympathetic, as well as interpersonally sensitive, gentle, and soft-spoken. In contrast, men are associated with agentic qualities, which convey assertion and control. They include being especially aggressive, ambitious, dominant, self-confident, and forceful, as well as self-reliant and individualistic. The agentic traits are also associated in most people's minds with effective leadership — perhaps because a long history of male domination of leadership roles has made it difficult to separate the leader associations from the male associations. (Eagly and Carli, 2007: 66)

However, politicians are increasingly advocating an expanded set of leadership traits in

their rhetoric. Studies show men politicians are as likely to highlight their possession of

stereotypical feminine traits such as compassion as women politicians are of masculine

ones such as competence (Fridkin and Woodall, 2005). These rhetorical expansions could

be moving us toward a conceptualization of political leadership that combines agentic and

communal attributes.

While this study does not identify candidate perceptions of the ideal qualities of

municipal leaders, it is important to draw attention to leadership discourses because they

inform research on the role of gender in political communication. Scholars analyze news

coverage to assess the extent to which journalists depict women as serious candidates

for office (Trimble and Everitt, 2010) as well as examine women's own rhetoric to identify

their role in shaping gendered notions of political leadership (Beail and Longworth, 2013;

Reiser, 2009). This focus on media bias and the content of political communication ignores

how candidates' presence in or absence from public discourses also shape perceptions of

women's individual competencies and their collective legitimacy as political leaders:

> Visibility in the news suggests importance, seriousness, competitiveness, normalcy, and suitability to the competition and to politics generally. Perceptions of viability are commonly increased with media attention. When politicians are not covered, they can fall off the public radar, so to speak, and not just off voters' radars, but also off the radars of other politicians, party decision makers, and the like. (Goodyear-

Grant, 2013: 24-25)

This study identifies the extent to which municipal candidates use different communication techniques to put themselves on the media and public's radar, paying particular attention to the potential influence of gender and municipal context on their communication choices.

WHY STUDY GENDER?

A strong commitment to the need for descriptive and substantive representation of women in municipal politics drives this study of candidates' communication strategies. Fundamental questions about the legitimacy, inclusiveness, fairness, and effectiveness of a democratic political system arise when elected representatives do not reflect the demographics of the citizenry on whose behalf they legislate (Young, 2000). Democracy depends—even thrives—upon the participation of political actors who contribute a range of perspectives, ideas, and expertise to the formation of political discourse and public policy. Both the ability and credibility of government initiatives to address pressing needs are placed at risk when their creators are unrepresentative of the larger society (Biles and Tolley, 2004; Newman and White, 2006; Sawer, Tremblay, and Trimble, 2006; Trimble, 2006). Societal notions about who is a legitimate political leader are also shaped by the composition of legislative bodies. Jane Mansbridge argues that descriptive representatives "play a powerful symbolic legitimating function by making the statement to the entire citizenry, including its other representatives, that members of that group are capable of ruling" (2005: 625). Assumptions about who is considered a member of the political elite send a strong signal about who has, and should have, power in society.

Yet despite women's impressive electoral gains in the 1980s and 1990s, Canadian legislatures have yet to achieve gender parity in representation. Women comprised barely 25% of the members of Parliament and anywhere from 10.5% to 36% of provincial and territorial legislatures by 2014 (Equal Voice, 2014; Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014; Trimble, Arscott, and Tremblay, 2013). In contrast to the perceived, but increasingly contested,

TABLE 1.1: Female municipal representation in Canada between 2010 and 2013

	No. of Candidates	% of Candidates	No. Elected	% Elected	Year of Election
Overall	**8514/34078**	**25.0%**	**4946/19741**	**25.1%**	
Saskatchewan	666/4262	15.6%	427/3231	13.2%	2011, 2012
Manitoba	239/1704	14.0%	141/1060	13.3%	2010
Nunavut	36/113	31.9%	3/20	15.0%	2012
Ontario	1213/5533	21.9%	475/2059	23.1%	2010
Alberta	747/2958	25.3%	404/1741	23.2%	2010
Nova Scotia	199/785	25.4%	94/394	23.9%	2012
Newfoundland & Labrador	283/1060	26.7%	204/736	27.7%	2013
New Brunswick	289/1070	27.0%	186/637	29.2%	2012
Prince Edward Island	148/515	28.7%	132/441	29.9%	2010, 2012
Quebec	3813/13229	28.8%	2394/7994	29.9%	2013
British Columbia	750/2456	30.5%	408/1214	33.6%	2011
Northwest Territories	94/280	33.6%	54/153	35.3%	2011, 2012
Yukon	37/113	32.7%	24/61	39.3%	2012

NOTE: The figures presented here are an **approximate** reflection of women's representation in Canadian municipal politics for two reasons. First, complete candidate lists and/or election results were not available for every province or territory. Second, gender could not be determined for all known candidates. Only those candidates whose gender was noted by provincial, municipal, and media sources or could be determined from first names are included here. As for election timing, some provinces staggered their municipal elections during the study period.
Sources: Provincial municipal affairs departments, municipality associations, provincial election agencies, municipalities, and online media sources. See chapter 3 for a full accounting.

wisdom that local politics is more accessible to women (Vickers, 1978; Trimble, 1995b; Gidengil and Vengroff, 1997), women's level of representation at the municipal level is not more advanced. As Table 1.1 shows, my study determined that women were about 25% of all known municipal candidates and winners in Canada between 2010 and 2013.[1] Manitoba (14%) had the lowest rate of female candidacy while Saskatchewan (13.2%) had the lowest rate of female winners in its staggered elections. Meanwhile, Yukon (39.3%) was the closest to achieving overall gender parity in its municipal representation while the Northwest Territories (33.6%) had the highest proportion of female candidates. At this pace gender parity at the municipal level will not be realized for several decades.

Extant research on the Canadian and American contexts suggests the continuing over-representation of men on municipal councils will perpetuate an administrative mentality focused on issues of traditionally male concern, such as land development, business, and taxes. Decisions made by local governing bodies can shape the municipal environment in gendered ways (Preston and McLafferty, 1993; Saegert, 1988; Winckler, 1988). Municipal policy must not only consider the differing needs of women and men

but of different groups of women (Maillé, 1997; Peters, 2000). Caroline Andrew (1992, 1995, 2000) argues that a feminist city would take women's perspectives and needs into account when developing municipal services and infrastructure. For example, it would have an extensive transit system, social housing policy, and services designed to deal with and combat violence against women and children. She asserts that "[c]hanges in political personnel first help produce and accelerate changes in activity; this new activity helps stimulate further changes in political personnel. The increased number of women in municipal government is one of the factors underlying the growing link between the feminist agenda and municipal politics" (Andrew, 1992: 115). Evidence is slowly accumulating that female politicians are changing municipal policies, especially those addressing traditional female concerns relating to childcare and welfare programs (Boles, 2001; Bratton and Ray, 2002; Park, 2014; Smith, 2014; Svaleryd, 2009; Vanderleeuw, Sandovici, and Jarmon, 2011; Wangnerud and Sundell, 2012).

This study is interested in identifying the political communication strategies women candidates use to secure a council seat and, eventually, influence municipal policy. Do women differ from men in their approach to seeking news coverage and deploying Internet-based applications, paid advertising, and direct contact in their campaigns? What are women's motivations behind the use of the various communication techniques and do they vary significantly from the reasons proffered by men? In other words, when does gender matter in political communication?[2] One of the main conclusions of this dissertation is that candidates demonstrate few differences in their use of communication techniques. Women and men candidates are equally engaged in seeking news coverage and deploying Internet-based applications, paid advertising, and direct contact in their bid for electoral visibility. This finding establishes that gendered differences in electoral outcomes and news coverage are not because of different strategies or levels of effort on the part of women and men candidates. The gendered aspects of political communication are more likely to be found in the content of candidates' rhetoric.

WHY STUDY MUNICIPAL POLITICS?

The second major objective of this study is to determine when the municipal context matters to political communication. This research focus is necessary because of the ways in which municipal politics differs from federal and political politics. In Canada, federal and provincial candidates campaign in ridings of generally similar populations, if not necessarily similar in geographic size, and most often under a party banner. Candidates also campaign in a media environment in which their political party creates and controls their overall communications, due in large part to the fact that the news media is overwhelmingly focused on party leaders. In contrast, municipal candidates campaign in a much wider array of institutional, political, and media contexts (Marschall, Shah, and Ruhil, 2011). Political communication theories based on national politics and, to a much lesser extent provincial politics, should not automatically be exported from the national context to the municipal level. Only empirical research can determine which of these theories are viable in the municipal context and assist in the development of new ones tailored specifically for municipal political communication.

Municipal candidates are an ideal group to study in order to understand the role of gender in political communication. Political parties currently do not operate at the local level (Lightbody, 1971, 1999), with parts of Quebec and British Columbia as notable exceptions. When political parties are involved in civic elections, they are not the typical brands such as Conservatives or Liberals but civic parties based in a single community, such as the Urban Reform Group of Edmonton in the 1970s and 1980s (Sproule-Jones, 2007: 245), or organized around a mayoral candidate, as was the case in several municipal elections in Quebec in 2013. The general lack of parties is by design: local government was created to be non-partisan so as to protect the interests of the propertied classes (Magnuson, 1983).

Canadian municipal elections are about candidates, not political parties (Young and Austin, 2008). Candidates are solely in charge of developing the communication

strategies for their election campaigns. They choose their campaign colours, the layout of their lawn signs and billboards, and determine which messages to promote on their websites and in their brochures as well as what information they share with journalists. This autonomy gives women candidates the freedom to craft their own political messages without interference from political parties and whatever gender ideology they might assert. But it comes at a price. Candidates cannot rely on a party to shoulder the financial costs of creating a political brand and advertising it across a variety of mass media. Municipal candidates' freedom of choice is necessarily limited by the resources they have at their disposal.

Municipal politicians' communication habits are also important to study because of the low-information nature of many, though not all, municipal elections. Although speaking of the American context, Cindy D. Kam and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister note that "citizens are frequently asked to weigh in on races where the most effective piece of information—partisanship—is unavailable" (2013: 971-972). And regardless of whether or not the news media provide extensive coverage of local elections, individual candidates still need to compete for whatever media attention is available. This study identifies the extent to which municipal candidates rely on other communication techniques, such as Internet-based applications, paid advertising, and direct canvassing, to build a public profile. As a consequence, it provides insights into the quality of communicative democracy at the municipal level.

Municipal politics are also important to study because of the power that municipal governments wield. Like Parliaments, local governments are responsible for policy areas that directly affect the lives of citizens (Lev-On, 2012; Segaard and Nielsen, 2013). R.H. Wagenberg (1995) argues that citizens care as much about snow removal, garbage disposal, and sewer installation as they do about Senate reform, military purchases, and constitutional issues. How politicians use political communication to engage voters in local elections and, ideally, in discussions about local issues speak directly to the quality

of municipal democracy. Another major finding of this study is that Canadian municipal candidates maintain a strong commitment to democratic deliberation and see political communication as integral to fostering it:

> People need to be informed. People need to get information. People need to be able to be made aware of some of the decisions that city council makes. I don't think people really know very much about what happens at city hall. And that's unfortunate, because one of the reasons that I really like the municipal level of government is that you're really making decisions that make a tangible difference in people's day-to-day lives. (Female city candidate)

This power to shape the lives of Canadians makes one male city candidate all the more dismayed at the extent to which citizens take municipal government for granted. "I think our communities, our society, undervalues the importance of municipal government," he said in an interview. "There is usually a notoriously low turnout at the polls for municipal elections. And yet the irony is that the decisions that are made pretty much every week by city councils across the country are the ones that most profoundly and directly affect your day-to-day life." The state of municipal democracy and of municipal political communication therefore speaks to the quality of our democratic system as a whole (Strachan, 2003: 11).

Most research on political communication has replicated silence on municipal politics, focusing mostly on activities at the national level. Yet another benefit to studying local politics is the opportunity to study political communication in a variety of institutional, political, social, and electoral contexts (Marschall, Shah, and Ruhil, 2011). Since municipal councillors are by far the largest group of politicians in Canada, scholars can investigate the communication decisions of a significantly larger group of political actors than is possible at the federal or provincial levels (Lev-On, 2013). In other words, a large-N study is simply more feasible at the municipal level. This study takes advantage of this strength to offer an analysis of the communication choices and habits of a large number of candidates.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

The following chapters dissect different aspects of the political communication strategies of Canadian municipal politicians, with an eye to the role of gender and municipal context. Chapter 2 focuses on the linkages between candidate agency, gender, and municipal context in shaping electoral communication in Canada's non-partisan local politics. Specifically, I outline the motivations I expect to guide candidates' communication choices and explain how each communication technique can help them to achieve their goals. A key assumption of this dissertation is that media and public invisibility is a hurdle that both women and men municipal candidates must overcome, but that invisibility can have specific consequences for women.

Chapter 3 details the project's research design, including the challenges faced while collecting data on tens of thousands of municipal candidates across the country. I also explain the rationale behind using a survey and interviews to determine the manner in which candidates sought out media and public visibility and their impetus for doing so. In Chapter 4, I provide a detailed portrait of the personal, political, professional, and financial background of Canadian municipal candidates. In the process I identify several alternative factors that could also influence the approaches these candidates take to generating name recognition and building a public profile. These factors include incumbency, office sought, electoral viability, financial resources, volunteer background, years in municipal office, and candidates' personal characteristics such as age.

Chapter 5 reveals that, on average, Canadian municipal candidates do not receive extensive coverage of their campaign activities during the election. Local journalists appear to perform their basic democratic duty of informing voters, but some candidates wish they would show as much enthusiasm for covering municipal elections as they do for council activities. The evidence also indicates that city and non-city media approach candidate coverage from two vantage points: city media seem to use news values to decide who to cover while non-city media appear to cover all candidates equally effectively.

Chapter 6 on the role of Internet-based applications in municipal elections discovers it is the personal characteristics of candidates that are responsible for the high-tech nature of city campaigns. City candidates are significantly younger than candidates in towns, villages, and rural municipalities, and it is younger candidates who are more avid online campaigners. In contrast to social media, Chapter 7 concludes that political advertising in the form of brochures, lawn signs, media ads, and billboards are an integral aspect of local campaigns. However, comments from candidates reveal that voter preferences play a strong role in determining which form of paid advertising candidates can use.

In Chapter 8, I provide compelling evidence that Canadian municipal candidates remain dedicated to public debate about policy issues during an election. Almost all survey respondents indicated they engaged in some form of face-to-face contact with voters, with three-quarters knocking on doors. Finally, Chapter 9 reviews the major findings and discusses their implications for political science research.

COMMUNICATING POLITICS
THE ROLE OF GENDER AND LOCAL CONTEXT

2

Some people just toss their names in the ring, never knock on a door, never hand out anything, and just by word of mouth, you know, hope they'll get enough votes to get in. It's a really small town and, you know, people are related to each other. They've got families here and work colleagues, that kind of thing, and all of that counts. Which in some ways makes it difficult for someone like me who doesn't have those kinds of connections. I didn't live in this town for 30 years. I grew up here but I moved away.

— Female town candidate

INTRODUCTION

All competitive Canadian political parties generally follow the same communication strategy in an election: seek news coverage, air television commercials, run party Internet sites, erect street signs, and organize get-out-the-vote canvasses. Parties also create promotional materials such as standardized photographs and website templates for candidates to use in their local campaigns. These centralized branding efforts not only save candidates money and help build the party's public profile but they also give parties the ability to exert more control over communication at the riding level and to present a united front to voters and journalists (Fisher, Cutts, and Fieldhouse, 2011; Paré and Berger, 2008). Right-wing parties in particular have had issues in recent years with candidates going off-script in ways that raise questions about their policies and abilities to govern (Paré and Berger, 2008; Wingrove, 2012a, 2012b). The goal of party communications is, in essence, to encourage their supporters to head to the polls and to suppress—or at least not to boost—turnout among those of their opponents (Nielsen, 2012).

Political communication, however, is not so straightforward in Canada's non-partisan municipal elections. Civic candidates follow a variety of strategies when campaigning for votes. Some rely on public awareness of their family name or reputation to win a seat on council while some hope their work and volunteer connections, personal reputation, or incumbency will do the trick. Whether they have these advantages or not, many other

candidates make use of both traditional and modern communication techniques to solicit support. Which techniques they decide to use in their campaigns will depend on three factors: receptivity, effectiveness, and affordability. Candidates need to figure out which techniques local voters will tolerate, which of the remaining ones they believe will work for them, and which ones they can actually afford to use. Not every community will put up with the clutter of lawn signs and most municipal candidates can neither afford nor benefit from television ads. These restrictions shape the nature and extent of political communication at the municipal level. For instance, a female mayoral candidate interviewed for this study said people in her town viewed press releases as a "little too posh," so she opted to speak to journalists in person and contacted voters by phone to talk about local issues in her recent campaign.

This dissertation explores the linkages between candidate agency, gender, and municipality type in shaping electoral communication in Canadian municipal politics. The goal is to understand the gendered and municipal dimensions of politicians' communication choices in a context where political parties and journalists do not act as gatekeepers to elected office. With the exception of parts of Quebec and British Columbia, the non-partisan nature of Canadian municipal elections means political parties do not take charge of candidate communications. Municipal politicians are responsible for their own communications. They of course need to contend with journalists, but not necessarily to the same degree as their national or provincial counterparts. Some local news organizations devote minimal resources to covering municipal elections, offering little more than a simple account of who ran, what office they stood for, and who won. So by their own choice, some journalists have few opportunities to trigger traditional gender stereotypes in municipal election coverage that could lead to questions about whether women belong in politics, an ongoing concern of feminist research on national election coverage.

The dual municipal and gender focus of this study results in two main arguments. First, I assert that municipal candidates in general, and women candidates in particular,

use political communication to generate media and public visibility during an election. As political independents, municipal candidates must develop their own public visibility and image. Their interactions with journalists and voters and their use of the Internet and paid advertising will be geared toward making their political identities and platforms more visible to voters. Campaign communications thus have a direct bearing on both the quantity and quality of information that voters have about the political options before them in a municipal election. Candidates who discuss their qualifications and policy ideas across several communication platforms provide voters with *more opportunities* to acquire political information than those candidates who do less to promote themselves. Likewise, council hopefuls who discuss their candidacies in greater detail, in whatever format, provide voters with *more extensive* political information on which to base their decisions. Candidate use of communication techniques therefore has the potential to shape the nature and quality of communicative democracy at the municipal level.

Second, I argue that women politicians will make similar communication choices—from message topics to transmission techniques—as their male counterparts when the threat of gender stereotypes undermining their candidacy is largely absent. Municipality type and office sought matter here. Larger news media industries in the cities mean women candidates, especially those seeking to become mayor, might need to account for the role of gender stereotypes in their campaign communications. Meanwhile, more limited news industries in smaller municipalities reduce, but do not necessarily eliminate, the likelihood that gender will play a role in political discourse in those electoral environments, providing women politicians with greater flexibility to make communication choices that reflect their personal preferences, political circumstances, and electoral context rather than their gender.

In this chapter, I present the conceptual framework guiding this study of the role of gender and municipal context in political communication in Canada. I begin by considering the purposes to which candidates put political communication in elections before outlining,

from a municipal perspective, the potential benefits of the various means of communication. I then discuss the issue of media visibility, a particular issue for municipal candidates who cannot rely on parties to craft or disseminate key messages. The third section examines the unique features of Canadian municipal politics and local news industries that can complicate the choices candidates make when deciding how to reach voters. I conclude by reiterating the two main hypotheses to be empirically tested in subsequent chapters.

THE POLITICS OF COMMUNICATION

Political communication is the circulatory system of the democratic body politic. It is the conduit through which politicians, journalists, voters, and other interested parties share facts, news, knowledge, ideas, and views on the pressing issues of the day (Norris, 2000; Perloff, 1998; Tuman, 2008) and, as such, is used for both informative and persuasive ends. From an academic perspective, it is a field of study that "is concerned with communication and its role in political processes, systems and institutions" (Sanders, 2009: 19). Many scholars specifically examine the role of communication in elections. Judith S. Trent and her colleagues assert that political communication is "communication that occupies the area between the goals or aspirations of the candidate and the behaviour of the electorate, just as it serves as the bridge between the dreams or hopes of the voter and the actions of the candidate" (Trent, Friedenberg, and Denton, Jr., 2011: 16). Extant research usually focuses on national politics. But as Richard M. Perloff correctly asserts, "political communication occurs in a context, in a particular country or society that has developed a complex and distinctive economic, legal, and social structure" (1998: 10-11). This dissertation demonstrates that candidates' communication choices are not only shaped by their personal circumstances but also by the municipal context in which they campaign. This, in turn, can lead to a greater variety of competitive communication styles at the municipal level than at the national level. One of the aims of this chapter is thus to identify the unique characteristics of political communication in the municipal context.

In addition to a focus on elections, many scholars in this field share the expectation that political communication be used to facilitate citizens' political participation (Dahlgren, 2009). This normative commitment has motivated several empirical studies examining the link between media use and political participation rates (Bachmann and de Zuniga, 2013; Bucy and Gregson, 2001; Shehata, 2010). Perloff argues that political communication is a key component of a well-functioning democracy, even if it is not always properly used:

> In an ideal world, elites would use the communication media to inform and influence people, helping them improve their lot in life, and to also put aside their personal interests to work for the common good. In an ideal world, the news media would be a positive force, helping people comprehend political issues more deeply and critically. In an ideal world, the public would be enriched and invigorated by its participation in the political communication process. Of course, realities fall short of the ideals. (Perloff, 1998: 12)

This tension between democratic ideals and political realities is apparent in much of the literature on political communication. It will become clear in subsequent chapters that, the instrumental aspects of communication strategies aside, some Canadian municipal candidates place a strong emphasis on drawing voters into a dialogue about pressing local issues. The information and views exchanged as part of these discussions have the potential to improve public knowledge about politics and political issues, while talking with politicians and other individuals about municipal matters could encourage citizens to become more politically engaged.

It is not unusual, in fact, for municipal politicians to use political communication for both instrumental and democratic purposes. In 2014, newly elected Edmonton Mayor Don Iveson used the Internet and traditional paid advertising to successfully lobby the Alberta government for $600 million to fund expansion of the city's light rail transit (LRT) system. His call for Edmontonians to join the city's lobbying efforts was a notable feature of this campaign. LRT supporters provided testimonials in favour of expansion in two videos posted on the city's official YouTube site, including one featuring Iveson speaking with LRT supporters on trains and at stations. Iveson also encouraged residents to use the Twitter

hashtag #yeg4lrt to add their voice to calls for provincial and federal funding for the LRT.[1] The website *www.4lrt.com* acted as a clearinghouse for information, including featuring the latest tweets. Iveson's campaign not only informed residents about a transportation issue facing the city but also persuaded many of them to help achieve his policy goal.

THE RAMIFICATIONS OF VISIBILITY

For municipal politicians whose goal is to win a council seat rather than achieve a particular policy outcome, visibility is key to electoral success. Unlike their federal or provincial counterparts, municipal candidates cannot rely on the reputations of political parties such as the Liberals or Conservatives, both of which have been on the federal scene in one form or another since Confederation. Municipal candidates must start from scratch when first seeking local office, unless they have held higher office. They need to make themselves known to voting members of their community. As Jay Bryant notes, "Name identification is critical because very few voters will vote for a candidate whose name they do not recognize. Indeed, most people will vote for a candidate they know and do not like if they have never heard of the opponent, and if they do not recognize either name, many voters will simply not vote at all for that office" (1995: 90). Municipal candidates in general, and women candidates in particular, therefore have a strong impetus to generate public visibility.

In addition to building voter support, public attention confers on individuals an acknowledgement of their right to be actors in the public sphere (Brighenti, 2007). One of the main functions of the news media is to tell the public about the most important issues and personalities of the day, so those subjects that get covered receive a public legitimacy that they might not otherwise have had. Visibility is thus another form of the news media's agenda-setting power: the fact that journalists have reported on a subject alerts their audience to its importance and, by extension, to the need to know what it is about (Iyengar and Simon, 1993; Ross, 2002). Those subjects that do not attract media

attention are rendered invisible and marginalized in public discourse. They simply do not matter as political actors.

The political consequences of invisibility drive scholarly investigations of the presence or absence of women in the news media (Adcock, 2010; Burke and Mazzarella, 2008; Freedman, Fico, and Love, 2007; Gingras, 1995; Ross, Evans, Harrison, Shears, and Wadia, 2013; Stanley, 2012; Tuchman, 1978). Falk argues that "by ignoring women…, the press may amplify the impression that women do not belong in the political sphere and it may minimize the potential effects of women as role models" (2008: 5). Research suggests girls who see women compete for public office are more inclined to get politically involved themselves (Campbell and Wolbrecht, 2006). The invisibility of women politicians could thus hamper efforts to improve the numerical and substantive representation of women in politics.

The power of public attention goes beyond just recognition, however (Lester and Hutchins, 2012). Political actors can use public visibility to solicit other parties for human and financial resources to further their activities. Social movements have seen their membership numbers and membership fee revenue increase as their public visibility increases (Barker-Plummer, 2002), while politicians have been able to boost their name recognition, donations, and votes (Heith, 2001; Hopmann, Vliegenthart, de Vreese, and Albaek, 2010; Krebs, 1998). Once a political actor has achieved prominence, visibility can become its own resource. News coverage often begets more news coverage (Koopmans, 2004; Ross, Evans, Harrison, Shears, and Wadia, 2013) and, as noted above, politicians need this attention to build voter support. Extant research on political parties found that the less public prominence a party has, the less likely citizens are to vote for them (Blais, Gidengil, Fournier, and Nevitte, 2009). Likewise, candidates who do not appear regularly in news stories during an election cannot become known to voters and might suffer for it at the ballot box (Bryant, 1995; Jenkins, 1999). Todd L. Belt and colleagues add that media and public invisibility can make it harder for political hopefuls to get donations, "magnif[ying]

the effect of money in elections" (Belt, Just, and Crigler, 2012: 345). Fundraising has been a particular, though lessening, issue for women politicians (Jenkins, 2007). Public visibility therefore does not just lend credibility to women as political actors but potential material support as well.

Tied up with concrete resources such as money and votes are intangible factors such as perceptions of electability. Public visibility can help create the impression that a municipal candidate has a strong chance of winning an election and is therefore worthy of support. But the power of visibility is about more than just numbers (Roberts, Roberts, O'Neill, and Blake-Beard, 2008). For example, news coverage of national elections is heavily focused on the horse race: the placing of candidates in polls, the amount of money raised, and the strategic moves of the main competitors (Lawrence, 2000; Mendelsohn, 1993). Viability assessments are a common feature of political reporting, though they are not as prominent at the municipal level (Wagner, 2014). Depending upon their tone, these evaluations can help or hinder candidates in building momentum for their campaign (Belt, Just, and Crigler, 2012).

Municipal candidates who are widely seen as viable municipal leaders should find it easier to generate additional donations, volunteers, and votes. Coming full circle, though, electoral viability also leads to perceptions of competency and political legitimacy. David E. Campbell and Christina Wolbrecht argue that "[v]isibility suggests that a woman's campaign is sufficiently viable and the office sufficiently important that the woman is viewed as a credible politician, rather than a powerless, not serious, or a token" (2006: 235). Media attention to competitive women candidates therefore contains within it the possibility of expanding, reconstituting, or subverting notions of who is a competent political actor. Media and public visibility provides women politicians with a platform to bring their ideas, experiences, and perspectives to bear on the issues of the day (Trimble, 1995a). The gendered consequence of invisibility is therefore to increase voter awareness of male politicians while obscuring female politicians.

The most important aspect of public visibility, though, might be its ability to enhance the power of individuals to intervene in political affairs by giving them a platform to promote their views or preferred actions (Lester and Hutchins, 2012). John B. Thompson said individuals can use their visibility to "call attention to one's situation or to advance one's cause" but that they can never be in control of the "words and images that circulate in the public domain" (2005: 49). Coverage of their policy ideas or public comments enables women politicians to participate in public discourses. Research has found that women politicians often, but not always, receive less issue coverage than their male counterparts (Aday and Devitt, 2001; Devitt, 2002; Falk, 2008; Hinojosa, 2010; Kahn, 1994a, 1994b). Visibility enables aspiring women and men municipal candidates to participate in public discourses and, ideally, to reshape them.

Yet while municipal candidates need public visibility to improve their electoral chances, it is not easy to accomplish during a four-week municipal campaign. Many municipal candidates advertise their names on street signs and in newspapers ads and flyers, but that is often not enough. Some political hopefuls start working on their public visibility years in advance of an election, getting involved with community organizations and civic projects. Candidates interviewed for this study agreed that volunteerism is an important way for future council candidates to become known to the community. An incumbent female candidate believes her volunteer work was key to winning her first campaign for local office: "You're coming from nowhere. So if you have no community, you've never been in the paper, you never got anything, you've got very little to sell yourself on or to build your credibility on." An incumbent male candidate admits he had a natural advantage because he was born and raised in the city—many residents know him personally—but he insists newcomers can catch up by taking high-profile positions with local boards or groups that attract media attention.

Yet even with his natural advantage, the city councillor still puts a lot of effort into maintaining his public visibility. He seeks regular news coverage of his council activities,

which he believes "will stand me in good stead for the next [election], if I choose to run. I will certainly be one of the more visible of those who are out there." These candidates' comments demonstrate that public visibility can be achieved by a variety of means but it cannot be accomplished quickly. Individuals interested in seeking, or holding on to, elected office need to carefully build name recognition over a long period of time.

THE DISSEMINATION OF CAMPAIGN MESSAGES

Yet name recognition is only one component of a successful political communication strategy. The candidate's name also needs to mean something. A male candidate for deputy mayor said volunteering not only makes someone visible in the community but "shows where your values are as well, and what you can bring to the table in your negotiating skills. There are a lot of things it brings out in you." In essence, volunteering helps prospective candidates establish a public *image*.

Candidates also use campaign messages to create a favourable public image. Ideally, candidates would tell voters who they are as individuals and prospective leaders, what skills they have, what their stances are on local issues, and what they will do once in office. But the reality is that candidates carefully decide which topics to highlight and which ones to avoid in a bid to distinguish themselves from their competitors and appeal to voters. Many candidates see value in trumpeting their professional or political qualifications for office.

Once candidates have decided on the public image they wish to project, they need to disseminate the necessary messages to voters. Speaking of the American context, Bryant notes that this challenge is far greater for municipal candidates than it is for their national counterparts: "Candidates seeking offices below the presidency must bear in mind that the public will form its image of them on the basis of far less evidence than what they have in the presidential case. Therefore, candidates must work all the harder to make sure that one clear, consistent image is portrayed" (Bryant, 1995: 93). The news media are not always a

viable option for transmitting campaign messages at the municipal level. Not only are the news media reducing coverage of politics (Bimber, 2003) but they have their own priorities that can conflict with those of candidates (Ansolabehere and Iyengar, 1995). The need for candidates to use other means of communications to share information with voters is one reason why this dissertation focuses on the full range of political communication activities of municipal candidates rather than just their interactions with journalists.

THE TECHNIQUES OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Candidates serious about securing a political position devote a considerable amount of time and resources to developing the messages they wish to send to prospective voters and the means by which they intend to convey them. Small-town municipal candidates are well positioned to take advantage of traditional outreach techniques including door knocking, participating in debates, and attending community events. While candidates in the cities also engage in direct contact, the greater number of voters in many of these municipalities means candidates would be wise to devise a communication strategy that takes advantage of various means of mass communication. Figure 2.1 illustrates the conduits that municipal candidates can use to share information with voters during an election.

A communication strategy is understood here as a plan for sending, giving, or exchanging information and/or ideas. This plan consists of six components: message, information, technology, tactics, timing, and frequency. Candidates usually begin by determining the main themes of their campaign and develop a slogan to convey those themes. One female candidate in the 2010 Edmonton municipal election used the slogan "Working Hard for You in Ward 2," while another female candidate used "Ready to Work.... Ready to Listen." A candidate must also give careful consideration to the information she wishes to highlight or downplay. Many women opt not to include photographs of their family in campaign materials to "show voters that they are more than wives and mothers and to dismiss any concerns voters may have over their abilities to serve in political office due to

Figure 2.1: Model of political communication in Canadian municipal elections

family obligations" (Bystrom, Banwart, Kaid, and Robertson, 2004: 43-44). Likewise, some women candidates choose to emphasize issues traditionally associated with men as well as those typically viewed as of concern to women in their campaign so the news media will report their opinions in discussions of so-called "male" issues (Bystrom, Banwart, Kaid, and Robertson, 2004).

In addition to deciding upon a campaign platform, a candidate must choose which technologies to use in disseminating it. The means of mass communication at his disposal include the news media, Internet-based applications, and paid advertising, and each one requires a candidate to use specific tactics, or communicative acts, in order to make full use of them. The timing of these acts of communication can also assist a candidate in shaping his press coverage or in building momentum for his campaign. To sustain that momentum until election day, he will need to frequently draw attention to his candidacy and platform through regular interactions with reporters, online updates, and issuance of campaign materials. Each means of mass communication, however, is quite distinct in terms of its technologies and practices. Thus, a candidate's communication strategy will include individual approaches for dealing with the news media, Internet-based applications, and paid advertising.

News media: The news media consist of a group of organizations involved in transmitting current affairs, opinions, advice, advertising, and other information to an audience by means of print or broadcasting. Technologies include newspapers, television, radio, and magazines, although which ones are available to a candidate will depend on the

structure of the media industry in a particular ward or riding. A news media strategy is a plan for dealing with these different types of news media, as well as specific news outlets and/or individual journalists. A candidate can maintain regular contact with journalists through news releases announcing her position on an issue, press conferences or scrums to speak with a large number of journalists on that issue, and news advisories to notify journalists of upcoming events. She can also offer photo opportunities to give newspapers and television the visuals they need to accompany election coverage, or stage media stunts to generate that coverage in the first place. At a more basic level, she can get noticed by passing along story ideas to specific journalists, such as the city hall reporter or the public affairs columnist at the daily newspaper.

Politicians therefore rely on the news media to act as one of the major conduits through which they can share information, receive feedback, or seek support. This expectation is based on the assumption that one of the news media's primary tasks is to provide their audiences with a steady stream of political news. It is hoped citizens will use this information to make informed decisions about whether or not to support political actors and their initiatives, policies, and activities. But candidates face a challenge in getting journalists to cover the issues they want in the manner they want (Ansolabehere and Iyengar, 1995). Journalists are not simple stenographers. They make choices about what to cover and how to cover it, giving the news media the power "to shape reputation and image, set the agenda and frame narratives about politics" (Sanders, 2009: 32). Their power is not uncontested. Both "politicians and journalists seek to frame public understandings of events, define them in their terms, emphasizing certain elements of the story at the expense of others to ensure their preferred reading of what is going on" (Sanders, 2009: 104-105). This tension can be even more basic, with politicians' desire for any news coverage clashing with journalists' desire to cover a story of interest to their audience (Dunn, 1995). These two groups always compete over ideas, reputations, and images, but this conflict is most apparent during elections.

Internet-based applications: Many scholars see the Internet as an alternative to dealing with the news media's agenda. It is a new venue through which candidates can directly reach voters without relinquishing control over their message (Postelnicu, Martin, and Landreville, 2006). Scholars are especially interested in the political potential of social media, which are designed to foster interaction among people, groups, and organizations. Benefits of this technology are both democratic and practical: social media enables direct communication between campaigns and voters and permits information about a candidate to be transmitted cheaply (Carlson and Djupsund, 2001). Popular online tools include blogs; microblogging sites such as Twitter; social networking sites such as Facebook; video-sharing platforms such as YouTube; and photo-sharing sites such as Flickr. Other Internet-based applications include websites and email. A candidate's Internet strategy is essentially a plan for using these applications.

As with political communication in general, Internet research focuses on how and why national politicians and political parties use social media platforms during elections (Gibson, Nixon, and Ward, 2003; Ward, Owen, Davis, and Taras, 2008; Small, 2004, 2007, 2008b, 2010a, 2010b), especially in light of Barack Obama's phenomenally successful digital media strategy during his victorious campaign for the American presidency in 2008 (Hendricks and Denton, Jr., 2010). A handful of scholars are investigating municipal e-politicking and have generally found candidates to be slowly, but increasingly, adopting Internet-based applications for their political activities (Hagar, 2014; Kalnes, 2009; Lev-On, 2011, 2012, 2013; Saglie and Vabo, 2009; Segaard and Nielsen, 2013; Wright, 2008; Yannas and Lappas, 2005, 2006). American research suggests that women politicians in particular can use social media to present voters with a more gender-neutral portrait of their candidacies than they can through the news media (Banwart, 2006; Bystrom, Banwart, Kaid, and Robertson, 2004). Although Internet-based applications have much potential, their use in campaigns is still relatively new as politicians approach them cautiously until the full ramifications of each one is better understood. For example, many politicians have

shied away from using blogs, defined as frequently updated online journals. Blogs can help politicians share their thoughts on the issues of the day or keep supporters informed of their activities, but blogs can also be time-consuming to maintain and leave politicians vulnerable to unwanted attacks from the public and unwanted press coverage from the news media (Small, 2008a; Wright, 2009).

Paid advertising: The most traditional form of mass media used by candidates is paid media. Paid media consist of billboards, posters, lawn signs, brochures, newspaper ads, television ads, radio spots, and other means of direct advertising. In this context, an advertising strategy is a plan for using paid media in order to sell voters on the candidate. The main function of this form of communication is to build name recognition among voters, so campaign materials will typically emphasize the candidate's last name, as the ballot lists it first and/or prints it in all capitals. The emphasis on the candidate's last name is especially important in Canada's non-partisan municipal context. Council hopefuls cannot put a party name, colour, or logo on their street signs or brochures, nor can they insert a party label beside their name on the ballot to create instant visibility. Voters need to be able to spot the candidate's own name if the latter is to have any chance at getting elected.

While paid advertising can help all candidates generate public visibility, it may pose specific problems for women candidates. Television advertising is one area where women candidates must carefully negotiate societal expectations regarding gender: these 15- or 30-second spots transmit a great deal of verbal and non-verbal information to viewers. In the case of the U.S. Democratic presidential primaries in 2008, Mary Christine Banwart and colleagues found Hillary Clinton used her television ads to balance the need "to meet the expectations of this traditionally masculine position of the presidency … while also meeting society's expectations of what it means to be a female in the public sphere" (Banwart, Winfrey, and Schnoebelen, 2009: 149). Because of their expense, both in terms of production and airtime, television commercials are mainly the purview of politicians and political parties at the national or provincial levels. Brochures are the closest municipal

equivalent. These one-sheet handouts typically provide brief details about a candidate's personal life, qualifications for office, policy ideas, and a photo or two. Women politicians can use brochures and other forms of paid advertising to construct a more gender-neutral image of themselves (Larson, 2001) than is currently possible through the news media.

Direct contact: One of the oldest and enduring forms of political communication is direct contact between political actors and citizens. Arguably the form that best lives up to the ideals of deliberative democracy, face-to-face meetings give candidates and voters the opportunity to share information and debate opinions on the pressing issues of the day without interference from third parties such as journalists. Voters can use the encounter to help shape how future legislators view or address a policy issue, while candidates can use it to shape citizens' policy preferences or, at a basic level, to build a personal rapport with voters (Bergan, Gerber, Green, and Panagopoulos, 2005). Many politicians are convinced that direct contact has an electoral impact (Hooghe and Vissers, 2008; Nielsen, 2012) and, "in certain competitive situations," a traditional campaign that includes grassroots activities "can offset the power of money, incumbency, and a large field of contenders" (Lariscy, Tinkham, Edwards, and Jones, 2004: 493). In other words, direct contact can help level the electoral playing field for candidates who do not have substantial resources to wage a campaign. While canvassing door to door remains a popular method of direct contact, this study discovers that some Canadian municipal candidates are experimenting with new techniques such as neighbourhood walks, charity clean-ups, and open houses in a bid to reach more voters in person.

Face-to-face interaction with voters gives women candidates, in particular, the greatest opportunity to exert control over the terms of political engagement. American research on low-information elections—which municipal elections often are—suggests that voters will rely on demographic cues such as gender and race when determining the policy positions of candidates (McDermott, 1998). Women candidates can use personal contact to provide voters with enough information about their qualifications and policy ideas to

reduce, and perhaps even eliminate, the role of gender stereotypes in voting decisions. By standing in front of voters, women candidates can respond to any questions or concerns individual voters might have about their candidacy or ideas.

I offer one final point about communication techniques. As scholars, we need to be careful that we do not to allow our enthusiasm for new forms of political communication to lead us to overlook or underestimate the continuing value of older forms. Rasmus Kleis Nielsen correctly asserts that new communication techniques such as Internet-based applications do not replace older ones so much as become one of many tools available to candidates in their ongoing struggle to secure votes:

> Different practices of political communication seem to coexist and to be mixed and matched by campaigns on the basis of their own perceived interests, the ideas and know-how they have, the resources at their disposal, and the communications environment around them. (Nielsen, 2012: 17)

I therefore expect Canadian municipal candidates to select—and reject—communication techniques based on which ones local voters will tolerate, which ones they believe will help them win, and which ones they can afford to use. Their communication strategies will also depend on the specific municipal context in which they campaign, to which we now turn.

THE POLITICS OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Each electoral environment is comprised of a unique mixture of political structures, actors, local culture, news industry configuration, and financial regulations. Together they shape the opportunities for and obstacles to effective political communication. The federal and provincial contexts certainly pose their own communication challenges, but they share key characteristics that can lead to similar communication practices: they are party-focused, with political parties in charge of campaign messages and communication choices and with many of the same party brands (and, by extension, party ideologies) operating at both levels of government; they use a single-member plurality electoral system

for all of their seats; and they have extensive and complex news media sectors that cover their activities. In contrast, municipal politics is mostly non-partisan and candidate-focused with variation in municipality types, electoral systems, new media industries, and financial requirements. Candidates have sole discretion over how they campaign and will likely tailor their communication strategies to suit their specific municipal environment. The existence of diverse electoral contexts at the local level suggests municipal candidates will demonstrate a greater range of communication choices than their federal or provincial counterparts.

Municipality environment

One factor shaping the municipal environment is the type of municipality in which a candidate campaigns. Municipalities range from metropolitan areas and cities to towns, villages, and rural districts, but considerable variation exists within each category. For example, while Toronto and Edmonton are both large cities, the former is considerably greater in size both in terms of geography and population than the latter. Studying American small-town elections, J. Eric Oliver (2012) argues that we can theorize about democratic politics at each level of government as long as we attend to the size of its constituency, the full scope of its powers, and the extent of bias exhibited in the distribution of resources among its members. For example, the type of candidate—an ideological or civic-minded individual—who runs for elected office will depend a great deal on where the government falls on these three dimensions. Oliver notes that size plays a role in how candidates communicate with voters. Candidates need fewer votes in smaller places and voters are much more likely to already know them, making personal reputation and direct contact central to communication strategies. But as municipalities grow in size, he argues that "the number of votes needed to win elections also grows and mandates a change in campaign strategy, because candidates will need to find conduits to larger number of voters" (2012: 20). And those voters are likely to be less knowledgeable about local candidates, especially if they are challengers. In this study, I use municipality type—mainly city or non-city—

as an imperfect measure of government size. Like Oliver, I expect candidates in larger municipalities to make greater use of the mass media to solicit votes than those in smaller municipalities.

Non-partisan environment

Political parties normally play a major role in shaping electoral communication in Canada. At the party-centred federal and provincial levels, the party leader and advisors are responsible for devising the party's campaign strategies, determining which messages the party and its candidates will focus on in an election and the manner in which those messages will be relayed to voters. This centralization of campaign communications in party-based systems is made possible—and necessary—by the tendency of voters to use a candidate's party affiliation, rather than other characteristics such as gender, to determine how to cast their ballot (Goodyear-Grant, 2010). Many people vote for a party, not a candidate. But municipal candidates do not necessarily need a party's help to gain votes. Oliver argues that political parties are not likely to emerge in municipal politics because aggregating public preferences is less challenging in small(er) jurisdictions:

> "A political party or formal interest group is simply unnecessary when a single candidate can directly contact all the voters and ask for their support. But when a political leader wants to rally thousands or millions of supporters, direct contact is simply unfeasible, and so an organization that mobilizes and coordinates political activists becomes a necessity." (Oliver 2012: 18)

Furthermore, Oliver asserts that municipal candidates only need a small number of votes to win a council seat and they can often gain them through their existing personal contacts.

News media environment

As with campaign communications, the presence or absence of political parties can influence the shape of the news media environment candidates encounter during an election campaign. Newspaper chains routinely centralize the production of federal election

coverage, with a few journalists assigned to follow the party leaders as they criss-cross the country and a few editors assigned to lay out the election pages to be included in the print editions of most, if not all, papers in the chain. This procedure, either in whole or in part, is repeated on a smaller scale for provincial elections where such opportunities exist. In both instances local reporters are left to write candidate profiles and to cover any on-the-spot news stories emerging from the riding campaigns. The result of this consolidation of media resources is an increased focus on the activities of the party and, in particular, those of the party leader. Individual candidates have a difficult time attracting sustained media attention in federal and provincial elections.

Few opportunities exist to consolidate news coverage of municipal elections. Stories about municipal politics are only of interest to local news audiences—except on those occasions when something bizarre, unusual, or potentially illegal happens to make it of interest to a wider audience, such as the storied career of Rob Ford during his tenure as mayor of Toronto (Doolittle, 2014). Daily newspapers, in particular, are usually limited to sharing stories and/or pages on election night, when additional editorial space is made available to include election roundups from neighbouring municipalities as well as from the province's major cities. Local production of election news and the absence of political parties, and party leaders, theoretically give municipal candidates a greater chance to capture news coverage.

The media environment is also shaped by the nature of the news media industry covering an election. A news media industry is comprised of all of the news outlets operating in a particular jurisdiction, and can include everything from newspapers and radio stations to television networks, magazines, and the Internet. In a federal or provincial election, every single news outlet in the territory—from rural newspapers to network news programs—is a potential avenue through which political parties can reach voters.

The news industry covering municipal elections varies according to the size of the community. Figure 2.2 illustrates the potential components of a local media industry

Figure 2.2: Potential components of news media industry in individual municipalities

```
                    Magazines
                   Radio stations
                   Weekly papers
Candidate                                    Voter
                  Daily newspapers
                 Television stations
                   Internet sites
```
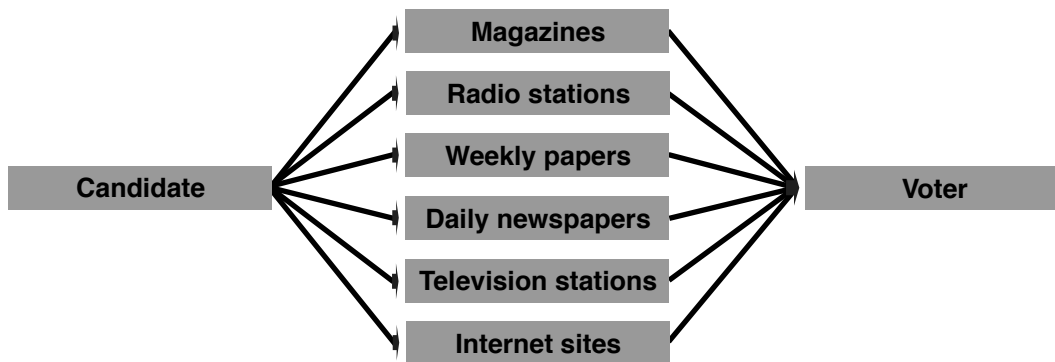
and their relationship to candidates and voters. Candidates seeking a seat in large cities such as Toronto have a mixture of newspapers, television stations, radio stations, and magazines from which to solicit news coverage, while candidates seeking a spot on a town council typically rely on a weekly newspaper to get the message out to voters they cannot reach through direct means such as door knocking. Candidates do not even have that in some villages and rural areas. The configuration and complexity of the local news media industry will therefore help shape the communication strategies of candidates. Individuals campaigning in small communities with few news outlets will likely rely on paid advertising and direct contact with voters, while those in larger communities with multiple news outlets can make the news media a major part of their communication efforts.

Electoral environment

The electoral system and office sought also shape communication choices. Both the federal and provincial governments partition their territory into a series of ridings and use a single-member plurality electoral system (also known as first-past-the-post) to elect a member from each riding to their respective legislative bodies. Elections feature a handful of candidates in each riding, with media and public attention typically focused on those candidates representing the major political parties. Only one person can win each seat, and the leader of the party with the most seats becomes the head of government. The use of

a single electoral system for all seats enables parties to devise an overall communications strategy for the country or province, with modifications to suit the local circumstances of each region or riding. More importantly, the winner-takes-all nature of the single-member plurality system puts pressure on parties and their candidates to pursue an aggressive strategy against opponents that can manifest itself in the form of negative campaigning and attack ads.

Canadian municipal governments use one of three electoral systems: at-large, ward, or mixed. At-large systems allow voters to cast a ballot for each council position, ward systems divide the municipality into districts and allow citizens to only vote for their district representative(s), and mixed systems have a combination of at-large and district seats (MacManus, 1999; McAllister, 2004; Tindal and Tindal, 1995; Trounstine and Valdini, 2008; Williams, 1999; Zimmerman, 1999). Mayors are typically elected in a municipality-wide vote regardless of the system used for the other council spots. Reeves are typically selected by municipal council after the election (Lightbody, 2006).

That only one seat is available means mayoral and ward contests can be every bit as adversarial and negative as federal and provincial elections (Doolittle, 2014; Farrell, 1998; Geiger, 1995; Tanner, 1995). Regular council contests decided by an at-large vote could encourage a more conciliatory—or, at least, a less aggressive—approach to campaigning since candidates compete for one of several seats. If six council seats are available, candidates only need to convince voters to make their name one of the six checked off on the ballot (Zimmerman, 1999). It might be more advantageous in this environment to be respectful toward one's opponents and focus on promoting oneself.

Teamwork is particularly important in a non-partisan environment devoid of party discipline. Like the territorial governments of Nunavut and the Northwest Territories (Clancy 2001; White, 2008), many local councils operate on the basis of consensus. One northern candidate interviewed for this study noted that he deliberately stayed away from attacking his opponents and the territorial government during the election for both philosophical and

strategic reasons:

> It's just because my view is that we need to set the tone. That kind of negative tone would potentially jeopardize a positive working relationship moving forward. And my approach has always been about vision, it's been about the long term, it's been about value to the community. Okay, you can get some votes if you want to by throwing eggs at all sorts of topics. But you know what? Over the longer term you're just damaging your capacity and your government's capacity to get things done.

He said he often promoted other candidates during the campaign if he believed they also deserved voters' support. Highly adversarial elections would make it more difficult for the winning candidates to build a positive working relationship on municipal council.

Electoral systems also pose practical issues for political communication because of how they aggregate voters in a municipality. Candidates running in at-large systems must appeal to the entire electorate for support, necessitating a large expenditure of money on promotional materials such as lawn signs, brochures, media adverts, and social media sites (Still and Richie, 1999) and a considerable amount of time spent knocking on doors, attending community events, and generally pressing the flesh with as many voters as possible. The geographical size of the municipality and the numerical size of the electorate will determine the extent to which candidates need to roll out a sophisticated communication plan. In contrast, candidates seeking a ward seat only need to concentrate on a portion of the electorate (Still and Richie, 1999). That means fewer lawn signs, brochures, ads, and social media sites, if any. Direct contact with voters will still consume a considerable amount of time, but ward candidates should find it easier to reach many of their voters this way than their at-large counterparts (Oliver, 2012).

A second electoral factor that could influence communication choices is the type of office to which a candidate aspires. All federal and provincial politicians, including party leaders, seek the exact same job—to be a member of Parliament or legislative assembly. Most municipal councils have two types of positions: mayor and councillor. In Canada, most mayors do not possess powers beyond that of other members of council (Lightbody,

2006; Masson with LeSage Jr., 1994), but the social capital they earn from being directly elected by all eligible voters make them the de facto leaders of their communities. As a result, mayors are expected to provide political leadership on pressing issues and to act as the municipality's top political representative both within and outside the community. Their greater prestige and soft power in relation to their council colleagues typically leads citizens and journalists to be more interested in mayoral contests, especially in the major cities, where the resources and influence of local government tend to be the greatest. Interest in mayoral contests is further heightened because of a need to rationalize resources. News organizations have limited space and staff with which to cover the many candidates seeking municipal office, while citizens might have limited time, interest, and/or willingness to seek out information about all candidates. It is easier to follow in-depth the activities of a few mayoral hopefuls than those of scores of council aspirants, even in the cities.

More intense public scrutiny of their campaigns might spur mayoral candidates to craft a communication strategy that seems more "presidential" than those of council candidates: they might place more emphasis on leadership skills, political experience, ties with other governments, and community-wide issues in their campaign messages; they may make greater use of promotional tools such as billboards, advertisements, and social media sites not only to reach the entire electorate but also to project an image of strength and viability. Their goal is, of course, to portray themselves as effective leaders. Candidates aspiring to become a regular councillor do not face the same set of expectations and this could lead to a different emphasis in their campaign communications. For example, they might highlight skills and experiences demonstrating an ability to work collaboratively as part of a team. And they might use fewer, and more traditional, promotional tools such as brochures and lawn signs since they can get elected with less voter support than their mayoral counterparts in either an at-large system or their council colleagues in a ward-based system. Again, differences in strategies could be mitigated by municipality size (Oliver, 2012). Both mayoral and council candidates in the cities are likely to incorporate

social media into their campaigns because of the sheer size of the electorate, even in individual wards; door knocking and traditional advertising will not be enough to build name recognition.

Competitive environment

Although by no means specific to the municipal context, candidates need to consider their incumbency status when deciding how—or even whether—to communicate with voters. Incumbents already have a certain amount of name recognition on account of having won at least one election, and it will only grow with each term in office. Challengers usually have less of a public profile. One exception would be councillors who decide to make a bid for the mayor's job. Oliver argues that incumbency is a major advantage in local elections because of the managerial nature of municipal governments: "As long as basic operations run smoothly and incumbents avoid being on the wrong side of a very visible issue or caught in a scandal, voters in most localities will probably not need to seek any more information and incumbents should have an easy time getting elected" (2012: 31). This basic fact of municipal politics leads some long-serving politicians to do very little campaigning. A longtime mayor said in an interview that all he did was call voters and visit seniors' lodges in his successful bid for re-election. He reasoned that he was already well known because of his long political career and longer residency in the town.

Financial environment

Although municipality type is a factor in its own right, it can also influence the degree to which money plays a role in local elections. It is likely that candidates in small communities raise less and spend less on their campaigns than do their big-city counterparts, who often face an electoral environment similar to federal and provincial candidates in terms of the number of voters they need to reach in a short period of time. The amount of money a candidate thus needs to mount a credible campaign is in direct proportion to the

geographical and population size of the municipality. But the non-partisan nature of local government means municipal candidates cannot formally access party membership lists or other party networks to generate donations. They must develop their own support bases.

Fundraising is further complicated by the regulatory regime governing local elections in a given jurisdiction. The rules on campaign financing vary from one province to another and, in some cases, from one municipality to another (Local Government Elections Task Force, 2010). The Ontario government appears to have the most detailed rules in the country. It not only limits contributions to $2,500 for Toronto mayoral candidates and $750 for everyone else but also outlines who is and is not permitted to donate and how much different types of candidates can spend on their campaigns. Alberta has no spending limits, but municipal candidates can use up to $10,000 of their own money without it being considered a campaign contribution, while individuals, corporations, trade unions, and employee organizations can donate up to $5,000 to a candidate in a year. The New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, and Yukon municipal acts do not contain any references to campaign financing.

Reviewing election finance rules across the country, British Columbia's Local Government Elections Task Force notes that municipalities set the rules themselves in Saskatchewan and New Brunswick (2010: 9). British Columbia was in the process of revising its own rules in preparation for the 2014 municipal vote. The task force recommends limits on both contributions and spending. In contrast, the federal government has extensive regulations on campaign finance. For example, it imposes spending limits on candidates for national office based on the number of electors in their riding (Canada Elections Act, S.C. 2000, c 9). The possibility therefore exists for municipal candidates to be able to spend more on their communications than federal candidates, a fortunate loophole in Canadian election laws, considering local candidates have to build name recognition without party identification to draw in voters

Gender environment

The electoral environment is not just influenced by non-partisanship, the news media industry, electoral system, office sought, incumbency, or financial resources and regulations but also by gender stereotypes. Joni Lovenduski views gender as a continuum of attributes ranging from femininity to masculinity, and notes that "[w]omen are more likely than men to possess feminine attributes but such attributes do not belong exclusively to women" (Lovenduski, 2005: 6). For Lovenduski, gender is a process—what she calls "gendering"—that "should be thought of as a changing contextualized social, psychological and political phenomenon that affects the way groups of women and men define and express their interests" (Lovenduski, 2005: 7). This social construction of gender can change over time and vary across cultural contexts (Lorber, 2010; Ritter, 2007; Robinson, 2005; Vavrus, 2002).

Yet gender's potential for flexibility and transformation is limited by stereotypes, or widely held beliefs about the nature and behaviour of different groups and their individual members (Crawford, Jussim, Madon, Cain, and Stevens, 2011). Gender stereotypes are the traits individuals are believed to possess by virtue of gender. The real power of stereotypes, however, comes from the fact they do not offer a fact-based account of how women and men actually are so much as outline the boundaries of accepted behaviour for each group (Krueger, Hasman, Acevedo, and Villano, 2003; Prentice and Carranza, 2002). Notions about women's and men's expected natures and behaviours are contingent upon the specific identity group to which they belong, with race, sexuality, class, and other identity formations shaping common (mis)understandings of the appropriate gender relations in a given society at a given point in time. This is not to ignore the pervasiveness of patriarchy.

Gender stereotypes distort the nature and process of electoral communication. Their use perpetuates the notion that gender is a valid criterion when evaluating candidates, a problematic proposition in a democratic system claiming to value character, experience,

Figure 2.3: Parsimonious model of gendered mediation in politics
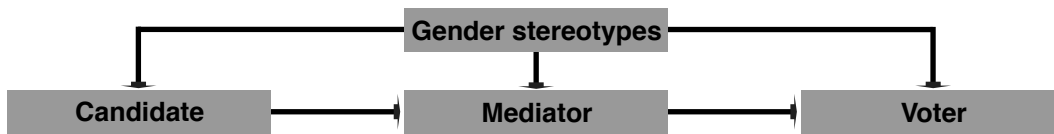
and ideas over entitlement in its representatives. Women politicians should be free to craft campaigns that reflect who they are and what they want to accomplish in the political realm without gender being used as a lens through which to interpret their actions or intentions. Voters are slowly living up to this expectation. Voters will judge women candidates based on the qualities they actually possess rather than those associated with their gender *when those details are readily available* (Matson and Fine, 2006; McDermott, 1998). The challenge for candidates, then, is to get that information to voters. The challenge for women candidates in particular is to ensure the information is not inflected by gender stereotypes unless they wish it to be.

Gendered mediation

The ideal method for transmitting information about a candidate's qualifications and platform is personal contact between candidates and voters, which is possible in many municipalities. Yet many candidates also rely on third parties such as journalists to facilitate the flow of information, especially during an election (see Figure 2.3). However, these third parties are not impartial: each one has its own set of values, beliefs, opinions, interests, norms, objectives, routines, and structures that regulate its actions. As empirical evidence indicates, perceptions of gender constitute one aspect of mediation of information (c.f. Falk, 2008; Murray, 2010; Trimble, Wagner, Sampert, Raphael, and Gerrits, 2013). In political communication, gendered mediation occurs when third parties such as journalists rely on gender codes, norms, attitudes, or stereotypes when conveying information and opinion about a political actor or organization to a specified audience. I argue that mediators such as journalists, more so than politicians or voters, are much more likely to trigger traditional

gender stereotypes in political discourse and, in the process, sustain the salience of gender in politics. As major sources and proponents of gender stereotypes, the news media's supporting role rather than feature role in Canadian municipal elections should reduce the importance of gender on the campaign trail. In this media context, it is more likely that women candidates will devise messages and strategies that more closely resemble those of their male counterparts—ones reflecting the specificities of their individual candidacies and their electoral environment.

Research on gendered mediation has traditionally focused on *media bias*. Regina G. Lawrence and Melody Rose define media bias as "a *pervasive* pattern [of prejudice] in a *significant portion* of overall news coverage" (Lawrence and Rose, 2010: 15; italics in the original). This description is broad enough that it can be applied to research on media bias in any discipline and on any subject matter, but it can only offer a starting point from which to conceptualize media bias against women and men politicians. A more concise definition is required to take into account the role of gender and other aspects of identity in shaping news coverage of, and campaign responses by, politicians in various national and sub-national contexts. To that end, I assert that media bias occurs when news coverage exhibits a pervasive pattern of prejudice against an individual or group based on gender stereotypes that prevail in a territory at a particular point in time. This understanding of media bias aims to be gender neutral, enabling it to be used in work on media depictions of men in general and of men politicians in particular.

If some women's candidacies are trivialized by sexist news coverage, other women's campaigns are rendered inconsequential by a lack of news coverage. I assert that gendered mediation actually has two components: media bias and media invisibility (see Figure 2.4). *Media invisibility* occurs when a person or subject receives little or no press attention. Gaye Tuchman (1978) argues that the mass media "symbolically annihilate" women by condemning, trivializing, or ignoring them. This marginalization of women is not accidental; it is the product of specific notions about the appropriate gender roles for

Figure 2.4: The continuum of gendered mediation outcomes in political reporting

women in society. Media invisibility continues to be a concern for women almost three decades after Tuchman made her observations. In their study of the 2005 German national elections, Holli A. Semetko and Hajo G. Boomgaarden found that, aside from chancellor candidate Angela Merkel, female politicians were "marginalized in the news," receiving far less coverage than their numbers warranted (2005: 167). I also observed a low level of media visibility for women candidates in the 2007 Alberta municipal elections (Wagner, 2010a). Women were rarely mentioned in headlines, featured in photographs, or otherwise made prominent in election stories in both daily and community newspapers.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation on the political communication strategies of Canadian municipal candidates was inspired by the desire to understand how municipal politicians in general and women politicians in particular attempt to overcome media invisibility. My master's study on Alberta political reporting found that journalists do not gender municipal election news to nearly the same degree as they do federal election news (Wagner, 2010a, 2010b), but this might be due as much to the limited attention that some news outlets pay to municipal elections as it is to a more progressive approach to reporting at the local level. If journalists only write a few stories about an election, they have few opportunities to engage in gendered mediation. Differences between municipal and federal election coverage raise questions about the nature of political reporting in different contexts and the possibility that journalists do cover municipal elections in a fundamentally different manner from federal elections.

The emphasis of this exploratory study, however, is on the communicative actions of municipal candidates. Understanding their communication strategies during an election is important because of the key role that political actors play in our democratic system. At a normative level, aspiring office-holders at every level of government are expected to inform voters about their proposed policy prescriptions for the pressing issues of the day as well as the skills and attributes they would bring to the job of legislator. This task is even more crucial in low-information electoral environments such as municipal elections (Matson and Fine, 2006; McDermott, 1998). Citizens need the additional information that candidates provide so they can decide how to cast their vote. At a practical level, politicians use political communication to seek and/or win political power. Examining the electoral strategies of municipal candidates enables us to identify the ways in which previously marginalized groups, such as women, use political communication to create a place for themselves in politics.

This study takes as its starting point the assumption that politicians are active participants in the construction of their political personas. They carefully select the personal, professional, and political information they not only believe voters want to know about them before casting a ballot but also best represents the mix of attributes and ideas they would bring as elected representatives. Technological developments mean politicians can convey these messages across whatever online and offline platforms they choose, as well as through the more traditional practice of pressing the flesh.

As part of the process of shaping their public personas, I also assume that politicians consider the specific characteristics of their electoral environment when crafting their communication strategies. The size and type of municipality in which they campaign, the financial and human resources at their disposal, the office they seek, and the nature of the local news industry could help to define what communication strategies they undertake. The non-partisan nature of most Canadian municipal elections means municipal candidates cannot rely on party resources or direction when trying to figure out how to wage their

campaign; they are solely responsible for their political communications. Yet despite the presence of several explanatory variables, I hypothesize that municipality type will be the most important factor in influencing communication choices. City candidates need to reach a much larger electorate than small-town candidates and therefore will be much more likely to use (more) communication techniques in their campaigns. To determine just how important gender, municipality type, and other factors are in candidate communication, I conducted a large-scale survey of women and men municipal candidates across the country. The next chapter outlines the methodology employed in this project.

DESIGNING RESEARCH 3
THE METHODOLOGY OF A STUDY

INTRODUCTION

One of the most challenging aspects of conducting a nation-wide research project on municipal politics is data collection. In comparison to one national parliament and 13 provincial and territorial legislatures, Canada has thousands of local governing bodies. This means the vast majority of elected Canadian politicians hold office at the municipal level. More than 24,000 people currently serve as municipal councillors compared to 308 members of Parliament and 753 members of legislative assemblies. The typical candidate also seeks office at the local level. Tens of thousands of people try, and fail, to join council in each round of local elections. However, gathering information about local campaigns, such as candidate names, gender, incumbency status, and electoral success, is made difficult not only by the sheer number of candidates but also by the lack of centralized data sources. Many municipal affairs departments and municipality associations do not provide data on municipal elections in their jurisdictions.

This chapter outlines the research design I used for this study of the political communication strategies of women and men municipal candidates, including the steps I took to address issues relating to data collection. I begin by discussing the rationale for choosing a large-scale survey of and semi-structured interviews with recent candidates before explaining how I responded to the specific methodological challenges of this study. I then review the measurements incorporated into the survey questionnaire and interview schedule, note the ethical considerations associated with this project, and conclude with an explanation of how these methodological choices help meet my research goals.

A FEMINIST EPISTEMOLOGY

Finding the best methodological approach to studying the role of candidate agency

in political communication is a difficult task. Each research method grants access to a different thread but not to the whole web of interactions between candidates, journalists, and voters which, together, help produce the content of political debate and influence the outcome of elections. The first methodological consideration of this study was therefore to decide how to investigate the communication strategies of women and men municipal candidates in Canada. The answer was not obvious. Many studies rely on content analysis and discourse analysis to understand the role of gender in candidate communication and political reporting. Content analysis is a systematic, quantitative method for examining written, visual, or spoken texts (Krippendorff, 2004). It enables scholars to look for patterns across a large volume of data, but not the nuances of meaning at work in the text. Discourse analysis, on the other hand, is a qualitative technique that "involves an analysis of texts as they are embedded within, and relate to, social conditions of production and consumption" (Richardson, 2007: 39) and is thus ideal for exploring the inclusions, exclusions, and silences in a text.

A weakness of both methods is that they concentrate on the artifacts of political communication—such as campaign websites, television commercials, and election coverage—but they reveal nothing about the motivations, attitudes, constraints, and initiatives of the individuals involved in the production of those artifacts, nor how these artifacts in turn influence voters (Sumser, 2001). Confining research to these two techniques thus limits the kinds of questions feminist scholars can ask.

Additionally, the issue of research methods is a controversial one in feminist scholarship, and debates about positivist and post-positivist techniques often touch as much upon the position of feminist scholars and feminist scholarship within the discipline as it does upon methodology (Ackerly, 2009; Enloe, 2004; Maliniak, Oakes, Peterson, and Tierney, 2008; Tickner, 1999, 2005a; Zalewski, 2006). What is notable about the mix of methods used by feminist scholars studying the mass media is that, like their approach to politics, they incorporate the methodologies of the behaviouralist and critical

approaches to knowledge production. Content analysis enables stories to be subjected to testable hypotheses while discourse analysis enables those same stories to be subjected to various interpretations depending upon the scholar's theoretical perspective. In this instance I welcome the fact that feminist research draws upon both traditions when analyzing political communication, as I assert quantitative and qualitative techniques both have something important to contribute to feminist research. My concern is with the lack of methodological pluralism. Feminist political scientists need to attend to feminist social science's methodological engagement with mainstream social science.

Historically, the social sciences have been invested in positivism, a philosophy that asserts it should use the same quantitative research methods as the natural sciences. Gerard Delanty argues positivism's belief in the unity of the sciences is based on "the naturalist notion that science is the study of an objectively existing reality that lies outside the discourse of science" (1997: 11). Although the idea of an objective reality has been criticized in academia, feminist media scholars have been especially keen to subject the concept to scrutiny because of its ongoing status as a prized journalistic norm (Allan, 2004; Steiner, 1998). Their objection is due in part to a belief this news media norm is rooted in masculine values. Jane Rhodes argues that objectivity has been used as a "convenient device through which to enforce a gendered hegemony that would make a feminist or anti-racist subject position problematic, while allowing those reporters with conservative politics to function unquestioned" (2001: 49).

The same gendered effect can be seen with positivism. The testing of hypotheses presumes that everything worth knowing can be quantified and that anything that cannot be quantified therefore does not contribute to knowledge production (Keohane, 1998). A major flaw in this view is that assumptions about which people are important and which ones are not often determines which information is quantified. For example, governmental data collection typically focuses on topics related to men's lives and less so on women's lives (Apodaca, 2009). Less data on women's lives makes it more difficult to subject them

to statistical analysis and therefore to study them according to positivism's tenets. The end result of this omission is that positivist research usually focuses on male practices, interests, and experiences and is limited by an assumption that masculine norms are universally relevant.

Because of the masculine foundations of positivism, some feminist scholars have rejected quantitative research methods in favour of qualitative techniques. J. Ann Tickner (1997, 2005a, 2005b) argues that what interests feminist international relations scholars does not easily fit within either the theoretical or methodological traditions of mainstream IR. She defends qualitative methods, which she does not define or outline, because they enable feminist scholars to investigate the "practical politics" of women normally overlooked by male IR scholars with their focus on militaries and economies (Tickner, 2004). Yet for all of her valorization of qualitative methods, Tickner does not establish their feminist foundations; she takes for granted they do not possess the androcentric biases of quantitative methods. This belief enables her to create a false dichotomy between feminist research/qualitative methods and mainstream research/quantitative methods that permits the latter to maintain their androcentric biases (Oakley, 1998).

Rather than rejecting a research method simply because it is associated with a disagreeable research paradigm, I contend that it would be more prudent to take a "feminist lens" (Ackerly, 2009) to quantitative and qualitative techniques to ensure the evidence that political scientists gather suits a feminist analysis. Put another way, scholars should choose their research method based on what evidence they need to gather to answer their research question (Scott, 2010). This would require feminist political scientists to place more emphasis on qualitative methods such as participant observation, interviews, and focus groups to investigate the agency of women and men actors in politics. Feminist political scientists should also use quantitative methods such as surveys to test assumptions about political communication.

Other scholars also assert that quantitative methods make important contributions

to feminist research (Caprioli, 2004, 2009; Parisi, 2009) and should be included in every feminist researcher's methodological toolbox. But whether they are a critic or proponent, these academics overlook an even more fundamental connection between quantitative and qualitative methods: they do not have to be mutually exclusive, as Tickner suggests, but can be involved in a recursive relationship (Lewis, 2002) in which they inform and reinforce the rigorousness and validity of the other on a theoretical and empirical level. In the case of political communication, both types of research techniques have their limitations in terms of what evidence they can provide. Quantitative techniques are only as good as the theory on which they are based, as theory drives what is measured in codebooks used in content analysis (Caprioli, 2009). Qualitative techniques can assist in generating new avenues of inquiry with their focus on searching for knowledge through the unexpected response. The use of quantitative methods can, in turn, contribute to the mapping of changes to gender relations and structures over time (Scott, 2010), as well as provide research in a language that mainstream scholars can understand so as to push forward feminist efforts to achieve change (Caprioli, 2004). In short, theory supported by quantitative and qualitative research must be considered academically rigorous.

In sum, I believe scholars need to be methodologically diverse when studying gender and political communication. Relying on a restricted range of research methods—either because of a narrow research focus or because of an ideological commitment to one type of technique—limits the evidence we can gather and, as a result, renders partial and incomplete any conclusions we may draw from it. Each research method has its own mix of strengths and weaknesses that make it ideal for investigating some research questions and woefully inadequate for answering others. Thus, my preference from the beginning of this project was to take a feminist lens to studying the political communication strategies of Canadian municipal politicians and to select a quantitative research method that would capture patterns and trends in electioneering across the country and a qualitative method that would permit a closer examination of the campaigns of select research participants.

QUANTITATIVE METHOD: LARGE-SCALE SURVEY

The sheer number of municipal candidates makes a large-scale survey the best approach to developing a systematic and comprehensive portrait of local political communication strategies. Surveys are ideally equipped for "collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly" (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002: 240). As already noted, municipal candidates are the largest group of aspiring politicians in Canada. From 2009 to 2012, more than 34,000 people ran in their province or territory's municipal elections. A second advantage of surveys is that the standardized questionnaire asks each respondent exactly the same questions, eliminating any potential influence from changes in question wording or presentation that can occur during a qualitative interview (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002). However, like all research methods, surveys have drawbacks. Standardized questions do not capture the nuances of people's lived experiences and can "often appear superficial in their coverage of complex topics" (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2002: 268). Most importantly for this project, surveys, like interviews, can only measure what respondents say they do, not what they actually do.

The next decision related to what kind of survey to administer. A mail survey would have been ideal because of the generally higher response rate for this type survey when conducted properly (Fowler Jr., 2002), but it is costly to execute. An online survey enables researchers to study a large sample of a population for a fraction of the cost of a mail survey (Atkeson, Adams, Bryant, Zilberman, and Saunders, 2011), bringing "survey methodology within reach of all political scientists, not just those with large research grants" (Orr, 2005: 266). Yet studies have shown mixed results in terms of response rates for online surveys, as well as sampling bias for those relying on volunteer respondents, which this study does not. As a result, scholars have explored combining mail and online surveys to maintain response rates while reducing research costs (Atkeson, Adams, Bryant, Zilberman, and Saunders, 2011; Borkan, 2010; Kroth, McPherson, Leverence, Pace, Daniels, Rhyne, and Williams, 2009; Millar and Dillman, 2011). This project opted for the mixed-method approach

of an online and mail survey. In addition to cost savings, an online survey reduces data entry errors because respondents type in the answers themselves and do so in a similar format. One would also expect that, in an increasingly networked world, respondents would find an online questionnaire more convenient to fill out and easier to return than a mail survey. But not everyone is computer literate or accessible. So a mail survey was sent as a final contact to those candidates whose email addresses were unknown or whose access to or knowledge of the Internet was limited. Mail surveys were also sent to those who asked for a paper questionnaire. This mixed-method approach was designed to be as responsive as possible to the needs and circumstances of the research participants.

Sampling frame

Most provinces and territories in Canada hold their municipal elections every three or four years. Voters headed to the polls in the fall of 2012 in the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Yukon, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Saskatchewan. Voters in British Columbia preceded them in 2011; in Alberta, Ontario, and Manitoba in 2010; and in Newfoundland and Labrador and Quebec in 2009. Ideally, research participants would be selected from each province and territory to produce a nationally representative sample of recent municipal candidates. But theoretical and practical reasons suggested that randomly sampling candidates from each region of Canada was more appropriate.

First, focusing on fewer jurisdictions would reduce the expected difficulty in collecting contact information for potential respondents. Municipalities would be asked to provide addresses for a few candidates rather than just one, as proved to be the case once the sample was selected. Second, since the survey asks respondents to recall how they used the mass media and engaged in direct campaigning to reach voters, these practices would still be fresh in the minds of candidates who ran in the spring or fall of 2012 but probably not for those who ran in 2009, such as in Quebec. In fact, the timing of civic elections in some provinces proved to be both too early and too late for inclusion

TABLE 3.1: Summary of the provinces and territories in which survey respondents recently campaigned for municipal office, by region

Atlantic Canada	Northern Canada
New Brunswick	Northwest Territories
Nova Scotia	Yukon
Prince Edward Island	
	Western Canada
Central Canada	Alberta
Ontario	Saskatchewan

in this study: Quebec candidates returned to the polls in the fall of 2013, months after the conclusion of the survey.

Third, candidate information was too difficult to collect for two jurisdictions. Newfoundland voted in 2009, and no provincial agency or association provided candidate information online three years later. Like Quebec, Newfoundland's next municipal election was held in the fall of 2013. Nunavut was excluded because a basic list of municipalities for the territory could not be obtained. Since information was more readily available for Yukon and the Northwest Territories, those territories were included in the sample. Fourth, since a primary goal of this project is to assess candidate agency in campaign communications, British Columbia and Quebec were excluded from the sampling frame because they both have municipal parties or slates. In the 2009 election, for example, 15.1% of Quebec municipalities had at least one candidate who ran under a party banner or were part of a candidate slate. Table 3.1 lists the provinces and territories included in the sampling frame.

Despite the fact that many jurisdictions in the sampling frame held a civic election in 2012, creating a comprehensive list of recent municipal candidates in Canada still proved difficult. Not every provincial municipal affairs department or municipality association keeps such lists or offers them to the public. And even for those that do, their lists do not always contain all of the needed information such as the candidate's gender. The Alberta municipal affairs department provided candidate lists containing the candidate name and an indication of the person's gender (Ms. or Mr. preceding the name) but no vote totals.

Quebec's municipal affairs department provided the most detailed information. Its website listed a candidate's name, gender, party affiliation (where relevant), incumbency status, and vote totals. (I relied on an electronic data file, obtained from Quebec's *Affaires municipales et Occupation du territoire* in 2014, to calculate the Quebec figures used as part of the discussion on women's level of representation in the introductory chapter. This approach reduces the possibility of data entry errors.)

In contrast, no centralized list existed for Ontario. Election results for the 2010 vote had to be downloaded from individual municipal websites where available, and the remaining municipalities contacted by email. Not all of them still had those records on hand two years later. As a result, I rounded out the Ontario list by gathering the names of serving politicians from municipal websites where possible, though the risk existed that these details were out of date and that some of the individuals were not returned to office in 2010.

The Saskatchewan list was culled from several sources: the names of candidates for rural councils were obtained from the provincial rural municipalities association while those who ran for city councils were downloaded from the relevant municipalities. Towns and villages were contacted by email. Not all municipalities responded, so I gathered the names of serving politicians from an online directory maintained by the Saskatchewan municipal affairs department. In those instances where the gender of the candidate was not provided by a provincial agency or association, I determined candidate gender by examining the name. Candidates with unisex names such as "Chris," "Pat," and "Laurie" were listed as "unknown," as were many candidates with non-Anglo first names that I could not identify as either male (i.e. Mohammed) or female (i.e. Shaila).

Since this project examines the role of gender in political communication, the sampling frame aimed for an even number of women and men respondents. Approximately 500 women and 500 men were selected for inclusion in the survey: 50 candidates in Northern Canada and 316 in each of the remaining regions. Candidates whose gender

was unknown were included through a multi-step selection process. First, their percentage of the population in each region was used to determine the required number of potential respondents. I then assumed the same gender distribution among this group as exists in the general population of municipal candidates—about 20% women and 80% men—to deduct that number from the sample numbers for women and men. In other words, if 10 unknowns needed to be selected for a region, I reduced the women's group by two and the men's group by eight. When contact information could not be obtained for individuals in a particular group, additional names were randomly selected from that group to achieve the target number of potential respondents. Overall, 1,149 candidates were selected using the random sampling program in SPSS 19 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). Contact information could not be obtained for 141 of them, resulting in a final sample of 1,008 candidates: 488 women, 474 men, and 46 candidates of unknown gender.

Gathering contact information for the selected candidates provided to be the other major methodological issue of this study. Candidate lists posted on provincial and territorial websites usually do not include mailing or email addresses. New Brunswick is an exception. Its provincial elections agency is responsible for civic elections, and it includes mailing addresses for all candidates in its final report on the outcome of each municipal election in its territory. For winning candidates, I sent all mail communications to the municipality's main office. Electronic messages were sent in one of four ways: (1) to their municipal email address; (2) to a personal email address provided on the municipal website or by an administrator; (3) through the municipal website; or (4) to a municipal administrator to be redirected to the politician. Losing candidates were harder to reach. Contact information for many individuals in Ontario were gathered through the candidate financial statements that candidates are required to file after the election; this document often contained both a mailing address and an email address. For the other provinces, I searched online sources to locate an address. Several municipalities either could not or would not provide assistance with tracking down information for losing candidates. A few officials cited privacy laws.

These methodological difficulties have two potential ramifications for this study. First, difficulties in developing comprehensive candidate lists in all provinces and territories means that not all individuals who ran for local office had an equal chance of being selected for this study. Second, problems in gathering contact information for losing candidates means this group is most likely under-represented among survey respondents. An unrelated methodological issue regarding language presents a third limitation of this study. The survey questionnaire was only produced in English, which might have discouraged responses from Francophone candidates in New Brunswick, a bilingual province.

Pretest

While the candidate lists and contact information were being gathered, a pretest on the questionnaire was carried out on a group of women and men municipal politicians in British Columbia and Manitoba to assess the clarity and utility of question wording. These individuals were chosen because of their provinces' exclusion from the study, allowing the total population of candidates in the selected provinces and territories to be sampled without prejudice. Random sampling was not required since the results of the pretest were only used to evaluate the survey instrument rather than to generalize to a broader population. A list of potential respondents was obtained from the British Columbia municipal affairs department website and the Manitoba municipalities association website, both of which had the results from their most recent municipal elections. Each list was then stripped down to just those who had won office so that their contact information would be easier to obtain. In all, 25 female and 25 male politicians were mailed a paper survey in the summer of 2012. Only a few responded. Still, their comments led to revisions of the questionnaire.

To solicit more feedback, a small group of journalists and academics were also asked to evaluate the questionnaire. They were sent a link to the online version in the fall of 2012. Their suggestions were especially helpful in refining the social media section of the survey.

Data collection

Data collection began in November 2012, and consisted of a three-stage process. First, the selected candidates were mailed an introductory letter printed in colour on University of Alberta letterhead that explained the research project and invited them to manually log on to SurveyMonkey to access the questionnaire. The researcher personally signed each introductory letter and also wrote the first name of the candidate as part of the salutation. The letter was sent in an envelope with the university logo in colour. This letter was designed to not only provide details about the study but also to establish its credibility and to encourage candidates to consider responding to the online survey. Research suggests that a mail notification before launching an online survey might encourage response (Kaplowitz, Hadlock, and Levine, 2004), but not always (Porter and Whitcomb, 2007). I based the letter wording in part on that used by Stephen R. Porter and Michael E. Whitcomb (2007).

Candidates with an available email address were then sent a follow-up message up to two weeks later to provide them with a link that they could conveniently click on to reach the online questionnaire. A reminder email was sent about a month later to those who had yet to respond. The candidates for whom I did not have an email address were sent a follow-up letter up to four weeks after the initial introduction. For their final contact, I mailed them a paper questionnaire in the hopes of boosting the involvement of this group, which was largely comprised of losing candidates. The mail survey contained a cover letter on university letterhead and a questionnaire, both printed in black and white, as well as a stamped, self-addressed return envelope. Paper questionnaires were also sent to the handful of candidates who requested one. A stamped, self-addressed postcard was only included in their packages, as the possibility existed for a follow-up contact.

To manage the workload of gathering information for more than 1,000 candidates, I split the potential respondents into three groups, each of which was then approached in sequence: (1) Alberta and Ontario candidates in November 2012; (2) New Brunswick,

Northwest Territories, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Yukon candidates in January 2013, and (3) Saskatchewan candidates in February 2013. This rolling approach enabled me to fix technical difficulties that arose in the initial contacts with the first group before I contacted the successive groups. The first problem centred on the password that enabled a research participant to access the online questionnaire: several individuals had trouble entering the word, which was "election" with the vowels replaced by numbers (3l3ct10n). The letter "l" and the number "1" appeared to cause confusion. I advised them to copy the password from the original email and paste it into the appropriate box on the website, but some of them had difficulty doing so. To resolve this issue, I set up a new version of the questionnaire on SurveyMonkey with "election" as the new password. I then used this password in all follow-up communications with the first group and in all messages to the second and third groups. Future problems with accessing the online survey then revolved around technical issues involving the respondent's Internet connection.

The second major technical issue in this survey concerned the case IDs used to track responses. SurveyMonkey discourages clients from using its mail merge function to send contact messages to potential respondents who did not solicit the email, so I relied on Gmail's mail merge to send standardized messages to each group of candidates throughout the survey process. This function enabled me to not only personalize the email with each candidate's name but also attach a case ID number to the end of the survey link so I could monitor whether or not they had responded. Candidates whose case ID appeared in SurveyMonkey were then removed from the contact list. Unfortunately, the case ID did not properly attach to the links for the Ontario candidates, forcing me to send a follow-up message asking individuals to notify me when they had responded. A couple of candidates notified me that they filled out the survey a second time when they received the new message. However, an evaluation of biographical and municipality data suggests SurveyMonkey replaced their old survey responses with their new ones. Several test runs of contact emails for the following two groups largely resolved this issue. Difficulties with

tracking responses for the Ontario group led me to reduce the number of planned follow-up contacts for all candidates from three to two.

Response rate

Despite these technical issues, the response rate for the survey was in the range observed in a meta-analysis of Internet-based surveys (Cook et al, 2000: 829). In all, 385 candidates filled out online and paper questionnaires over the five-month collection period for a response rate of 33.5%. When research participants who could not be contacted because of a lack of mail or email information are excluded, the response rate is 38.2%.

Weighting

Since research participants were selected based on gender and region, this section provides a brief overview of their distribution on these two dimensions. It is important to note that not everyone who responded to the survey answered all of the demographic questions. Of those who did, 54.9% were women and 45.1% were men. Respondents who identified the province in which they sought office were evenly distributed among the three most populated regions of the country: 33.9% of respondents hail from Central Canada, 32.5% from Western Canada, and 29.9% from Atlantic Canada. Northern Canada candidates constitute the final 3.7%.

Since this survey relied on stratified random sampling, the final sample has been weighted to reflect the actual distribution of women and men in the four regions. Single-stage cell weighting was used to calculate the weighting factor for each of the eight groups of respondents (Dorofeev and Grant, 2006: 52-54). Table 3.2 lists the distribution of both the general population of recent municipal candidates (target) and respondents to the survey (actual). For example, women make up 9.7% of recent municipal candidates in Western Canada but 17.2% of the survey respondents from this region. The weighting factor for each group, also listed in Table 3.2, was calculated by dividing the target population by

TABLE 3.2: Summary of weighting variables

Region	Women respondents			Men respondents		
	Target	Actual	Weight	Target	Actual	Weight
Atlantic Canada	4.0%	16.7%	0.24	10.8%	14.1%	0.81
Central Canada	7.5%	19.8%	0.38	26.4%	15.0%	1.76
Northern Canada	0.8%	1.4%	0.57	1.6%	2.5%	0.64
Western Canada	9.7%	17.2%	0.56	39.2%	14.1%	2.78

the actual population. The final figure was rounded to the first two decimal points. The equation for female candidates in Western Canada, for example, is 9.7 divided by 17.2 for a weighting factor of 0.56. The weights have been used in all calculations in the following chapters.

Limitations of the survey

While this study offers insights into the role of gender and municipal context in political communication in Canada, it could have provided an even more nuanced analysis were it not for certain methodological issues. First, the survey questionnaire should have asked respondents to provide their municipality's total population and number of eligible voters to more accurately assess the influence of electorate and community size on candidates' communication strategies. A related shortcoming of this study is that its analysis is based on what candidates reported doing during their campaign rather than what they actually did. Their recollections might not always be an accurate reflection of their actions. Second, instead of asking a subset of respondents to comment about the success or failure of their news media, Internet, paid advertising, and direct contact plans, the survey questionnaire should have asked all respondents to offer insights into the role of each type of communication technique in their campaign and in municipal elections overall. This approach would have provided even richer qualitative data about candidate orientations to political communication at the municipal level.

Finally, despite the challenges in retrieving contact information, the survey's sample size should have been dramatically increased so as to facilitate a stronger statistical analysis

of communication differences among candidates. A final dataset of 307 non-acclaimed candidates proved not to be substantial enough to make firm conclusions. The sample size was too small within some candidate categories to support a statistical analysis or for otherwise major discrepancies to be statistically significant. This had important ramifications for this study's examination of the role of gender in municipal political communication. Women and men exhibited large variations in their orientation to paid advertising but small sample sizes for some of the variables and within some of the other candidate categories limited the conclusions that could be drawn from the data. As a result, this study might not fully capture the gendered aspects of electoral communication at the municipal level.

Despite these limitations, this study makes an important methodological contribution to local government research by broadening its traditional focus on major cities and conducting a large-scale, nationwide survey of candidates in different types of municipalities to gain an understanding of political communication in different local contexts. The incorporation of open-ended questions in the survey and the use of interviews with a subset of respondents resulted in a rich collection of qualitative data that added important nuance and depth to the quantitative analysis of candidates' communication choices and practices.

QUALITATIVE METHOD: INTERVIEWS

The mixed-method survey allows for a statistically rigorous analysis of the behaviours and intentions of a large number of Canadian municipal candidates, but it cannot provide insights into the electoral dynamics that these candidates encountered or their opinions on what they believe the role of the news media, Internet, and paid media is or should be in municipal elections. Qualitative methods such as interviews, focus groups, and field observation are well suited to uncovering the motivations behind, and opinions of, the communication choices of politicians.

An interview is essentially a semi-structured, recorded conversation in which the researcher questions an informant in a systematic way in order to gain knowledge about

a particular topic (Kvale, 2007). Academics have used this research tool to ask politicians, political staff, and female journalists to evaluate news coverage and the news media more generally (Goodyear-Grant, 2009, 2013; Mills, 1997; Niven and Zilber, 2001; Ross, 2000, 2002). Regina G. Lawrence and Melody Rose's book on Hillary Clinton's failed bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008 is an example of what interviews can contribute to our understanding of the media minefield that women politicians must navigate. In addition to other research methods, the authors used published media interviews and personal interviews with Clinton's campaign staff to sharpen their analysis of how the American politician's communication strategies during the long primary campaign shaped media depictions of her candidacy (Lawrence and Rose, 2010).

Despite their strengths, interviews have limitations as a research method. Respondents are only as reliable as their memories, creating a disconnect between what they think they did and what they actually did, especially when approached long after events have taken place. Other respondents spin their answers. They know their information will become public in the form of a research report, and they might choose their words carefully to create a favourable image of themselves, hide or misrepresent their actual motivations or actions, or otherwise influence the content of the report. Still, interviews are perhaps one of the best ways to learn how politicians view different aspects of political communication.

Focus groups, in which a small number of individuals are brought together to discuss a common topic, combine interviews and observation. In addition to the information that participants share about their own thoughts and experiences, researchers can glean insights into the relationship dynamics between and within different groups of political actors as they interact during the group conversation (Madriz, 2003; Peek and Fothergill, 2009). This interaction can also spur individuals to recall information they had forgotten or did not think was relevant. One drawback of focus groups is the possibility that one person will dominate the conversation, limiting the input that the other participants can or are willing to provide on the research topic. This shortcoming aside, focus groups have the

potential to provide fresh insights. Louise Carbert (2006) used focus groups to uncover previously unknown reasons why politically engaged women choose not to run for public office in Atlantic Canada.

Finally, field observation involves a researcher submersing herself in the locations where actors live or work in order to see first-hand how they behave. This approach has well-documented drawbacks related to false assumptions of neutrality and to unequal power relations between the researcher and informants (Angrosino and de Pérez, 2003; Cohen, 2000), but it can still be extremely useful in political communication research. For example, scholars could attend meetings where politicians and campaign staff plot communication strategies or where journalists decide how to spin a political story. They could also observe those events where the two parties come into contact with one another: scrums, press conferences, staged photo opportunities, and one-on-one conversations. Scholars could compare what they witnessed with the communication artifacts each group produces, such as photographs on campaign Flickr accounts and or in election news coverage.

Considering the strengths and weaknesses of these qualitative methods, I opted to conduct semi-structured interviews with a subset of research participants. Interviews are the best choice for methodological and practical reasons. Not only could I use interviews to provide some context or explanations of the survey data but they also helped me to carry out all of the data collection for this research project in a manageable time frame. Focus groups would have generated a greater quantity of qualitative information about municipal electoral contexts but they would have been more time-consuming to arrange and conduct. Field observation would likely have consisted of joining a candidate's campaign as a volunteer in order to observe their communication choices and actions, but this would have required obtaining permission from the candidate first and would only have generated insights into one campaign rather than the several possible through interviews. Timing was also a factor. Alberta's municipal elections took place in the same month that I was preparing the online survey for distribution, including the introductory letters.

Data collection

Interview participants were drawn from a list of candidates who spontaneously contacted the researcher after filling out the survey to offer additional comments about municipal politics in their communities. I viewed their initiative as an indication that they were willing to do an in-depth interview about municipal political communication. These email correspondents were of both genders, hailed from a variety of provinces, and campaigned in different types of municipalities, enabling insights to be collected from differently situated candidates. A total of six candidates were interviewed: three women and three men; two city and four non-city candidates; two mayoral, one deputy mayoral, and three council candidates; and two candidates from Atlantic Canada, two from Central Canada, one from Western Canada, and one from Northern Canada. All six individuals were interviewed by telephone with the conversation recorded and later transcribed. The average interview took about an hour, with the shortest interview 45 minutes and the longest at 90 minutes. Before the interviews took place, each person was sent an introductory letter that outlined the details of the research program and asked to sign and return a consent form indicating that they agreed to be interviewed. One of the research participants emailed her campaign brochure after the interview to illustrate some of her comments.

On top of the interviews, additional insights came from survey respondents who phoned, wrote, or emailed the researcher with their thoughts about municipal politics. Their comments are included in the data analysis and discussion where relevant. As with the interview participants, these informants will be identified with broad descriptors (i.e., a female candidate from a small town) to protect their identities.

MEASURES

To determine how candidates reached voters during a local election, the survey instrument and interview schedule asked research participants a series of questions about how they dealt with journalists, used the Internet and paid advertising, and engaged in

direct contact with voters. Inspiration for some of the survey variables and categories came from the following sources: (1) the political background questions were influenced by Janine Brodie's questionnaire for her book, *Women and Politics in Canada* (1985); (2) the ethnicity question was written after consulting how Statistics Canada and the World Values Survey frame their routine queries; and (3) some of the social media questions were inspired by a presentation given by Danish scholar Morten Skovsgaard at the European Communication Research and Education conference in Istanbul, Turkey, in October 2012, as well as by some of the participants in the pretest phase of the survey. The following is an overview of the variables used in the survey and the topics discussed in the interviews.

Public background: The survey posed a series of questions about a person's political circumstances, professional life, and volunteerism in the community. Candidates were asked indicate the total number of years they had held municipal office, which office they had recently sought (mayor/reeve, councillor/alderman, regional councillor, deputy mayor, other), in which type of municipality (city, town, village, rural municipality, other), in which province or territory, and in which year, as well as what type of electoral system the municipality used for the seat they sought (at-large or ward). Individuals were also asked to indicate whether they were the incumbent to that position, whether or not they won, and whether they won by acclamation. Details about their professional background came from questions about their jobs before the last civic election and whether they worked on a full-time, part-time, or casual basis. Since this study investigates social capital as a potential factor influencing communication choices, several questions explore respondents' level of volunteerism in their municipality preceding the election, including the types of community groups they had joined, how many years they had been involved, how many hours they donated each week, and their typical role in the group (president, member of the executive, organizer, regular volunteer, other). The planned interview schedule did not contain specific questions on these topics, though they might have arisen in the exchange between the candidate and interviewer.

Communication plan: The survey asked candidates if they had deliberately created an overall communications plan for their most recent campaign and, if so, when it was created, who created it, and whether they thought it was successful. In the interviews, participants were pressed for more details about the key components of their strategies and the main goals for their plan.

News media: To determine their level of contact with news organizations, respondents were prompted to provide details about the news outlets in their area and how much each one did or did not cover their bid for municipal office. I was especially interested in learning whether, and how frequently, candidates took the initiative in contacting journalists during the campaign. Respondents were also asked if they received the amount of news coverage they had hoped for and if they thought journalists were fair in those reports. Finally, respondents were asked if they had developed a specific plan for dealing with journalists and, if so, to assess the success of that plan. (These questions were repeated for the sections on use of the Internet, paid advertising, and direct campaigning.) The interviews sought more information on the challenges involved in dealing with journalists. Participants were asked to discuss any difficulties they might have had in gaining news coverage and their thoughts about the proper role for the news media in a municipal election.

Information and communication technologies: For the purposes of simplicity, I used the phrases "social media" and "Internet-based applications" interchangeably in the section on the Internet in municipal campaigns, even though websites and emails cannot be classified as social media. Here I use "Internet-based applications" and "information and communication technologies" (ICTs) to refer to all online portals, and "social media" for those with a public, interactive component. First, respondents were asked if they used ICTs in their campaign. For those who said "yes," respondents were asked a series of questions about which online platforms they used, their reasons for doing so, the topics they discussed on each one, who was responsible for maintaining these sites, how frequently they were updated, and how many visits they received by the end of the campaign. Respondents

were also prompted to indicate if their ICTs garnered the attention they were seeking. All respondents were asked why they opted not to use ICTs such as websites and Facebook. In the interviews, participants were urged to explain why they chose to use the online platforms they did, what they had hoped to achieve with them, and if their use of online communications changed in any way during the campaign. Participants who did not conduct a virtual campaign were asked why they chose not to use the Internet to reach voters.

Paid advertising: One of the most traditional methods of reaching voters during an election is through lawn signs and brochures. Candidates' advertising habits were revealed through a series of questions on the survey regarding their use (or non-use) of paid media. As always, respondents were asked if they engaged in any advertising during the campaign. Those who did were prompted to identify which news outlets they ran ads with and how frequently they did so, which types of advertising they did (pamphlets, lawn signs, billboards, phone calls), and what information they included in their various campaign materials. As with the previous sections, respondents were encouraged to assess whether this advertising was successful in drawing public attention to their campaign. Everyone was asked to give the main reason for not using a particular type of paid advertising. The interviews probed for the reasons why candidates chose to use certain types of advertising over others and why they used them. Participants who did not advertise were asked for the rationale(s) behind this decision.

Direct campaigning: Personal contact with the voter is the preferred form of campaign communication for many candidates. The survey asked respondents if they did any direct campaigning, such as attending all-candidates forums or going door knocking, and, if so, how often. They were also queried about the number of weeks of pre-election campaigning they engaged in. The interview urged participants to explain in some depth what value they saw in direct campaigning, what methods they used, and how effective face-to-face contact is in soliciting votes in comparison to other methods such as the news media or paid advertising. Anyone who did not engage in direct campaigning was urged to

explain why not.

Campaign characteristics: Even if a candidate wishes to use all of these techniques to reach voters during an election, their resources will determine if, and how much, they can actually do so. To assess their financial capital, respondents were asked to indicate how much money they raised, from what sources, and at what point in the campaign process (before announcing their candidacy, before the official start of the campaign, or during the campaign). They were also asked how much money they spent on their campaign, especially on communications. Their level of human capital was determined through questions about the number of paid staff and volunteers working on their campaigns, and how many of these individuals were dedicated to communication activities. Interview questions probed the role of resources in municipal elections.

Personal demographics: The final section of the survey gathered information about a respondent's personal background, including their gender, age, ethnicity, marital status, offspring and with whom they lived, religiosity, religious faith, level of education, and income.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

One of the strengths of this study is its primary attention to the insights and experiences of women and men municipal politicians. However, the involvement of human subjects means ethical considerations were a priority throughout the research process. Care was taken to ensure participants' anonymity, confidentiality, and/or privacy was maintained. These matters guided the choices made while dealing with potential respondents during the data collection process and while drafting the types of questions asked of subjects in the survey and interviews. The research methods and questionnaire used in this project received ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board.

For the questionnaire, ethical considerations needed to be balanced with the financial limitations of the study. A mail survey would have been the ideal approach from

an ethical point of view. It offers the greatest degree of anonymity because respondents can simply fill out the form and mail it back without any return address on the envelope. They would also be instructed not to put their name or any other identifying information on or with the questionnaire. Instead, they would be asked to return a postcard separately that indicated they had responded, enabling the researcher to strike them off the contact list without revealing which questionnaire contained their answers.

The Internet is a more economical approach but it has anonymity issues that researchers are still trying to resolve. First, many individuals use email addresses based on their names, so a survey sent, and linked to, by email could attach the respondent's name to a particular survey. Second, emails can be monitored by anyone with access to the respondent's email account or computer, whether at home or at work (Anderson and Gansneder, 1995; Hoonakker and Carayon, 2009). Third, software used to manage an online survey can record intrusive information about the respondent (Ritter and Sue, 2007). And finally, other individuals seated a distance away can more easily observe respondents filling in their answers on a large computer screen than they can on a piece of paper lying flat on a desk. In contrast, a paper survey can not only be better hidden from prying eyes, its mobility also gives respondents a greater choice of locations in which to privately engage with the questions.

The ethical concerns associated with both methods of survey delivery had to be addressed in this study, as I opted for a mixed-method approach that used an online survey as the main means of data collection and a mail survey as a follow-up for those who did not have an Internet connection, who lacked strong computer literacy skills, or whose email addresses were unknown. To minimize the intrusive information collected about respondents during the survey process, I instructed SurveyMonkey to not collect the IP addresses or email addresses of respondents. Only their case IDs appeared in the data set, and this variable was eliminated from the file once data collection ceased. For the mail survey, potential respondents were instructed not to include any identifying information on

the questionnaire before returning it to the researcher. However, a handful of individuals chose to include a handwritten or typed note with the questionnaire to offer additional thoughts about one of the topics of the survey or about municipal politics more generally. These notes were physically separated from the surveys and stored elsewhere to protect the anonymity of their responses. All envelopes were shredded, especially when it became apparent that a few individuals were adding their name and return address.

In addition to the survey method, topics covered by the questions posed on the survey or in an interview have the potential to be harmful to a human subject if they enquire about sensitive matters such as sexuality or physical abuse. However, the questions posed in this project did not touch on such delicate issues. They asked about professional matters such as how candidates dealt with journalists to influence election coverage, how they used Internet-based applications to reach voters directly, and how they used paid advertising to further build name recognition. Moreover, politicians are accustomed to being interviewed. Neither a survey nor an interview is a unique or stressful experience for them. At any rate, the cover letter and questionnaire made it clear that their participation in this project was voluntary and that they could choose not to answer any or all questions. I also indicated at the start of each interview that the candidate could decline to respond to any question and that she or he also had the right to end the interview at any time.

Other ethical issues include informed consent, survey storage, and reports produced from the data. First, participants were viewed as having given their informed consent when they filled out the online questionnaire or returned a paper copy. Candidates who were interviewed for one of the case studies were asked to sign a consent form. The paper questionnaires and interview transcripts will be stored in locked filing cabinets for five years after the completion of the project, after which time they will be destroyed by shredding. Any interview recordings will either be deleted (if digitally recorded) or erased (if taped on cassette) at the same time. All electronic copies of the sampling frame, or list of candidates selected for this study, will be destroyed at the completion of this project.

Finally, research participants were given the option of requesting a copy of any reports produced from the data collected, including the doctoral dissertation. Several did so.

CONCLUSION

The greatest contribution of feminist scholarship to knowledge about politics lies in asserting the importance of gender as an analytical category or, rather, in making visible the gendering already occurring in political discourse and activities (Philips, 1996). Simply put, feminist scholarship insists women matter. It then follows this normative claim with a further declaration that women should be equal to men and thus equally involved in the fair allocation of resources, whether political, economic, or social. This woman-centred perspective exposes the tensions in Western societies between democratic ideals of equality and gendered realities of inequality, and the expressed political project of feminist scholarship is to shorten, if not outright eliminate, the gap between ideals and reality. It strives to accomplish this task by developing a more sophisticated appreciation of how gender influences, and is influenced by, social, economic, and political relations of power.

This chapter outlined the feminist research methodology that I choose to use for this project on the role of gender in the political communication strategies of Canadian municipal candidates. While I do not expect gender differences in the specific techniques that women and men candidates opt to use in their campaigns, such an assertion must be *tested* rather than *assumed* (Strabac, Thorbjornsrud, and Jenssen, 2012). This is especially important for municipal research. Toril Aalberg and James Curran note that scholars often assume that "research findings from their country are valid everywhere" (Aalberg and Curran, 2012: 4). Political scientists make a similar mistake when assuming that conclusions about political behaviour at the national level can also explain political behaviour at the municipal or provincial levels. Before making the claim that political communication is the same everywhere, we need to subject our hypotheses to empirical testing at the municipal, provincial, and federal level. This approach will reveal not only

similarities but also differences in how political actors communicate in different contexts.

This project employs a large-scale online survey and semi-structured interviews to gather empirical evidence to understand the role of gender and other factors in the nature and quality of communicative democracy in municipal elections. The survey makes it possible to systematically assess and compare the popularity of different communication techniques across a large number of politicians. Do most municipal candidates prefer the traditional method of meeting with voters one on one, or are they increasing relying on new methods such as the Internet to spread information about their policies and qualifications for office? The large dataset generated from a survey means we can be confident that answers to these questions can be generalized to Canadian municipal politicians as a whole. The interviews gave me an opportunity to gather a range of perspectives on the current and projected role of the news media and Internet in municipal campaigns, as well as the influence of financial resources and volunteerism on a candidate's electoral prospects. The interview participants' comments not only put the survey data in context but also provided a range of potential explanations for the patterns and trends observed in the quantitative results.

These two research methods by no means reveal all of the dynamics involved in electoral communication in municipal politics, but they are an excellent starting point for understanding the role of gender and municipality type in communication strategies. The next chapter identifies the demographic profile of Canadian women and men municipal candidates.

Candidate Resources
The variables at play in municipal elections

4

At the [town] council level, you need a brochure, you need a few ads, and you can probably do it for 500 bucks. The more sophisticated the campaign, the better, but you have to be careful about how you define sophistication. If it's too slick, it is going to be seen for that.
— Female mayoral candidate

Once you become visible in your community, it's not about what you throw at a campaign money-wise. It's just not about that at all in a community like [mine]. I have no idea about a Toronto or Vancouver or anywhere else. But I do know that in this city what's most important isn't the money you throw at it, it is how visible, how well-connected you are with the community.
— Male council candidate

INTRODUCTION

A candidate's gender or municipal context is not the only factor that could shape political communication strategies. Each council hopeful also possesses a unique mix of personal, professional, political, and financial resources that could have a bearing on the manner in which she or he chooses to engage in personal promotion during a municipal campaign. An incumbent might opt out of an expensive advertising campaign because she already enjoys high name recognition thanks to a long career in local politics, while a newcomer might spend years volunteering with community groups before seeking election in order to establish a reputation in the municipality and develop an understanding of local issues that would strengthen his candidacy. A mayoral candidate might be compelled to use more communication techniques than a council candidate, especially in municipalities with a ward system, because she needs to reach more voters. Furthermore, some individuals are particularly adept at raising money for their campaigns while others do not bother to solicit funds because their communities are too small or local residents frown on public displays of campaigning such as lawn signs. These possibilities raise the following question: What factors other than gender and municipality type might influence the political communication choices of candidates?

Not all of a candidate's personal or professional characteristics play a role in how she or he chooses to campaign, but these traits do reveal the types of individuals who are contesting municipal office and are therefore in a position to shape local political discourse. These features are campaign resources in the sense that they position certain individuals to become candidates in the first place. For example, studies have examined the professional backgrounds of women and men politicians to determine which occupations are most likely to lead to a career in politics (Brodie, 1985; Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013) while others have compared their personal and professional traits in a bid to explain the continuing under-representation of women in legislative bodies (Bledsoe and Herring, 1990; Trimble and Tremblay, 2003; Weikart, Chen, Williams, and Hromic, 2006). This chapter therefore begins by presenting a portrait of the women and men who seek municipal office in Canada today before discussing the specific variables used in this study's statistical analyses and what these variables are expected to reveal about the communication choices that candidates make in a municipal election.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE PERSONAL

Determining the demographic profile of women and men candidates takes a gender analysis in political research beyond a simple accounting of gender parity in legislative bodies to establish the extent to which women municipal politicians are similar to or different from the general female population in Canada (Trimble and Arscott, 2003). Feminist political research usually focuses on parity between women and men in legislatures, but these arguments also raise questions about *which women* seek municipal office. As Rosemary Whip and Don Fletcher note, the first wave of women entering local politics in Australia brought with them a decidedly conservative, middle-class viewpoint. Just as men cannot represent everyone, they argue that it "follows then that women, who differ in terms of class, ethnicity, age, educational level, work force participation and marital and parental status, cannot be represented by a single type of woman, but should be represented by women

from across the spectrum of female experiences" (Whip and Fletcher, 1999: 63). Identifying the characteristics of women politicians enables us to assess the extent to which different groups of women are engaged in municipal politics.

Research on women's political participation, especially at the municipal level, typically monitors personal differences between women and men along six dimensions: age, marital status, children, education, ethnicity, and income (Black, 2003; Bochel and Bochel, 2008; Briggs, 2000; MacManus, 1991; Merritt, 1977; Ryan, Pini, and Brown, 2005; Trimble and Tremblay, 2003; Whip and Fletcher, 1999). To these I have added a seventh one, religious faith. Religion is a traditional cleavage in many Western liberal democracies, thought recent research suggests it has a mixed influence on political behaviour in Canada (Gidengil, Blais, Nadeau, and Nevitte, 2004; Thomas, 2012). Analyzing a series of Canadian Election Studies, Elisabeth Gidengil and her colleagues (2004) found religious respondents were no more likely to vote in a federal election than secular ones, but they were less likely to engage in protest activities such as boycotts and demonstrations. Melanee Thomas's (2012) analysis of CES data gathered between 1965 and 2008 discovered that secular women had far less confidence in their political abilities than religious women and all male respondents. However, it is religion's salience as a marker of social difference that could sharpen our understanding of which groups are dominant in municipal politics.

As noted in Chapter 3, the survey questionnaire asked respondents a series of questions about their personal circumstances. Table 4.1 provides the descriptive statistics. The overall results reveal white Christians are by far the dominant group in municipal politics, with more than nine out of 10 respondents listing their ethnicity as Caucasian and their religious faith as a denomination of Christianity.[1] Only 2% of respondents named a different faith, such as Hinduism or Judaism, and only 5.4% listed a different ethnicity, such as Aboriginal, East Asian, or Black, or claimed to be a mix of ethnicities. Interestingly, women were less ethnically diverse than men. The non-Caucasians were all men.

The limited ethnic and religious diversity among Canadian municipal candidates

negates the possibility of an intersectional analysis that would reveal how gender works in relation to, and through, other dimensions of social identity when it comes to candidate communication practices (Harnois, 2013). As a result, variables on ethnicity and religion—and interaction terms involving gender and ethnicity or religion—are not included in any of the statistical models used in subsequent chapters. This study is therefore largely a portrait of the communication practices of white, Christian politicians. It cannot speak to the ways in which non-white, non-Christian politicians adopt similar or diverging communication techniques in their bid for municipal office.

Not only are women and men candidates generally uniform in their ethnic and religious background but they are also alike in terms of other personal characteristics. They exhibited similar patterns of children, education, religiosity, and income. Still, the subtle variations are telling. Not only do more men have children but they are also slightly more likely to have *preschool* children in the home while women are more likely to have *school-age* children at home. This result is in keeping with previous research on women in politics, which suggests men are generally not encumbered by their childrearing responsibilities: men are more willing to get involved in municipal politics when their children are very young yet women appear to wait until their children are at least in school. That being said, Table 4.1 indicates a majority of both women and men candidates have adult children and therefore are free of child-care duties. A subtle, but insignificant, pattern can also be noted in educational attainment. More women than men report obtaining a diploma, college degree, or bachelor degree, while more men than women report acquiring the highest degrees, including a doctorate. This pattern repeats itself in terms of income. While most municipal candidates can be described as middle-class, more women than men earn less than $40,000 a year while more men than women fall into the highest income categories. Taken together, these results suggest a subtle vertical segregation in terms of education and income, with men more likely to be at the top and women at the bottom.

Women and men candidates, however, do differ in some significant ways. Women

TABLE 4.1: The personal characteristics of non-acclaimed candidates for municipal office in Canada, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men	City		Non-City	All
Share of candidates	21.8%		78.2%	70.8%		29.2%	N/A
Age (average in years)	52.4	*	55.7	52.7	*	56.2	55.0
Marital status		*					
Single	6.5%		7.4%	10.8%		6.0%	7.2%
Married	67.7%		83.0%	78.3%		80.6%	79.5%
Common-law	8.1%		2.6%	6.0%		2.5%	3.7%
Separated	1.6%		0.4%	1.2%		1.0%	0.8%
Divorced	9.7%		4.8%	3.6%		6.0%	5.9%
Widowed	6.5%		1.7%	0.0%		4.0%	2.8%
Children (select all that apply)							
No children	14.3%		9.3%	14.8%		9.5%	10.4%
Preschool kids at home	3.7%		4.9%	7.2%		3.0%	4.6%
Preschool kids elsewhere	0.0%		0.0%	0.0%		0.0%	0.0%
School-age kids at home	31.5%		25.9%	19.3%		23.4%	27.0%
School-age kids elsewhere	5.6%		2.4%	3.6%		2.0%	2.9%
Adult children at home	13.2%		9.8%	16.9%	**	6.5%	10.6%
Adult children elsewhere	67.9%		67.5%	52.4%	*	65.3%	67.6%
Education (completed)					*		
No high school/no answer	3.1%		4.3%	0.0%		5.9%	4.1%
High school	13.8%		20.8%	19.3%		19.3%	19.1%
Diploma/college	43.1%		33.8%	30.1%		36.1%	35.8%
Bachelor	24.6%		21.6%	27.7%		21.3%	22.6%
Masters/professional degree	13.8%		16.9%	22.9%		14.4%	16.3%
Doctorate	1.5%		2.6%	0.0%		3.0%	2.1%
Religion					*		
Christian	94.9%		94.9%	86.0%		98.2%	95.4%
Eastern Christian	2.6%		3.4%	9.3%		0.9%	2.6%
Other	2.6%		1.7%	4.7%		0.9%	2.0%
Religiosity		*					
Very religious person	13.6%		6.2%	7.3%		8.2%	7.7%
Somewhat religious person	39.0%		42.3%	47.6%		38.8%	41.5%
Spiritual but not member of religion	30.5%		20.3%	18.3%		23.0%	22.3%
Not a religious person	16.9%		31.3%	26.8%		30.1%	28.5%
Ethnicity					**		
Caucasian	100.0%		92.8%	90.2%		96.4%	94.6%
Aboriginal	0.0%		2.2%	0.0%		2.1%	1.9%
East Asian	0.0%		1.3%	3.7%		0.0%	1.0%
Black	0.0%		1.3%	3.7%		0.0%	1.0%
"Canadian"	0.0%		0.9%	0.0%		1.0%	0.6%
Mix of ethnicities	0.0%		1.3%	2.4%		0.5%	1.0%
Family income before taxes					*		
Less than $40,000	13.2%		9.5%	13.0%		9.7%	10.2%
$40,000 to $59,999	22.6%		16.6%	10.4%		21.2%	17.6%
$60,000 to $79,999	17.0%		15.6%	7.8%		20.6%	16.0%
$80,000 to $99,999	11.3%		19.6%	23.4%		15.2%	18.1%
$100,000 or more	35.8%		38.7%	45.5%		33.3%	38.2%

Chi-square used to determine the level of significance for differences between women and men and between city and non-city candidates within each additional variable except age. Independent single sample *t*-tests used for age.
* p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001.
Note: Differing response rates means the N varies. Weighted data.

tend to be slightly younger than men, though the average for candidate in both groups

is typically middle-aged, a common trend in municipal politics (Briggs, 2000; Domingo-

Tapales, 1998; Siebert, 2009). Women's younger age could reflect the fact that women only began participating in politics in large numbers in the last few decades, with older women politicians potentially fewer in number and women's average political career usually shorter in duration than men's. Conversely, some men might wait until they retire from full-time jobs and have more time to devote to municipal politics while some women might get involved earlier because they work part-time. The survey data also reveal men candidates are much more likely to be married and are less religious than their female counterparts. Men's lesser religiosity mirrors trends in the larger population, where one-quarter of Canadian men claimed no religious affiliation in 2008 compared to one-fifth of women (Statistics Canada, 2011a). The fact that women candidates were less likely to have a spouse but more likely to be in a common-law relationship indicates family responsibilities of any kind could act as a barrier to women's candidacy.

While women municipal candidates are generally similar to their male counterparts, they do not reflect the personal characteristics of the larger female population. Canadian women are more ethnically diverse, with 3.8% identifying as Aboriginal and 16% as a member of a visible minority group, and more religiously diverse, with about 5% identifying with the Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, or Sikh religions and only 64% with a Christian denomination in 2008 (Statistics Canada, 2011a). Comparing the two groups of women in terms of marital status, education, and income, however, is more difficult because of Statistics Canada's different approach to these variables, but its most recent census data suggest women politicians are more likely to be married, to complete high school, and to earn more than the general female population (Statistics Canada, 2011a). These series of juxtapositions suggest efforts to change the descriptive composition of municipal councils are having little effect. Women who seek municipal office have more in common with their male counterparts than with other women. Inclusiveness in municipal politics therefore appears to extend no further than allowing women from the dominant group to join in.

THE PATHWAYS TO POWER

Scholars point to women's growing, and changing, labour force participation as a possible antidote to their continuing under-representation in legislative bodies. They are especially interested in whether women are well represented in traditional pipeline occupations for politics, such as business and law. "The basic implication of the pipeline explanation," note Jennifer L. Lawless and Richard L. Fox, "is that as more and more women come to occupy the careers that are most likely to lead up to political candidacies, more and more women will acquire the objective qualifications and economic autonomy necessary to pursue elective office" (2010: 30). Yet their analysis of American data indicates men still continue to dominate the pipeline professions, suggesting any increase in women's rate of candidacy due to their professional backgrounds will be incremental. Canadian women, for their part, have slowly improved their presence in these occupations since 1987, constituting around one-third of those in managerial positions and half of those in business and finance in 2009 (Statistics Canada, 2010: 21).

That pipeline professions continue to be important conduits to political power is evident from the occupational backgrounds of women who have already become politicians. Examining the socioeconomic profile of Canadian politicians between 1917 and 2000, Linda Trimble and Manon Tremblay (2003) found an increasing number of self-employed and professional women are getting elected to federal and provincial legislatures. While many women held positions in traditionally female occupations such as teaching, social work, and nursing, they also came from law, civil service, business, and journalism. Trimble and Tremblay also discovered fewer female legislators over time are claiming to have been housewives before getting elected. An American study uncovered a similar trend among municipal candidates in New York City and Los Angeles between 1993 and 2005. Brian E. Adams and Ronnee Schreiber (2010) found four-fifths of women and men non-incumbent candidates had managerial, professional, or related backgrounds while few well-funded women candidates were homemakers. However, traditionally female occupations such

as education might be on their way to becoming new, important pathways to power. A survey of female mayors of American cities with a population over 30,000 revealed many of them were former educators such as teachers, principals, and professors, or involved in communications, while fewer of them had a business background (Weikart, Chen, Williams, and Hromic, 2006).

For this study, the survey asked respondents two questions about their professional background: (1) what was their job before the municipal election and (2) was it full-time, part-time, or casual. Their responses to the open-ended question about occupation were recoded into general categories, using Statistics Canada (2011b) classifications as a guideline. The management category includes respondents who used the word "manager" in their job title, with the exception of bank managers, who were placed in the business and finance category, along with real estate agents, mortgage brokers, various types of business owners, and the self-employed. The administration category includes administrative assistants, secretaries, and anyone who simply said they were in administration. The education category covers teachers, professors, and anyone working at an educational institution. Respondents who said they were retired or semi-retired are listed as retired, even if they provided their occupation before withdrawing from the workforce. Government includes civil servants, politicians, and anyone working for a government service, such as firefighters and soldiers. The health category includes medical practitioners and anyone working for a health-related agency or organization. Stay-at-home parents are categorized as engaged in homemaking. The manufacturing, trades, and sciences category incorporates a wide range of job classifications, including but not limited to autoworkers, carpenters, contractors, and electricians. Farmers, various agricultural specialists, and anyone working in the oilpatch are part of agriculture and natural resources. The arts, media, and religion category includes theatre directors, journalists, and the clergy. The sales and services division is the most expansive, involving bus drivers, cooks, hairdressers, hardware clerks, waitresses, and those who included the word "sales" or "service" in their job title. "Other"

TABLE 4.2: The occupational characteristics of non-acclaimed candidates for municipal office in Canada, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women	Men	City	Non-City	All
Occupation type	***		**		
Management	14.8%	13.0%	24.4%	7.8%	13.5%
Law	1.6%	3.2%	3.8%	2.6%	3.0%
Administration	6.6%	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%	1.5%
Business and finance	24.6%	19.0%	25.6%	17.7%	20.4%
Education	11.5%	3.7%	6.4%	4.7%	5.2%
Retired	8.2%	12.0%	9.0%	13.0%	11.3%
Government	8.2%	9.3%	12.8%	7.8%	9.0%
Health	4.9%	5.6%	3.8%	6.3%	5.4%
Homemaking	3.3%	0.5%	0.0%	1.6%	1.0%
Manufacturing, trades, sciences	1.6%	13.9%	9.0%	13.0%	11.3%
Agriculture and natural resources	3.3%	12.5%	0.0%	14.6%	10.6%
Arts, media, and religion	1.6%	2.8%	3.8%	2.1%	2.7%
Sales and services	8.2%	4.2%	1.3%	6.3%	4.9%
Other	1.6%	0.5%	0.0%	0.5%	0.5%
Employment type	*				
Full-time	64.1%	77.0%	78.6%	71.6%	74.4%
Part-time	20.3%	7.8%	11.9%	10.0%	10.5%
Casual	4.7%	1.3%	1.2%	2.5%	2.1%
N/A (did not have paid job)	10.9%	13.9%	8.3%	15.9%	13.1%

Chi-square used to determine the level of significance for differences in means between women and men and between city and non-city candidates within each additional variable; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
Note: Differing response rates means the N varies. Weighted data.

includes any response that could not be easily included in any of the above categories.

The descriptive statistics for candidate occupations are presented in Table 4.2. Overall, one-fifth of municipal candidates work in the male-dominated fields of business or finance, followed by management; manufacturing, trades, or sciences; agriculture and natural resources; and government. Chi-square results found significant occupational differences between women and men candidates overall. A series of *t*-tests determined men candidates are significantly more likely to hold jobs in the manufacturing, trades, sciences, agricultural, or natural resource fields while women dominate administration, a category that includes administrative assistants, secretaries, and other types of support staff. Of greater importance, though, is the fact that women candidates are just as likely as their male counterparts to be in the traditional pipeline professions of business, management, and law, providing further evidence these occupations are traditional recruiting grounds for politicians. Women candidates were more likely to have a business or financial background than men candidates, though they also take alternative routes to municipal office. Women

are almost three times more likely to be educators and twice as likely to work in sales or services than men candidates, though none of these results are statistically significant.

While women candidates share many of the same professional characteristics of their male counterparts, again they do not appear to be representative of the general female population in Canada. The Labour Force Survey (Statistics Canada, 2011a) found that, in 2009, 7% of women and 11% of men held managerial positions, while 3.6% of women and 3.2% of men worked in the business and financial fields. Canadian women were less likely to be educators (5.8%) and more likely to be administrators (23.2%) or work in sales and services (28.9%) than women municipal candidates. For their part, men candidates are far less active in sales and services than the general male population (20.1%) and only slightly more likely to be in teaching than other men (2.7%). So while municipal candidates of both genders come from a broad range of occupational backgrounds, they tend to be drawn more from the traditional pipeline professions.

Differences between women candidates and Canadian women in general do not extend to employment status. Women candidates are almost four times more likely to be casually employed and more than twice as likely to be employed on a part-time basis than men candidates, though only the latter result is statistically significant. This finding is consistent with employment patterns in the Canadian population as a whole. The Labour Force Survey (Statistics Canada, 2011a) found that 26.9% of women worked part-time in 2009 compared to 11.9% of men, suggesting that, in this one respect, women municipal candidates are representative of the general female population. It also hints at the possibility women's employment status does not dictate their political ambitions; women engage in municipal politics whether they work full-time or part-time.

THE ADVANTAGE OF INCUMBENCY

Incumbency is one of the most important resources a candidate can have. Several municipal studies demonstrate that incumbents are far more successful than challengers

or newcomers at winning elections. Joseph Kushner and his colleagues found incumbency to be a major asset in Ontario civic elections in the 1980s and 1990s, with anywhere from 74.4% to 92.4% of incumbents winning election compared to around half of non-incumbents in small municipalities and less than one-fifth in large ones (Kushner, Siegel, and Stanwick, 1997: 543-544). The authors offer three explanations for the power of incumbency in municipal politics:

> First, incumbents benefit from name recognition. In municipal elections where there is no party affiliation to assist voter recognition, having a well-known name can be particularly helpful. Second, incumbents have experience on their side: they tend to look better in debates and at all-candidates meetings because they appear to have a firmer grasp of the issues. Incumbents can convince voters that their knowledge of the workings of city hall will enable them to serve better their constituents. Third, an incumbent candidate is probably better able to attract financial and other resources at election time. In other words, success begets success. (Kushner et al, 1997: 543)

They go on to assert that incumbents are especially well poised to marshal the necessary financial and human resources to mount a campaign in the larger cities.

Being the current office-holder is of particular benefit to mayoral candidates. In a separate study of mayoral contests held in 32 Canadian cities between 1982 and 1997, Kushner and his colleagues (2001) discovered 83.9% of incumbents were victorious compared to just 10.4% of non-incumbents. Hannah Stanwick also credited name recognition, experience, and money for helping the incumbent mayors of East York, Etobicoke, Scarborough, and York to win their wards in the first municipal election for the newly amalgamated City of Toronto in 1997 (2000: 559-560). Mark Sproule-Jones argues that these results indicate incumbency is a more important resource for Canadian municipal candidates than party support (2007: 244). But it could be a deeply gendered resource. Examining data from recent federal elections, Melanee Thomas and Marc André Bodet (2013) found men not only comprised four-fifths of incumbents in 2008 and 2011 but also had a better chance of re-election than did women incumbents.

My study of recent Canadian municipal candidates discovered men did not have

an incumbency advantage despite comprising three-quarters of all office-holders seeking re-election. Regardless of whether candidates were acclaimed or had to campaign for a council seat, female incumbents were slightly, but not significantly, more likely than their male counterparts to emerge victorious (results not shown). Male incumbents were more successful when compared to male challengers, but they only gained a significant advantage when the analysis included acclaimed candidates. Female incumbents were significantly more likely than female challengers to secure a seat, both overall and among non-acclaimed candidates.

Theses results indicate we cannot assume a relationship between gender and incumbency at the municipal level. While incumbents were significantly more likely to be acclaimed or voted into office than challengers, differences between female incumbents and male incumbents were not important. This analysis supports the inclusion of incumbency as an independent variable but raises questions about whether it mediates the role of gender in electoral communication. Incumbents might not make the same communication choices as challengers because they are already a known quantity in the community, both in terms of name recognition and a track record in municipal government. Women and men incumbents are unlikely to be different in these respects.

THE ADVANTAGE OF POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

Current office-holders are not the only candidates who know how governments operate, are practised in the art of debate, or have the contacts necessary to generate financial and human resources for their campaigns. Other candidates might have previously held municipal office. Some could be defeated politicians attempting to regain their seats in the next election, those who temporarily left local politics for personal and professional reasons and are trying to stage a comeback, school trustees attempting to move up the political ladder, or federal and provincial politicians moving into a new electoral arena after an electoral defeat. Rebekah Herrick (1996) believes holding prior elected office could

be an asset for candidates because it often comes with knowledge, name recognition, contacts and, in the case of women, could help counteract negative stereotypes they are not viable candidates; that they have won other elections proves they are viable. Examining two Chicago municipal elections in the 1990s, Timothy B. Krebs (1998) found political experience was associated with a significant boost in a candidate's vote share. Yet Herrick found no gender differences in the value of political experience for non-incumbent candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1988 and 1992. As such, years spent in municipal office could provide an alternative explanation to gender for a candidate's communication choices rather than one that mediates gender.

Although incumbency and prior municipal office overlap, neither one is a perfect measure of political municipal experience nor do they necessarily provide the same benefits to candidates. Candidates who have been out of local office for a period of time might be perceived as out of touch with current governing or political realities. Incumbents are in the thick of things, so to speak. A limitation of the incumbency variable for a study on municipal politics, though, is that it underestimates the presence of office-holders in the candidate pool. In this study, an incumbent is someone who holds the municipal position she or he is seeking and not someone who is a current member of council trying to obtain a different seat, such as a councillor campaigning to be mayor. The variable on years spent in municipal office is designed, in part, to capture the prior political experience of these sitting politicians, as well as that of former politicians returning to the municipal scene.

Results from the survey indicate many non-incumbents have at least some prior office-holding experience at the local level (results not shown). Non-acclaimed challengers served an average of 3.6 years on council, with one-third not serving at all. Female challengers put in an average of 2.8 years as a municipal official compared to 3.8 years for male challengers. Not surprisingly, incumbents had significantly more political experience than challengers, serving an average of 11.4 years. Male incumbents (11.9 years) were also council members for a longer period of time than female incumbents (9.8 years).

However, none of the gender differences are statistically significant.

Figure 4.1 notes the frequencies of years spent in municipal office for non-acclaimed candidates. Almost three-quarters of candidates had some experience, with one-third serving on council for anywhere from one to five years. The other quarter were newcomers trying to secure their first council seat. Overall, candidates spent an average of 6.3 years in municipal office. Crosstabluations reveal city candidates were significantly more likely to have no prior municipal experience before seeking office while non-city candidates had more experience at every stage except for those with more than 20 years of service on council. In contrast, no major gender differences were found in these categories, though an imperfect pattern of vertical segregation was detected. A slightly greater percentage of women than men appear in the "0" and "1 to 5" categories while men generally took a small lead in the upper categories. Still, men did not really spend much more time in municipal politics than women, serving an average of 6.6 years compared to women's 5.29 years.

The similar amount of time that women and men spent in prior municipal office suggests this variable will not mediate interactions between gender and candidate communication. The fact that municipal experience is closely aligned with incumbency also suggests it will not exert an independent force on communication strategies. However, it has been included in the statistical models because, as a scale variable, it better captures the extent of prior municipal experience that both incumbents and challengers bring to their campaigns. Candidates who have a longer career in municipal politics are likely to have much greater public familiarity than those at the start of their careers.

THE REALITIES OF POLITICAL STRUCTURES

At a symbolic level, mayors are the municipal equivalent of premiers and prime ministers. Depending upon a municipality's governmental structure, mayors wield no more legal power than other members of council—they have one vote, like everyone else—yet they possess symbolic power that gives them considerable informal influence over council

FIGURE 4.1: Number of years candidates report spending in municipal office before their most recent campaign, overall, by gender and by municipality type
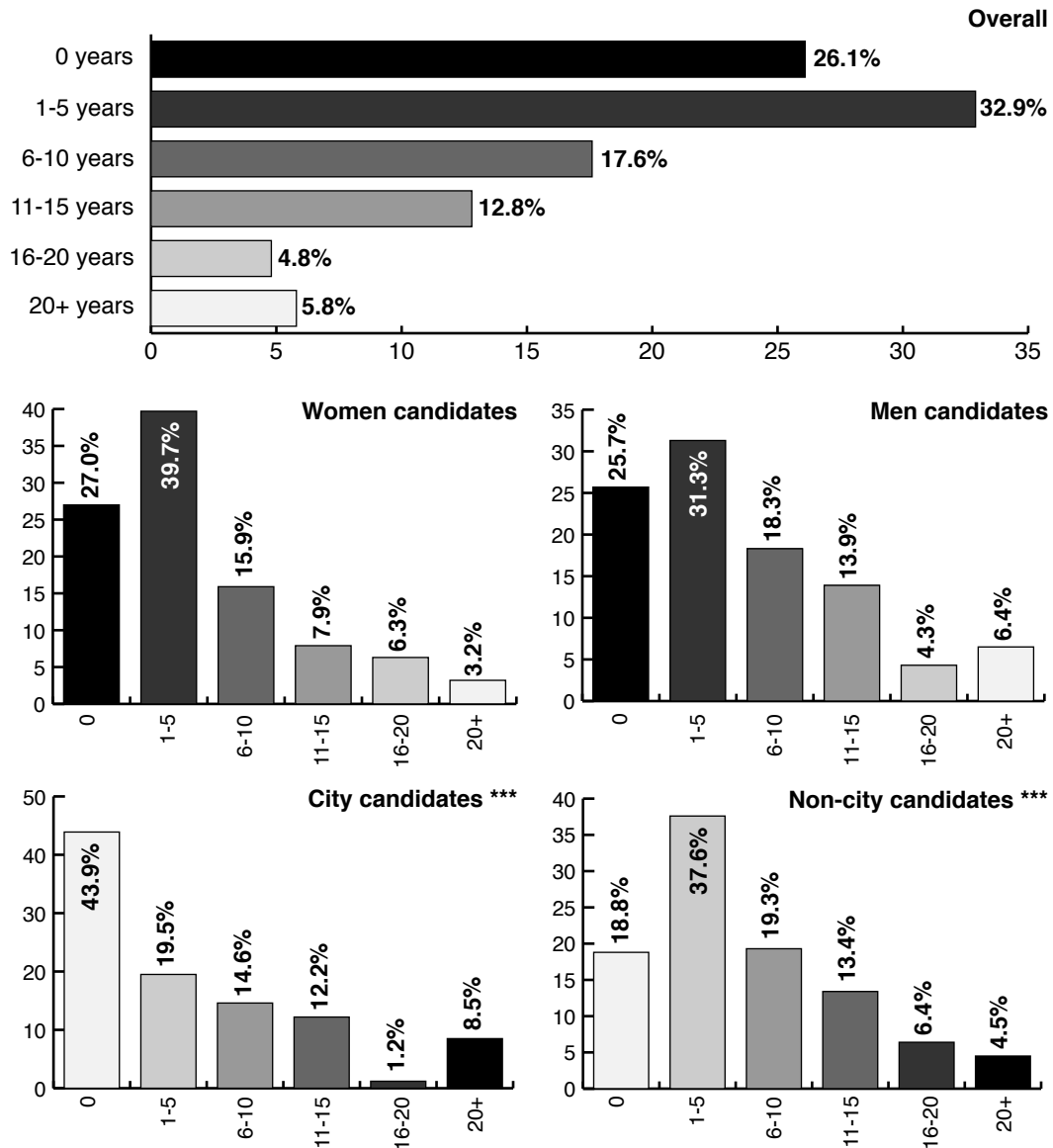
decisions. Their symbolic power is derived from their means of selection: all eligible voters get to choose one individual to be the head of council, regardless of the electoral system used to pick the other council members. The person with the most votes therefore becomes the community's political leader and top representative. By comparison, a councillor in a ward system represents the interests of just one area in the community while a councillor in an

at-large system shares a community-wide mandate with the other councillors. Campaigns for mayor are therefore different from those for councillor, if not in structure then certainly in scale. Mayoral candidates compete for one spot and they must appeal to the community's entire electorate in order to secure it. Ward candidates also typically compete for one seat, but they only target voters residing in the ward they wish to represent. Since at-large candidates vie for one of several available seats, their campaign revolves around making their name one of those voters select for councillor. These campaign realities suggest mayoral and council candidates could make different communication choices.

Table 4.3 outlines the percentage of candidates who sought each type of office in recent municipal elections, overall, by gender, and by municipality type. In general, three-quarters of candidates aspired to become a councillor, with far fewer competing to become mayor, deputy mayor, or a councillor for a regional (upper-tier) municipality. What Table 4.3 also shows is yet another subtle pattern of vertical segregation among women and men candidates: a greater percentage of women put their names forward for regular seats such as councillor or regional councillor while a greater percentage of men strove to become mayor or deputy mayor. In other words, men were more likely than women to seek out the most prestigious and, arguably, most powerful positions in municipal politics. But this is a weak and insignificant trend. Chi-square results, as well as a series of *t*-tests, demonstrate no significant differences in women and men's rate of candidacy for each type of office.

No major gender variations were detected when it came to electoral system, either. Women and men were equally likely to compete in both an at-large and a ward system, with about one-third of candidates campaigning in the latter. The situation is different when examining candidates by their municipal context. Non-city candidates are significantly more likely to compete in an at-ward system while city candidates are almost evenly spread between at-large and ward systems.

Despite this latter result, this study opts not to include electoral system as a variable in statistical models for a few reasons. First, evidence is mixed on whether or

TABLE 4.3: The political characteristics of non-acclaimed candidates for municipal office in Canada, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women	Men	City	Non-City	All
Prior local office (average in years)	5.3	6.6	11.8	11.1	6.3
Municipality type					
City	20.3%	31.3%	100.0%	-------	28.7%
Town	40.6%	39.2%	-------	56.7%	39.4%
Village/hamlet	9.4%	7.9%	-------	11.4%	8.4%
Rural municipality	28.1%	20.3%	-------	31.8%	22.1%
Regional municipality	1.6%	1.3%	-------	0.0%	1.3%
Municipal office sought					
Mayor/reeve	11.1%	19.6%	15.5%	19.7%	17.9%
Councillor/alderman	84.1%	76.4%	83.3%	74.7%	77.9%
Regional councillor	3.2%	1.3%	1.2%	2.0%	1.7%
Deputy mayor	1.6%	2.7%	0.0%	3.5%	2.4%
Other	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%
Electoral system			**		
At-large	60.9%	65.7%	51.8%	70.6%	64.6%
Ward	39.1%	34.3%	48.2%	29.4%	35.4%
Incumbency					
Incumbent	33.3%	29.4%	33.7%	29.6%	30.3%
Challenger	66.7%	70.6%	66.3%	70.4%	69.7%
Electoral outcome			***		
Winner	62.5%	60.9%	42.2%	68.2%	61.1%
Loser	37.5%	39.1%	57.8%	31.8%	38.9%

Chi-square used to determine the level of significance for differences in means between women and men and between city and non-city candidates within each additional variable except years in prior municipal office. Independent single sample *t*-tests used for that variable ; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001. Note: Differing response rates means the N varies. Weighted data.

not the electoral system is a factor when assessing women's rate of success in municipal elections (Bristowe, 1980; Bullock III and MacManus, 1991; Lambe and Ware, 2004; MacManus and Bullock III, 1988; Welch and Karnig, 1979; Welch and Studlar, 1990). Second, electoral system can be conflated with municipality type. Survey respondents reported campaigning in an at-large system in most towns and villages, in a ward system in regional municipalities, and in an equal mix in cities and rural municipalities. Finally, I would argue that municipality type conditions candidate communication choices more than the electoral system for reasons of population size and geography. Whether they campaign in the at-large system common in small cities or in the ward system common in large cities, city candidates need to reach a sizeable electorate in a large area and so differences in their communication practices will likely be a matter of degree. Rural wards are far less populated but quite large in size, suggesting rural candidates will rely on similar strategies even though they need to reach different groups of voters within their communities. In

most cases, candidates in towns and villages will be promoting their candidacies to the same (few) voters and in a more compact geographical area. Thus, I expect the structural realities of their communities rather than of the electoral system to influence candidate decisions.

THE POWER OF MONEY

To turn personal characteristics and political experience into campaign resources, candidates must make voters aware of their attributes, and many of the communication techniques that council hopefuls use to promote their candidacies require at least some money and labour, though the amount of each will vary depending upon the size of the community, local campaign practices, and the candidate's own preferences. A male city council candidate estimates he spent no more than $100 on his campaign, with most of that to cover the cost of a newspaper ad. He chose to rely on social media, directing voters to his online sites by placing little slips of paper containing his electronic addresses under windshield wipers. A female town candidate saved money by using a home computer to create her brochures. Other candidates interviewed for this study note that lawn signs—a staple of federal and provincial campaigns—are frowned upon by voters in their towns, eliminating both a large expense and the need for volunteers. Candidates in the larger cities often need to mount a more sophisticated, and expensive, campaign because of the sheer size of the electorate and the level of competition they face. A city incumbent believes money was one factor in her opponent's ability to defeat her:

> Money is definitely relevant. If you don't have money for the basics of your campaign, you don't have any credible profile, I think. You have no way of getting people to know that you're there 'til they look at the ballot. So if you can't afford lawn signs or a brochure to drop off, a website, and competent people to help you build that website so it at least has some presence… Yeah, you do need money.

Her fundraising efforts generated enough money for her campaign that she did not need to invest any of her own cash, but she now wonders if she should not have raised more

money in order to match the advertising efforts of her main challenger: "For what I thought my campaign had to be, I had enough money. For what my campaign should have been, I should have asked for more money." In other words, the issue in municipal elections is often not how much money a candidate has, but whether she has enough for the kind of campaign she needs to lead.

The role of money in municipal elections is under-studied in Canada. Comparing Calgary and Toronto, Lisa Young and Sam Austin (2008) conclude that regulatory regimes have a modest effect on campaign financing at the municipal level, with Toronto's use of public rebates, contribution limits, and spending limits leading to fewer acclamations (where candidates run unopposed), a reduction in incumbents' funding advantage, and an increase in the sources of campaign funds. They argue that financial resources matter in elections because "[e]quity among voters is diminished if affluent individuals or organizations are able to create significant financial inequities among candidates" (Young and Austin, 2008: 89). The effects of campaign financing can also be gendered. Herrick (1996) found male challengers get more electoral bang for their campaign buck, receiving 0.8% more votes per $100,000 they spent on their bid for a U.S. House of Representatives seat between 1988 and 1992 than did their female counterparts.

This study finds campaign financing has had gendered implications in recent municipal elections across Canada. As Table 4.4 demonstrates, men far exceeded women in fundraising, generating an average of $4,470.19 for their campaigns compared to women's $1,855.19. They also spent more on their campaigns and on communications in particular, though these results did not achieve significance. What is especially noticeable about the figures in Table 4.4 is that both women and men spent more on their campaigns than they were able to raise, indicating the average candidate goes into debt in order to capture a council seat. This finding was consistent regardless of municipality type. Both city candidates and those in towns, villages, and rural municipalities spent more than they raised: city candidates collected an average of $10,642.24 but invested $11,287.89 in their

TABLE 4.4: The campaign resources of non-acclaimed candidates for municipal office in Canada, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women	Men	City	Non-City	All
Financial resources (average)					
Money raised for campaign	$1,855.19 *	$4,470.19	$10,642.24 ***	$760.33	$3,909.10
Money spent on campaign	$3,223.81	$5,266.72	$11,287.89 ***	$1,813.74	$4,837.34
Money spent on communications	$2,131.27	$3,154.03	$6,569.64 ***	$1,328.27	$2,923.33
Top source of funding	*		***		
Candidate	63.3%	75.8%	65.3%	75.9%	%
Family	2.0%	1.8%	4.0%	0.8%	%
Friends	6.1%	3.0%	6.7%	1.5%	%
Business	4.1%	9.1%	16.0%	4.5%	%
Unions	2.0%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	%
Other	2.0%	3.0%	6.7%	0.8%	%
N/A, didn't fundraise	20.4%	7.3%	0.0%	16.5%	%
Timing of fundraising			***		
Before announced candidacy	3.3%	9.2%	14.6%	4.2%	8.0%
Before election	8.2%	9.2%	20.7%	4.2%	9.0%
During election	24.6%	21.2%	34.1%	17.5%	22.1%
N/A, didn't fundraise	63.9%	60.4%	30.5%	74.1%	61.0%
Staffing (average # of people)					
Paid staff	0.1	0.1	0.03	0.2	0.1
Volunteers	6.9	7.7	17.2 ***	3.1	7.5
Communication staff	0.6	0.6	1.2 ***	0.4	0.6

Independent single sample t-tests were used to determine the level of significance for differences in means between women and men and between city and non-city candiates for the scale variables. Chi-square used to determine significance for the nominal variables; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Note: Differing response rates means the N varies. Weighted data.

campaigns, including $6,569.64 spent specifically on their communications, while non-city candidates generated just $760.33 and spent $1,813.74 overall and $1,328.27 in particular on communications. Not surprisingly, the disparity in campaign financing between the two groups was statistically significant.

Yet candidates in smaller municipalities do not need as much money as those in the cities to wage a campaign. This is reflected in the fact that about three-quarters of non-city candidates said they did not bother doing any fundraising while about one-third of city candidates made a similar claim. A majority of non-city candidates cited themselves as their top source of campaign funds, as did city candidates. In contrast to municipality type, gender did not result in major differences in terms of source of funds or timing of fundraising. Almost two-thirds of both women and men did not undertake any fundraising while about a quarter opted to wait until the election itself to collect money. For those who indicated and ranked their sources of funding, almost two-thirds of women and three-

quarters of men cited themselves as their top donors. Women were twice as likely to list friends as their top source of funds while men were almost twice as likely to list business, though neither of these differences were statistically significant, possibly due to the small sample in these categories.

One final conclusion can be drawn from the survey results on campaign financing. Municipal candidates spend 60.4% of their budgets on communications, with women allocating 66.1% and men 59.9%. The fact that both women and men spend a considerable amount of money purchasing lawn signs, printing brochures, or placing media advertisements suggests campaign financing could condition the communication strategies that candidates opt to use in their bid for local office. It is for this reason that the three scale variables for campaign financing—money raised, money spent, and money spent on communications—are included in the statistical analyses where relevant.

THE POWER OF PEOPLE

Money is not the only material resource in a campaign. Candidates often rely on other people to help with the logistics of fighting an election. They need designers to create lawn signs, technicians to print them, volunteers to mount them on wire stands, and canvassers to distribute them along major roads and front lawns, and to retrieve them when the election is over. As a female incumbent noted, professional-looking online sites require the services of people knowledgeable in the use of information and communication technologies. These human resources come in one of two types: paid and unpaid. While the number of volunteers or staff working on a campaign is not likely to influence candidate communication practices, it does indicate campaign intensity.

An analysis of the survey data reveals city campaigns are a hub of activity in comparison to small-town campaigns (see Table 4.4 on page 95). The average campaign enlisted the equivalent of 7.5 volunteers to help with election tasks, with city candidates having almost five times as many volunteers working on their campaigns in general and

twice as many people working on their communications in particular than did candidates

in towns, villages, and rural municipalities, both statistically significant results. Gender was

not a factor, however. Male candidates had slightly, but not significantly, more volunteers

and communications staff than did women candidates and few candidates of either gender

had paid staff on their campaign payrolls. While volunteers are no doubt invaluable to

candidates in every electoral environment, this analysis suggests volunteers are a resource

that city candidates are not only best able to marshal in support of their electoral ambitions

but one they also most need. The results further support the contention that municipality

type is an important variable to consider when analyzing various aspects of municipal

elections, including candidate communication strategies.

THE ADVANTAGE OF VOLUNTEERISM

Money and volunteers are not the only resources that support a successful

campaign for municipal office. Candidates can use social capital earned from volunteer

activities to convince voters they can make a contribution to local governance. Elisabeth

Gidengil and Brenda O'Neill argue that the "core idea" behind Robert Putnam's concept of

social capital "is that networks of formal and informal sociability foster relations of trust and

reciprocity. These levels of trust and reciprocity are the capital from which further assets are

produced, namely political engagement of citizens" (2006: 1). Volunteer organizations form

one such network, and an important one in many municipalities. A woman town candidate

said local services survive thanks to help from residents: "If it wasn't for volunteers, there

are an awful lot of things that wouldn't happen." Other respondents indicated potential

candidates could use volunteerism to build a name for themselves in the community long

before making their first bid for municipal office. As a consequence, Joanna Everitt argues

that investigating social capital is another way to explore the gendered link between private

relationships and public life: "By paying attention to community organizations, an arena in

which women have long been active, social capital recognizes and gives credit to previously

ignored activities as leading to political engagement" (2006: 276-277). It is important to note that volunteerism has long been an alternative pathway to electoral office for many women (Brodie, 1985).

Yet as with paid employment, women do not earn the same amount of social capital as men despite having an extensive history as community volunteers. Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart (2006) attribute this gap in social capital to the fact women and men participate in different types of organizations: women populate religious, charity, and school groups, while men dominate groups dealing with sports and hobbies, veterans, and the professions, business, and labour unions. Judith Garber (1995) notes that local activism also follows gendered patterns. Despite such segregation, women gain valuable skills from volunteer activities that they can use in other aspects of their lives and communities (O'Neill, 2006), just not necessarily in politics. Vivien Lowndes argues that women's caregiving responsibilities mean they not only earn a different type of social capital than men but that their social capital is also more often spent by men. She provides an example from school governance in Great Britain to illustrate her point:

> In my own experience, male parent governors make productive use of their female partners' informal, schoolyard knowledge when debating and making decisions in meetings. At the same time, those partners are providing practical support to male governors through baby-sitting at home or using their social networks to arrange such care! (Lowndes, 2006: 231)

Lowndes asserts that a person's ability to use social capital for political purposes therefore depends on more than just how much or what type of social capital they have.

To understand the nature and extent of social capital municipal candidates might have at their disposal, the survey asked respondents about their volunteerism. Table 4.5 indicates a majority of women and men candidates are involved with community groups in some way in the years before their most recent bid for municipal office. Respondents were asked to provide details about their involvement, including how many years they had been a volunteer, what type of groups they were active with, what positions they usually held,

TABLE 4.5: The social capital of non-acclaimed candidates for municipal office in Canada, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men	City		Non-City	All
Volunteerism	87.3%		88.7%	88.0%		88.6%	88.3%
Groups (check all that apply)							
Agriculture	3.6%		5.4%	4.1%		4.5%	4.8%
Arts and culture	23.6%		19.1%	30.6%	**	15.2%	20.4%
Business	23.6%		30.9%	28.8%		28.8%	29.5%
Education	43.6%	*	29.4%	34.2%		30.9%	32.4%
Environmental	5.5%		3.4%	5.5%		3.9%	4.0%
Ethnic	1.8%		2.0%	2.7%		1.7%	1.7%
Government-related	42.9%		44.6%	54.8%	*	41.0%	44.2%
Labour	1.8%		0.0%	1.4%		0.0%	0.5%
Men's	1.8%	**	17.6%	12.3%		15.2%	13.9%
Political	3.6%		0.5%	2.8%		0.6%	1.4%
Religious	30.4%		25.5%	26.0%		27.0%	26.3%
Service clubs	46.4%		46.1%	49.3%		46.6%	46.1%
Sports and recreation	42.9%		52.5%	53.4%		50.6%	50.5%
Welfare-related	23.2%		19.6%	20.5%		21.3%	20.4%
Women's	28.6%	***	1.5%	8.2%		6.7%	7.0%
Other types	10.9%		6.4%	13.7%	*	5.1%	7.3%
Positions (most common role)					*		
President	11.3%		18.1%	5.6%		19.2%	16.6%
Member of executive/board	50.9%		48.7%	54.9%		48.3%	49.0%
Organizer	9.4%		8.0%	7.0%		9.3%	8.2%
Regular volunteer	24.5%		22.6%	25.4%		22.1%	23.3%
Casual volunteer	0.0%		1.0%	2.8%		0.0%	0.9%
All or mix of above	1.9%		1.0%	2.8%		0.6%	1.5%
Not involved in year before election	1.9%		0.5%	1.4%		0.6%	0.5%
Time commitment (average)							
Years spent volunteering	18.7	**	24.0	24.1		22.2	22.8
Hours spent each week	6.4		7.5	7.6		7.2	7.2

Independent single sample t-tests were used to determine the level of significance for differences in means between women and men and between city and non-city candidates for Volunteerism and Time Commitment. Chi-square used for the other variables; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Note: Differing response rates means the N varies. Weighted data.

and how many hours a week they devoted to these activities. Overall, candidates spent an average of 22.8 years volunteering in their communities before the last election, with men active for a significantly longer period of time than women. Men also donated more of their time, devoting an average of 7.5 hours per week in the year before the election to their community activities compared to women's 6.4 hours, though the difference is not significant. These findings are probably a reflection of the sexual division of labour in society whereby women's domestic work frees men to engage in pursuits such as politics and philanthropy. Put another way, many women have less time to volunteer each week because they still do most of the childrearing and housework despite holding full- or part-

time jobs. They might also delay getting involved in community groups in the first place until their children are in school, hence the fewer years spent volunteering. As a consequence, women have less time to generate the social capital that comes from volunteerism.

But when women do join community groups, they prefer organizations enabling them to make up for lost time. Many women candidates are active in service clubs, sports and recreation, educational groups, and government-related bodies, all of which are key sites of interaction among residents of a community. Educational and sports organizations provide regular opportunities for parents and other residents to come into contact with one another, while service clubs and government bodies do the same for the local power elite. Anyone aspiring to municipal office would be wise to seek membership in these groups. Men candidates most certainly do so, though they are significantly less likely to participate in educational groups than are women. With some exceptions, women and men candidates are involved in similar types of groups and in a similar range of groups. On average, women reported being active in 3.4 types of community organizations and men in 3.1 types in the years preceding their most recent campaign. Women and men also perform similar roles within these organizations. The survey asked respondents to describe their *typical* involvement with community groups in the year before the last election: close to half indicated they were a member of the executive, about one-quarter reported being regular volunteers, and almost one in 10 were organizers.

THE ADVANTAGE OF RESIDENCY

Volunteerism is not the only way candidates can generate social capital. They can develop formal and informal networks simply by being a long-term resident of the municipality. Examining newspaper coverage of the 2007 Alberta municipal elections, I found candidates often noted how long they or their family had lived in an area, presumably to demonstrate deep roots in and commitment to the community (Wagner, 2010b). Moreover, the personal and professional relationships a resident naturally forges over time

provide built-in name recognition in a municipal campaign. A male council candidate said many voters knew him because he had been born and raised in the city while newcomers probably need to get involved in volunteer activities to gain similar visibility.

The survey asked candidates to indicate how many years they had lived in the community before their most recent bid for municipal office. Their responses demonstrate that municipal candidates are not newcomers to their communities: the average length of residency was 31.3 years. Yet residency appears to be a form of social capital men have in greater abundance than women. Male candidates lived in their communities for an average of 32.9 years compared to women's 25.3 years, a statistically significant difference. Despite this result for residency, I have opted to use years spent volunteering to assess the influence of social capital on candidate communication choices. It is a more precise measure of social capital. Yet even here the volunteering variable is a proxy measure of the extent to which candidates were involved in community life before undertaking their first campaign for municipal office: candidates who spent more years volunteering had more time to develop the extensive formal and informal networks that comprise social capital compared to candidates who had spent a shorter time volunteering.

THE COMPLEX PORTRAIT OF MUNICIPAL CANDIDATES

At one level, the point of including a variety of independent variables in the analysis is to determine how and why different types of candidates use communication tools to reach voters during a municipal level. This knowledge provides a better understanding of the nature of municipal campaigning. At a deeper level, these independent variables are necessary to account for the possibility that factors other than gender and municipality type explain candidate communication choices. This analysis assists in identifying which factors are *most important* in shaping candidates' communication strategies. For example, bivariate comparisons might indicate gender shapes their choices while a subsequent multivariate analysis might reveal it is actually incumbency. The potential inter-relationships among

independent variables thus raises two important questions: What are the characteristics of the individuals who seek municipal office in Canada? And how do these characteristics shape candidates' orientation to various communication tools? The following chapters will address the second question. The purpose of this chapter is to answer the first.

Of particular interest to this study are the unique characteristics of women and men and of city and non-city candidates. In other words, what type of women and men put themselves forward as candidates for municipal office? What kinds of individuals seek office in the cities and smaller municipalities? And do these characteristics, more so than gender and municipality type, drive differences in candidate communication choices?

Bivariate correlation results, presented in Table 4.6, reveal male candidates are significantly more likely to be older, suggesting any gender differences in communication choices might be due more to age than to gender, a possibility that would reveal itself in a multivariate analysis. The fact that women and men candidates do not significantly differ in terms of incumbency, electoral outcome, office sought, or communication spending suggests these factors will not be the source of any significant gender differences between candidates.

More importantly, the analysis indicates that municipal context might not have as strong an influence on candidate communication choices as hypothesized. Bivariate comparisons reveal older people are significantly more likely to seek municipal office in smaller municipalities while younger people are much more likely to do so in the cities than in the non-cities. Non-city candidates are also far more likely to win, while city candidates spend significantly more money on their communications. These findings suggest any differences in communication strategies between city and non-city candidates could be the result of age and money rather than the municipal context. This could be especially important in terms of how these candidates use social media (age) and paid advertising (financial resources). Keeping these characteristics in mind will enable a more nuanced understanding of candidates' approach to campaign communication.

TABLE 4.6: Correlations between the main independent variables

	Gender	Municipality Type	Incumbency	Electoral Success	Type of Office	Age	Comm.
Gender	1.00						
Municipality type	-.105	1.00					
Incumbency	.032	.042	1.00				
Electoral success	.013	-.241**	.130*	1.00			
Type of Office	-.083	-.056	.125*	.021	1.00		
Age	-.123*	-.140*	.233**	-.034	.203**	1.00	
Communications	-.065	.359**	-.011	-.108	.059	.021	1.00

Pearson r used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. Note: N ranges from 252 for Communications to 294 for both Gender and Electoral Success. Weighted data.

THE STATISTICAL MODEL

In summation, the statistical analysis for this study of the political communication strategies of Canadian municipal candidates includes a mix of nominal and scale variables to account for variations in candidates' personal, professional, political, and financial circumstances and their potential influence on candidate communication choices. The bivariate comparisons will involve the nominal variables of gender (female/ male), municipality type (city/non-city), electoral success (winner/loser), age (45 and up/ under 45), incumbency (incumbent/challenger), and office sought (mayor/councillor) and the scale variables of years in municipal office, years spent volunteering, the amount of money raised for the campaign, money spent on the campaign, and money spent on communications. While a dummy age variable is used to compare communication choices between candidates younger and older than 45, the original scale variable is included in the basic multiple regression equation. The three campaign finance variables—money raised, money spent overall, and money spent specifically on communications—have high correlation, so only the communications spending variable is included in the regression model. The rationale is that a candidate's choices will be determined more by how much they have allotted for their communications. The regression equation therefore consists of nine predictor variables. The nominal variables are gender (female = 1), municipality type (city = 1), office sought (mayoral candidate =1), incumbency (incumbent =1), and electoral

success (winner = 1). The scale variables are age, years in municipal office, years spent volunteering, and communications spending. This regression model will form the basis of the multivariate analyses presented in subsequent chapters.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has determined that women municipal candidates in Canada share more in common with their male counterparts than with women in general. The statistical analysis found few major differences between women and men candidates in their personal traits, occupational backgrounds, political contexts, financial backing, and social capital. They are closely aligned in terms of ethnicity, religion, offspring, educational levels, and income. Women and men candidates are equally drawn from the traditionally male-dominated fields of management, business, finance, and law, although many women make their way into municipal politics from careers in education, an area typically dominated by women. Women municipal candidates are not descriptively representative of Canadian women beyond their shared sex: they are neither reflective of the ethnic and religious diversity of the general female population nor similar in terms of educational attainment, marital status, income, or occupation. The lone correlation is employment status. Women municipal candidates are only marginally less likely to be employed on a part-time basis than other women. The only key departures between women and men revolved around age, marital status, and religiosity: on average, men are much more likely to be older and married and more secular than women.

The similarities between women and men candidates and the disparities between women candidates and women in general suggest women must possess the same traits as those who have traditionally been politicians—white, affluent males—in order to be viable candidates for municipal office. It could also reflect power relations in society, where members of the dominant socioeconomic group, regardless of gender, continue to have the greatest opportunity to access political power. In that case, achieving gender parity

in legislatures would likely only lead to a universal inclusion of members of the dominant group and not those of all groups.

As with personal and professional characteristics, women and men candidates are also generally alike in their political resources. Neither group can claim a greater incumbency advantage: women and men incumbents are equally likely to get re-elected. On average, women and men have also spent a similar length of time in municipal office in the lead-up to their most recent campaign and generally seek out the same types of council positions. Women can also call upon many of the same human resources and social capital as their male counterparts. While men raise significantly more money for their campaigns than women do, women largely generate donations from the same sources and launch their fundraising at the same time as men. They also have similar numbers of volunteers and paid staff, and dedicate approximately the same number of people to handle their communications. Men, in contrast, have much more time to generate social capital, living and volunteering in their communities for a significantly longer period of time than women. And while one cannot underestimate the value of this additional time to build relationships and name recognition, women are every bit as likely as men to volunteer with local organizations that are at the heart of any community: education, sports, and service clubs. The extent of their involvement is also similar. Women donate almost as much time as men to community groups and are equally likely to be presidents, members of the executive, or regular volunteers.

Yet the survey results also hint at ongoing issues for women in politics. Specifically, I detected a subtle—though not statistically significant—pattern of vertical segregation in educational attainment, income, and office sought. A greater percentage of women appeared in the lower educational and income categories than did men, while a greater share of men than women appeared in the higher ones. Put another way, men candidates were slightly more likely than their female counterparts to report earning more money. And while more women had a diploma or degree up to the master's level, men were more

likely to have a professional degree or doctorate. Likely a remnant of women's historical exclusion from paid employment and higher education and ongoing efforts to catch up, this pattern points to a possible explanation for the significant difference in women and men's fundraising power. Since many candidates cite themselves as their top donors, men might just have more money to put into their campaigns.

In contrast to gender, municipality type appears to be more important in terms of resources. City candidates raise significantly more money and have far more volunteers working on their campaigns than do candidates in towns, villages, and rural areas. That city candidates need more financial and human resources to capture a council seat indicates municipality type rather than gender will be more important to understanding the electoral communication strategies of Canadian municipal politicians. The similarities between women and men candidates on several dimensions support this conclusion. With comparable resources, women and men should make many of the same communication choices, and for many of the same reasons or purposes, when faced with the same set of electoral circumstances.

However, the results of the bivariate correlations suggest the need to be cautious about differences between candidates based on gender and municipality type. Women and men candidates are distinct in terms of age and volunteer background: women candidates are younger and have a shorter background in community volunteerism. Consequently, women's communication choices might be more the result of their age than their gender. City and non-city candidates also differ in key ways. City candidates are younger and more likely to lose their bid for office, while non-city candidates spend far less on their communications. Considering youth tend to be more avid users of digital media than older individuals, differences in how city and non-city candidates use social media in their campaigns might be due more to the personal characteristics of these two groups than to the municipal context. In short, the specific profile of women and men candidates, and of city and non-city candidates, could be more important to the nature of political communication

strategies than gender and municipality type.

At any rate, in an era of mediated politics, one of the most important tasks of a political campaign is to gain media attention. The next chapter examines the strategies that women and men municipal candidates use to solicit news coverage of their campaigns.

MISSING IN ACTION? 5
CANDIDATE VIEWS ON LOCAL NEWS MEDIA

Around the campaign itself we got next to no coverage. Every candidate got a little bit of attention in the media. They basically set aside a couple of pages every issue during the electioneering period and gave a little bit of a snapshot on each of the candidates. But it wasn't much at all. And as for going around trying to get controversial stories from candidates, they just didn't do that.

— Male city candidate

…the lack of media coverage [of ward contests] was not so much unfair to the candidates as to the voters.

— Female city candidate

I would say the journalists in the smaller communities are not as important [in elections], I don't find.

— Male town candidate

INTRODUCTION

News coverage, also known as earned media or free media, is considered a vital component of any serious political campaign. Many candidates cannot hope to personally talk to every voter over the course of an election. They rely on the news media to fulfil journalism's democratic role of creating an informed electorate by providing citizens with a substantive amount of political information and everyone with a forum for debating pressing issues (Dahlgren, 2009; Norris, 2000). One study even indicates that when "local mass media provide politically relevant information," turnout for municipal elections increases (Baekgaard, Jensen, Mortensen, and Serritzlew, 2014: 529). Political communication research on the news media's performance is therefore largely preoccupied with the *content* of political reporting, or whether the information news organizations provide is relevant or necessary for citizens to fulfil their democratic function as electors. The concern here is the potential for media bias, as Pippa Norris reveals: "The role of the news media as a civic forum becomes problematic if most major news outlets consistently favour only one party or viewpoint, if they systematically exclude minor parties or minority perspectives, or

if citizens rely upon only one news source" (2000: 27). But this scholarly focus on media bias assumes an extensive and powerful news media industry exists to cover politics.

This assumption is valid for national politics but problematic for municipal politics. As this study demonstrates, the composition of the local news media industry can vary from one municipal context to another, affecting the ability of candidates to use news outlets as an (effective) conduit to voters. Differences in the media landscape, especially between cities and non-cities, have an impact on the communication strategies candidates can use and the news coverage they can receive. For example, the leading mayoral aspirants in large metropolitan areas, which are home to several news organizations, often draw considerable media attention during a civic election while most candidates in villages and rural areas, which can have no local news organizations, draw little or none. The concern for most municipal candidates in Canada is not media bias but media invisibility. As independents, they cannot rely on a well-known party brand to leverage votes. They need to create their own political brand, but they face greater challenges in doing so without a strong mainstream media presence in their municipalities that can cover local elections in a sustained and substantive manner. And while media invisibility harms both women's and men's electoral prospects, feminist scholars argue that media invisibility is especially problematic for women politicians because it denies women public recognition as legitimate political actors.

These concerns raise the following questions: Why does the threat of media invisibility exist at the municipal level in Canada? What techniques do municipal candidates use to solicit media attention? How committed are they to using the news media as a potential campaign resource? And how do candidates understand the real and ideal behaviour of journalists during municipal elections? Survey and interview results reveal candidates generally perceive their local news media as fair but restrained, scaling back reporting during municipal elections and producing little more than short profiles that give council hopefuls a few words to communicate their platforms and qualifications for office. While this

approach reduces opportunities for media bias, especially based on gender stereotypes, it also fails to live up to candidates' expectations that the news media should perform an educational role in elections. The main conclusion of this chapter is that the news media are not the major campaign resource for many municipal candidates as they are for federal and provincial political parties. Many municipal candidates cannot use the news media to achieve strong visibility in their communities and, by extension, be recognized as legitimate political actors in local politics, spawn donations or volunteers for their campaigns, create a perception of electoral viability, or give them a platform to espouse their views on local issues. They must instead turn to other means of communication such as social media, paid advertising, and direct contact with voters to generate public visibility.

IDENTIFYING THE NATURE OF THE LOCAL NEWS INDUSTRY

The issue of media invisibility is not often addressed in political communication research because of the field's overwhelming focus on (1) national politics, (2) the behaviour and/or artifacts of elite media organizations, such as national newspapers and television network news programs, and (3) high-profile politicians or competitive politicians seeking powerful positions such as national party leader or president. These choices make media visibility an empirical given: scholars are concentrating on the most visible parts, processes, and players in a country's political system. Despite evidence of a decline in the amount of political news in recent decades (Sampert, Trimble, Wagner, and Gerrits, 2014), news organizations still devote considerable resources to reporting the activities of national leaders, whose actions can admittedly carry far-reaching consequences for citizens. High-profile politicians thus do not need a strategy for attracting news coverage. Instead, they need a way of influencing its content or slant. For scholars studying national politics, the main issue is not determining whether or not news coverage exists but deciding which news outlet to source it from.

To take a similar stance in political communication research on municipal politics

FIGURE 5.1: The percentage of each type of news media in Canadian municipalities, as reported by survey respondents
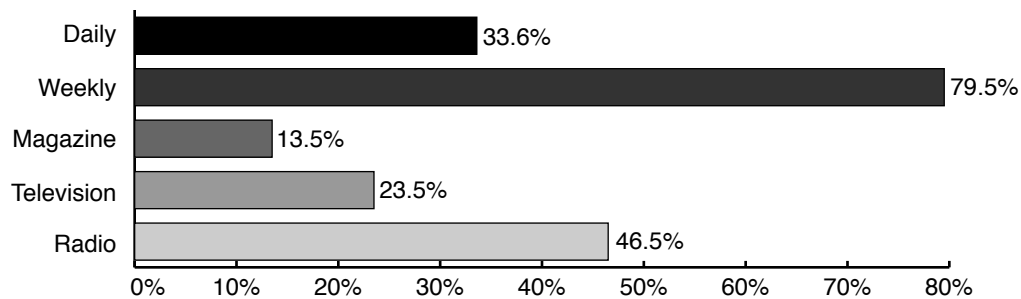
The N ranges from 40 for magazines to 234 for weekly newspapers for an overall N of 294; Weighted data

requires focusing on major cities (c.f. Atkeson and Krebs, 2008). Many of Canada's national print and electronic media are headquartered in Toronto, which is also home to similar regional and local news organizations. One result of this high concentration of media in one metropolitan area is that Toronto personalities, sports teams, and events regularly appear in the national news. For example, the national media faithfully reported the ongoing trials and tribulations of then Toronto mayor Rob Ford for much of 2014 (Doolittle, 2014). Other large Canadian cities have their own well-developed media sectors, though most not to the same scale or with the same reach as Toronto's. A research focus on big cities, however, would offer few insights into the complexities of local political communication generated, in part, by variations in municipal contexts. These variations mean scholars studying municipal politics cannot take media (in)visibility as an empirical given. They must first establish the nature of the local news media in order to better understand the communication choices candidates make.

To this end, my survey asked respondents a series of questions about the news organizations in their immediate area. Figure 5.1 reveals that weekly newspapers were by far the most common type of news medium in municipalities, with nearly 80% of respondents reporting their community had one. The second most prevalent type is radio, followed by daily newspapers, television, and magazines. T-tests indicate that, except in the case of

TABLE 5.1: The composition of local news media industries by municipality type, as reported by survey respondents

	City	Town	Village/ Hamlet	Rural Muni	Regional Muni
Daily newspaper	70.2%	15.2%	10.8%	25.7%	84.0%
Weekly newspaper	82.8%	85.6%	44.2%	76.2%	100.0%
Magazine	41.0%	0.7%	3.3%	1.3%	84.0%
Television station	58.1%	11.6%	3.3%	5.7%	12.4%
Radio station	81.7%	30.7%	4.3%	38.2%	100.0%
Index (average number of outlets)	3.34	1.44	0.66	1.47	3.8

Note: The N value varies as the non-answers in each category of candidate varies. The N ranges from 4 for regional municipalities to 114 for towns. Weighted data.

weeklies, city candidates were significantly more likely than their non-city counterparts to indicate their municipality was home to at least one of each type of news organization.

To measure the complexity of local news industries, I created an index from the five types of news organizations about which respondents were asked. A value of one (1) was assigned when a candidate indicated that a particular type of news outlet was located in the area, for a maximum score of five (5).[1] Table 5.1 outlines the extent to which various types of news outlets are present in cities, towns, villages, rural municipalities, and regional (or upper-tier) municipalities. The figures indicate that, in comparison to their small-town counterparts, cities are home to diverse and dense local news industries. Only regional municipalities, which co-ordinate action among several municipalities on select matters and therefore cover a large geographical area, have the same kind of news industries as cities. Weekly newspapers are often the extent of the news industry in many smaller communities, with some towns and rural municipalities also home to a radio station. Not surprisingly, city candidates reported an average of 3.34 types of media in their municipalities compared to just 1.36 for non-city candidates, a statistically significant result. The spread between women and men candidates was smaller but still significant: men indicated their communities had an average of 2.06 types of news media compared to women's 1.65, though this result might be because a greater share of women candidates

than men candidates sought office in smaller municipalities while the reverse was true in the cities. Taken together, these findings support the contention that municipal candidates do not encounter a uniform media environment: the local news industry varies in size and nature from one municipality to the next.

Visibility of municipal elections

Even though many Canadian municipalities are home to just one or two types of news organizations, 87% of survey respondents said their municipal election still received at least some coverage from local or out-of-town reporters. A series of *t*-tests found city candidates were significantly more likely than their small-town counterparts to report media interest in their community's elections, with a 10-percentage point spread between the two groups (94% to 84%). In contrast, women were only marginally more likely than men to observe such media coverage (91% to 86%). The remaining types of candidates did not report any major differences in media coverage of their local elections (results not shown). These findings indicate Canadian municipal elections get some media attention. However, a binary logistic regression unexpectedly found that incumbency, and not municipal context, was the most important factor in terms of respondents being aware of news coverage of their local elections (panel A in Table 5.2, page 114). The positive Exp(B), or odds ratio, of 2.289 indicates that incumbents were more than twice as likely as challengers to report that their local elections had some media visibility. One possible explanation for this result is that incumbents might have greater experience with and/or knowledge of the news media in their area and the extent to which these news organizations do, or do not, cover political events in their municipality.

COUNTERACTING MEDIA INVISIBILITY IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

The nature of the local news media industry plays a strong role in the extent to which municipal candidates must contend with the prospect of media invisibility. Council hopefuls

TABLE 5.2: Summary of regressions results for candidate strategy for and use of news media coverage during their recent municipal campaign

	A Media Covered Local Election	B Story by Daily	C Story by Weekly	D Story by TV	E Story by Radio	F Story by Mags	G Contacted Journalists	H Coverage Desired	I Media Fair	J Opinion of News Plan
	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Beta	Beta
Gender Female = 1	.479	.614	1.749	.792	1.179	4.178	.812	1.575	-.034	-.063
Municipality type City candidate = 1	.603	.168***	1.230	.118***	.334*	.151*	.658	.875	.147	.080
Incumbency Incumbent = 1	2.289*	.793	.693	.343	.599	.172	.592	.891	-.095	-.022
Type of office Mayoral candidate = 1	.625	.604	.545	.286*	.080***	.619	.336*	1.258	.010	-.007
Electoral outcome Winner = 1	1.313	1.937	2.540	4.883**	1.097	2.757	1.009	.122***	.322***	.411***
Age (in years)	1.005	1.010	.934**	.967	.956*	.906*	.943***	.949*	-.079	.034
Communications (in dollars)	1.000	1.000	1.000*	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.001***	1.000	-.231**	-.034
N	241	156	211	124	154	97	237	183	173	81
R^2	.131	.302	.232	.484	.304	.373	.314	.342	.134	.095

Note: The R^2 for the logistic regression equations [Exp(B)] is Nagelkerke R^2 and for the ordinary least squares regression equations [Beta] it is Adjusted R^2. Interpreting the results for Exp(B): Any value greater than 1 is a positive odds ratio and any value less than 1 is a negative odds ratio. Interpreting the results for Beta: Values range from -1 to 1, with -1 a perfect negative relationship and 1 a perfect positive relationship. SPSS only reports data to the third decimal point.
* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. Weighted data.

cannot expect extensive coverage of their candidacies over a four-week campaign if the media consists of little more than a weekly newspaper that might print one or two election stories in each edition. Other research suggests the quality and quantity of reporting on local politics is generally poor. Deirdre O'Neill and Catherine O'Connor describe local newspaper reporters in Britain as "passive recipient[s] of information" who rely on single sources and fail to do the investigative reporting necessary to connect with their readers (2008: 498). In Canada, John Cruickshank argues that daily newspapers are better positioned to foster a strong civic life in their communities because of their ability to draw different groups into a larger conversation about culture, whereas community newspapers "are too much of the community to be a genuine forum for vigorous debate and dispute" (1998: 32-35). American research suggests television stations are either reducing their coverage of city hall or not airing the kind of stories that can assist viewers in their citizenship (Coulson, Riffe, Lacy, and St. Cyr, 2001; Klite, Bardwell, and Salzman, 1997), while radio stations can only at best compliment, not supplant, newspapers as the primary source for local government news (Lacy, Wildman, Fico, Bergan, Baldwin, and Zube, 2013).

Yet electoral success is presumed to be based in part on attracting news coverage (Borquez and Wasserman, 2006). This assumption has led feminist scholars in particular to focus on the degree to which women politicians are present in election news in comparison to their male counterparts (Adcock, 2010; Burke and Mazzarella, 2008; Everitt, 2003; Freedman, Fico, and Love, 2007; Gingras, 1995; Kittilson and Fridkin, 2008; Ross, Evans, Harrison, Shears, and Wadia, 2013; Stanley, 2012; Tuchman, 1978). In contrast, mayoral candidates have few difficulties attracting media attention in comparison to other council hopefuls because of their status as "key newsmakers in their media markets" (Borquez and Wasserman, 2006: 387). Most candidates, though, have to work to solicit media interest in their campaigns. This section identifies the strategies and techniques that municipal candidates use to generate media visibility.

Strategies for media relations

In contrast to the growing intensification and sophistication of communication efforts at the federal level (Brooks, 2007; Marland, Giasson, and Lees-Marshment, 2012), Canadian municipal candidates do not exhibit a high degree of organization in terms of utilizing the news media to generate public visibility or get their message out to voters. About one-third of respondents (37.6%) reported developing a plan for dealing with the news media during their most recent campaign (see Table A.5.1 in the appendix). A series of *t*-tests found more men, challengers, city, mayoral, and younger candidates drew up such blueprints than their respective counterparts, but the differences were not significant. The fact that city and non-city candidates show no major differences suggests something other than the nature of the local news media industry is influencing the decision of many council hopefuls to not devise a news media plan. Bivariate correlations found that only candidates who spent more on their communications were significantly more likely than their counterparts to draft a strategy for making use of the news media (results not shown). Years in municipal office or volunteering in the community were not significant.[2]

Many respondents who had such a plan reported taking a straight-forward approach to their relations with local journalists. A male town council candidate attributed the success of his news media plan to "being honest and forthright," while another man insisted he put a focus on "being honest, up front, with [a] focus on past success." A female town council candidate explained she was "simple and straight forward. No candy coating or glossing." A man who campaigned for village council said his strategy consisted of nothing more than "underscoring that I have a positive reputation on the island and am known as a straight shooter and hard worker." A city candidate said he "remained relevant, realistic and very positive." Meanwhile, a female candidate took an assertive approach to her bid for town council: "Always control the message you'd like to express, regardless of the questions asked." Another female respondent indicated she put a great deal of thought into what information she was going to share well in advance of seeking any news coverage.

Of those respondents who had a news media strategy, more than half (59%) felt it was successful or very successful while one-third was (35.4%) undecided. Very few respondents felt their approach was not successful (see Table A.5.2). In an open-ended question asking candidates to provide reasons for how they rated the success of their news plan, many female respondents asserted they had developed a strong rapport with local journalists. Women candidates in particular noted that they took a pro-active approach to cultivating the local media. One woman who ran for town council noted her high-profile job enabled her to establish a "good relationship [with the media] based on mutual respect and trust," while another one personally knew all of the reporters in her small town. A different female town council candidate said she made a point of developing personal relationships with journalists before the election "so they were more likely to develop positive news stories." Another woman indicated she had extensive training and experience dealing with journalists before she ran in her city's election.

Other comments suggested some respondents used public reception as one way to measure the overall success of their news plan. A female and male candidate both noted that many voters mentioned their news coverage when they spoke with them. Not surprisingly, candidates also linked their plan's success to electoral outcome. Women and men candidates who won their seat tended to describe their news strategies as successful, while losing candidates were more likely to say theirs were not. An ordinary least squares regression (panel J in Table 5.3, page 114) provides support for this qualitative analysis of survey comments: after controlling for other factors, winners were significantly more likely than losers to report satisfaction with their news media plan, though the Beta of .411 indicates a moderate relationship between electoral outcome and candidate assessment.

Tactics for gaining media attention

Even though two-thirds of respondents did not have specific intentions for managing their media relations during their recent campaign, candidates did come into contact with local journalists and used various tactics to solicit news coverage. Three-quarters of all respondents,

and of women and men candidates alike, reported dealing directly with a journalist during the course of their campaign (see Table A.5.3). A series of *t*-tests and bivariate correlations found city candidates, mayoral hopefuls, losers, well-funded candidates, and candidates with more years spent volunteering were significantly more likely to indicate direct media contact than their respective counterparts. Age and years in municipal office were not significant.

A multivariate analysis (panel G in Table 5, page 114), however, found age acquired significance when controlling for other factors: older candidates were less likely to contact journalists during their campaign. This result suggests younger candidates tend to be more active in cultivating, or being cultivated by, local journalists, giving them a greater chance at achieving media visibility. Surprisingly, mayoral candidates were only 33% as likely as non-mayoral candidates to report speaking with reporters. Candidates for other council seats were much more likely to be in a position to generate media attention, though contact with journalists does not automatically lead to a news story. Mayoral candidates might have been less likely to deal with the news media because of prior visibility gained through professional, business, or community activities or because journalists did not consider them credible candidates for what is arguably the most prestigious position on municipal council. Since the logistic regression controlled for incumbency and municipal context, their responses cannot be attributed to a media or public profile gained while performing legislative duties or to campaigning in communities with few, if any, news organizations.

A shortcoming of the journalist contact variable is that it does not indicate who initiated the contact: journalist or politician. At any rate, as Table 5.3 shows, respondents claimed to use a variety of methods to alert journalists to their candidacies. Press releases and photo opportunities were the most popular techniques for attracting media attention: more than half of respondents indicated they used these tactics at least once during the campaign. Less than a third wrote an opinion piece for the local media and about one-fifth held a news conference or penned a letter to the editor. Yet candidates did not engage in

TABLE 5.3: Responses of candidates regarding how frequently they reported seeking news coverage during their most recent campaign for municipal office, in percentages

	Daily		Weekly		Occasionally		Once		Never	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Public relations techique										
Direct media contact	3.4	(7)	18.4	(37)	47.8	(97)	13.4	(27)	17.0	(34)
Press release	0.4	(1)	12.8	(26)	25.8	(53)	28.8	(59)	32.2	(66)
Press conference	0.0	(0)	2.1	(4)	12.1	(23)	14.0	(26)	71.8	(135)
Photo opportunities	0.1	(0)	7.3	(14)	39.1	(78)	16.5	(33)	37.0	(73)
Letter to the editor	0.0	(0)	0.9	(2)	10.3	(19)	7.5	(14)	81.3	(151)
Opinion article	0.4	(1)	3.0	(6)	12.8	(25)	18.8	(37)	64.9	(127)

Note: The N ranges from 186 for letter to the editor to 205 for press release. Weighted data.

these activities frequently. Most respondents only did so occasionally or once during the campaign. Breaking down by candidate characteristics (results not shown), men made slightly greater use of press releases, news conferences, photo opportunities, and letters to the editor while women wrote more opinion pieces, though none of these results are statistically significant. Winners, veterans, city campaigners, and well-financed candidates usually, though not always, displayed a far greater tendency to report using each technique than their respective counterparts. Variations among candidates on other dimensions were not usually statistically significant.

To examine the intensity of media tactic use among candidates, I developed an index from the five types of journalist contact.[3] A value of one (1) was logged when a candidate reported using a particular method, for a maximum index value of five (5). Overall, almost one-third of respondents (31.9%) did not use any technique, about one-fifth reported using one to three methods, less than one in 10 said they used four, and few used all five (results not shown). These findings suggest most municipal candidates do not have extensive outreach strategies for their local media or they used techniques not addressed in the survey. At any rate, the image is one of candidates taking a laid-back approach, waiting for journalists to initiate contact. Considering the nature of many local news industries, though, it is difficult to determine whether this lack of aggressiveness is due to a lack of sophistication on the candidates' part or to their limited options for soliciting news coverage in the first place.

The latter possibility seems most likely as city candidates employed almost twice as many methods to engage local journalists than did candidates in smaller communities. Challengers, losers, older, and well-funded candidates also used a greater range of techniques than did their respective counterparts, while women and men respondents both reported using an average of one-and-a-half tactics to draw media attention to their campaigns. No significant patterns were found for office sought, years spent in municipal office, and years spent volunteering before the election.

Amount of candidate coverage

Despite their efforts to generate media visibility, some candidates were disappointed with lacklustre reporting on local elections. A male council candidate said in an interview that news organizations scaled back coverage of municipal politics once the local election began, going from producing several stories each week on city council decisions to offering little more than brief "snapshots" on each civic candidate. He attributed the general lack of issue coverage to the large slate of candidates running for office in his city: "It was just too daunting a task [for the media] to try to figure out, 'Okay, let's try to drive a wedge between those who stand for [addressing] homelessness and those who don't,' or whatever the topic could be." The limited number of staff at some types of news outlets also contributed to limited election coverage. A rural candidate of unknown gender had hoped to receive community cable coverage, "but it was not offered because there was no one to produce it." Anecdotes aside, how much election coverage did individual candidates report receiving?

The survey asked respondents to indicate the total number of stories that daily and weekly newspapers, television, radio, and magazines devoted to their campaigns. I then used their answers to create a candidate coverage index. Figure 5.2 shows that, of those who provided this information, about one in 10 respondents recalled being the focus of only one news story while a third were featured in anywhere from two to five stories during the election. A smaller number received extensive coverage. Another 16.8% either received no

FIGURE 5.2: Number of news stories candidates reported receiving from various news media during their most recent campaign for municipal office
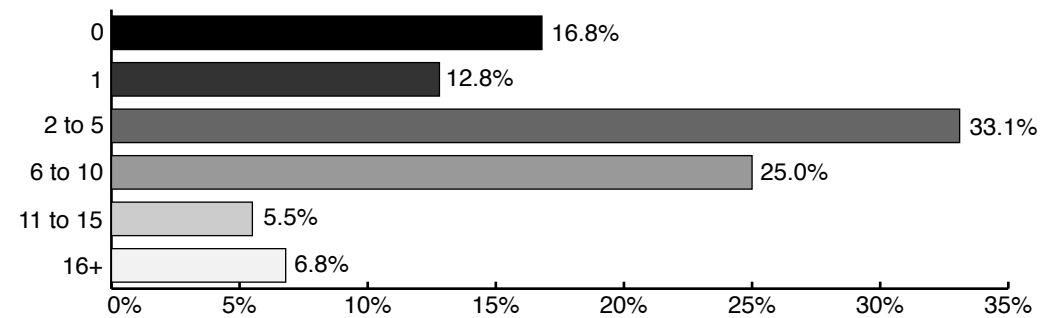
news coverage or opted not to answer the question.

Not surprisingly, city candidates received significantly more media attention than did their counterparts in smaller municipalities: they reported an average of 11.99 stories overall, almost four times as many as the 3.5 stories that non-city candidates reported. Weeklies were the only news organizations that gave both groups of candidates about the same amount of coverage. Women candidates received slightly, but not significantly, less news coverage than did men candidates, reporting an average of 5.19 stories to men's 6.48. Mayoral aspirants, challengers, younger candidates, losers, political veterans, and longtime volunteers also indicated earning more free media than their respective counterparts, but the results were not significant. Only candidates who spent more on their campaigns, especially on their communications, reported receiving more news coverage than their more spendthrift counterparts.

Sources of candidate coverage

Not surprisingly, survey results suggest the sources of candidate coverage closely followed the prevalence of different types of news organizations that respondents reported operating in their municipalities. Four-fifths of respondents indicated a weekly newspaper covered their campaign, more than half reported interest from a daily newspaper and radio station, and more than a third made the television news. Just 15.9% were featured in

a magazine report (results not shown). Breaking this down by candidate characteristics, men received slightly, but not significantly, more coverage than women did from all types of news outlets except dailies (see Table A.5.5). The fact that a far greater percentage of city candidates disclosed receiving attention from each type of news outlet is probably due to the greater diversity—and, by extension, greater density—of the news media industry in large urban areas.

Incumbents and mayoral hopefuls were, as expected, of greater interest to the different news media than their respective counterparts, but these bivariate results were significant only for mayoral aspirants in relation to weeklies and radio stations. Losing candidates were significantly more likely to declare receiving coverage from dailies, weeklies, and television. Possible explanations for this result are that winning candidates might have, retrospectively, felt confident of their eventual success or of their ability to establish a strong community profile leading up to the election and were less inclined to seek out media attention, or they under-reported the amount of news coverage they received. Well-funded candidates were also more likely to report being covered by most types of news outlets than their counterparts. No significant pattern could be found based on candidate age, years in municipal office, or years spent volunteering in the community (results not shown).

A multivariate analysis of the sources of candidate news coverage (panels B to F in Table 5.2, page 114), however, suggests a more nuanced picture of municipal reporting than is indicated in the bivariate results. A series of logistic regressions determined that, once controlling for other factors, city candidates were significantly less likely than their non-city counterparts to be covered by all types of news organizations *except* weekly newspapers. For example, city candidates were 16.8% as likely as non-city candidates to report being covered by a daily newspaper. The fact that city candidates had *less* media visibility once factors such as incumbency, electoral outcome, age, and communications spending were taken into consideration hints at the possibility that municipal context

FIGURE 5.3: Percentage of candidates who report receiving news coverage from zero to five types of news organizations during their most recent campaign for municipal office
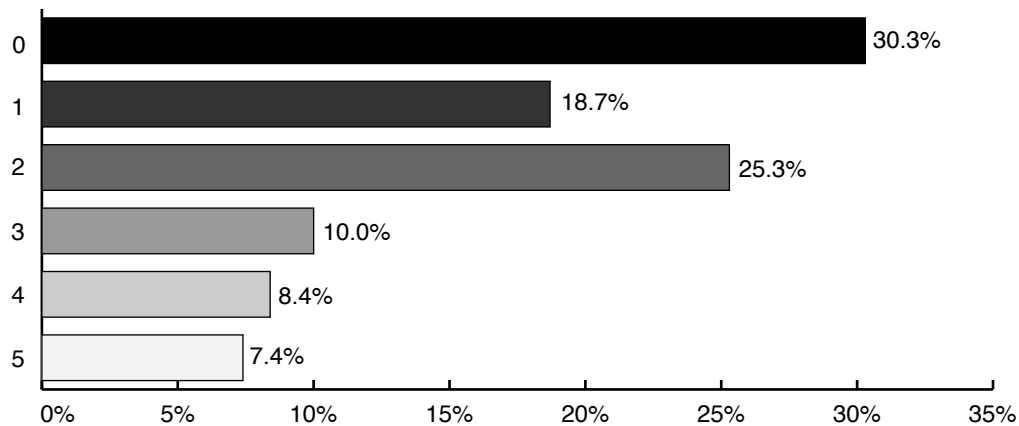
matters in terms of media behaviour. The change in expected media visibility could be due to the city news media being far more interested in *certain types* of city candidates, such as incumbent mayors, new council challengers, younger individuals, and unusual candidates. The city news media might be guided more by news values such as timeliness, prominence of individual, organization or topic, proximity to news outlet, bizarreness, and conflict when choosing to which candidates to give greater attention. In contrast, the non-city news media might take a blanket approach to candidates, covering them all more or less equally. This approach could reflect a belief that city elections are more important than non-city elections, since city governments generally control much larger budgets than and exert influence over their smaller municipal neighbours.

As with candidate coverage, I created a five-point index of news media types to determine the *range* of news organizations that a typical candidate has to deal with during a municipal campaign. A value of one (1) was recorded when a candidate noted a specific type of news media covered her or his campaign, for a maximum score of five (5).[3] Of those who answered this question, almost a third of respondents reported no type of media outlet covered their campaign while a quarter said at least two did. Figure 5.3 provides the percentages of candidates who indicated receiving coverage from up to five types of

news organizations. When comparing different types of candidates (results not shown), only municipality type and financial resources produced meaningful results. On average, city candidates received coverage from three types of news media compared to just 1.12 for their rural counterparts. Well-funded candidates were more likely to report receiving coverage from more than one source. Although not significant, men received coverage from an average of 1.77 types of news outlets compared to women's 1.41.

As predicted in Chapter 2, the most notable differences in news media outcomes were observed between cities and smaller municipalities. Respondents who campaigned for public office in municipalities with multiple news organizations reported receiving significantly more media attention than did those whose municipalities might have only had a weekly newspaper or, perhaps, a local radio station. In other words, city candidates have many more opportunities to transmit their messages to voters through the news media. Access to television coverage is a particular boon to city candidates, as research identifies this medium as the main source of news for many citizens (Attallah and Burton, 2001; Hayes and Makkai, 1996; Miljan, 2006). The extent and complexity of media industries in large urban areas were most likely driving forces behind the decision of city candidates to use more tactics to attract media attention than did their small-town counterparts. Together, the data support the contention that a multitude of media environments exists in municipal politics, with candidates encouraged to adapt their communication strategies to suit the type of municipality in which they campaigned and the type of media industry it supports.

Expectations for news coverage

Whatever the disparities in media resources available to candidates, more than two-thirds of respondents declared they received the amount of coverage they had hoped for during the campaign, an outcome that remained consistent regardless of candidate gender, municipality type, incumbency, age, or office sought (see Table A.5.9). Years in prior municipal office or spent volunteering had little effect on candidate perceptions

(results not shown). Not surprisingly, winners were almost twice as likely as losers to be content with the extent of their coverage, while candidates who spent more on campaign communications were significantly more likely to express displeasure with their media visibility. A candidate's communications spending did not remain important in a multivariate analysis (panel H in Table 5.2, page 114), however. After controlling for other factors, younger candidates and, unexpectedly, losers became significantly more content with their news coverage than did their respective counterparts. The fact that winners became *less* satisfied with their coverage once other factors were considered suggests they might have retrospectively expected more coverage as a result of their electoral competitiveness. Or perhaps losing candidates considered the amount of their news coverage to be appropriate considering the eventual election result.

Still, general candidate satisfaction with the amount of news coverage might be due more to a limited need or preference for media attention by many municipal politicians than to any great effort on the part of journalists. Several respondents indicated they did not rely on the news media to build name recognition during their campaign because of the size of the community, an already high visibility in the local media, a preference for other outreach techniques, or assumed electoral victory. A city incumbent received regular news coverage of his council duties in the months preceding the election, which he believes helped him to stand out from the crowd. A female town council candidate did not aspire to "a huge amount of media coverage during the campaign" because she had already made the news for receiving an important accolade, among other things. A woman seeking office in a small town put little emphasis on the news media because she benefited from a well-known family name and the ability to converse with voters in person:

> In a small community like ours, I think [the news media are] probably not as important as just word of mouth. The over-the-fence conversations, the coffee-shop conversations, that's where people discuss these issues and that's where they form opinions, I think more so than through the media.

The personal touch was important for many candidates. A man who ran in a rural community indicated he did not solicit coverage because a municipality with 500 people "deserves one on one relations." Of course, not everyone needed media attention to win. A longtime mayor said his victory was so widely anticipated that he was not surprised when journalists decided to devote their energies to covering a race in a nearby community expected to be decided by just a few votes.

ASSESSING THE LOCAL NEWS MEDIA'S PERFORMANCE

Even if municipal candidates do not always rely on the news media in their bids for public office, some respondents felt the likelihood of media invisibility—of both candidates and the election itself—was problematic from a democratic perspective. Many politicians, journalists, and academics hold fast to the idea that the news media should be key players in a well-functioning democracy. In this view, the news media are expected to provide extensive, substantive, fair, diverse, and balanced information about candidates and platforms during an election so voters can make rational decisions when marking their ballots (Brants, de Vreese, Moller, and van Praag, 2010; Jakubowicz, 1996; Lacy, Wildman, Fico, Bergan, Baldwin, and Zube, 2013; Richardson, 2007; Shaker, 2011; Wilson, 1980-81).

Pundits and scholars also count on the news media to regularly act as conduits for public debate. Kees Brants and his colleagues note that the news media are "expected to provide a platform for dialogue among citizens and for the articulation and expression of anxieties and anger, of ideas, wishes, and demands from society to those we have elected to represent us" (2010: 28). The news media must also afford politicians opportunities to promote their opinions on pressing policy issues and to elicit feedback or garner public support for their proposed solutions (Jakubowicz, 1996). Community media are no less required to be a venue for such dialogue between citizens and politicians (McCleneghan and Ragland, 2002) despite their limited resources and reach. In fact, many citizens

outside of the big cities consider regional media to be most effective at reporting on local events and fostering local conversations (Richards, 2013), though not everyone agrees (Cruickshank, 1998).

Yet journalists do not simply present the facts (Skewes and Plaisance, 2005). They are communicators in their own right (Jakubowicz, 1996) with an obligation to investigate and analyze. As an extension of this, journalists are supposed to act as watchdogs to those in power. When performing their democratic function, the news media's job is to constantly scrutinize the actions, activities, and public comments of elected representatives to ensure they keep campaign promises, conduct themselves in an ethical manner, and represent the interests of the electorate (Brants, de Vreese, Moller, and van Praag, 2010; Kuhn, 2002). This watchdog function manifests itself during elections in the form of stories on the voting records of incumbents and in columns evaluating the credentials and platforms of all candidates.

Not surprisingly, the news media do not always live up to these lofty standards. The reality is that news organizations are commercial enterprises, and money shapes decisions about how to cover politics and elections (Alboim, 2012; Brants, de Vreese, Moller, and van Praag, 2010). Declining public interest in politics has led political journalists to favour an entertainment approach over an educational one in order to keep their audience interested (McNair, 2002; Neveu, 2002). They increasingly emphasize conflict, competition, strategy, and personalities to make news more interesting (Borquez and Wasserman, 2006; Lancendorfer and Lee, 2010; Stevens, Alger, Allen, and Sullivan, 2006; Swanson and Mancini, 1996; Trimble and Everitt, 2010). The news media are also trading deliberation for mediation. Scholars are concerned about a growing tendency of journalists to insert their opinions into news coverage. Mediation, or interpretive journalism, involves news professionals going beyond just reporting the facts to offer the "meaning" behind the news.

The viciousness of some media criticism and an increasing emphasis on conflict

suggests that journalists are behaving more like "attack dogs" than watchdogs (Ross, 2010: 280). Going negative might be a strategy to help journalists attract readers, viewers, and listeners. It could also be a response to repeated manipulation by politicians to ensure news coverage represents their preferred reading, or interpretation, of events and issues (Smith, 2010). The desire to push back against this spin might also be driving the media's interest in the strategic aspects of elections rather than just a desire to entertain the public or to avoid the work involved in writing about policy (Kuhn, 2002).

Feminist scholars also subscribe to the democratic ideal of journalism, but are concerned about the extent to which gender stereotypes influence how journalists, especially political commentators, perform these duties. Studies have consistently found a gendered slant to media analysis of national women politicians in several countries (Bengoechea, 2011; Carlin and Winfrey, 2009; Garcia-Blanco and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012; Gidengil and Everitt, 1999; Halevi, 2012; Harper, Loke, and Bachmann, 2010; Piscopo, 2010). Pundits often evaluate women politicians according to how well they do (not) live up to traditional norms of femininity, criticizing them as too masculine if they do not and dismissing them as lightweights if they do. For example, reporters pointed to Hillary Clinton's fashion choices as proof she was not qualified to be president of the United States (Mandziuk, 2008). Karen F. Stein asserts "this commentary served to divert attention from her policies to her appearance, from the serious issues facing our nation to the clothing and hairdo of a presidential candidate" (2009: 183). And therein lies the danger of media bias. Coverage that evaluates personality rather than policy runs the risk of leading voters to believe women are not qualified to hold elected office.

Even though media invisibility is arguably a more important concern at the local than national level, the fact that journalists do offer at least some coverage of municipal elections means media bias is still a potential concern for local women politicians. This section examines the extent to which municipal candidates believe the local news media are fulfilling their democratic function of providing fair and substantive political news.

Quality of local election coverage

Responses to an open-ended question on the survey indicate that women and men candidates are of mixed opinions about the news media's behaviour during recent municipal elections. Several female respondents (11 of 84 comments, or 13.1%) expressed disdain for what they perceived to be biased, prejudiced, partisan, or sensationalist election coverage. A female challenger for city council found her local newspapers had "clear biases for/against incumbents," while a town candidate claimed her local paper "had their own agenda." A woman who tried but failed to win a council seat described in great detail the blatant partisanship she observed in her town:

> The local newspaper supports conservative candidates. It did not matter if the candidates campaigned without ever revealing their ideas or if they were crazy as loons. So long as they weren't dreaded "liberals" they typically get the green light. Any stories which were written about me tended to use negative weasel words like "complain" rather than "concern." In a small town, this is even worse because although the journalists didn't know me personally, they have pre-conceived opinions based on town gossip. I knew this prior to the election and tried to avoid giving them any fuel. Other candidates weren't so lucky. … In the end, and without room for rebuttal, the paper printed their "picks"; all conservative candidates except one incumbent.

She went on to argue that the news media are not fair in their portrayal of local candidates and often offer opinions on candidates without talking to them first. She also asserted that the polarization between Conservatives and Liberals has divided the country and being slapped with one of those labels during a civic election "can now disqualify a person from public office." However, only one female candidate, who ran for city council, attributed her poor coverage to sexism on the part of journalists: "I was the only female running and [the] media gave more time to the male candidates." The fact the survey did not explicitly ask respondents about *gendered* media bias—opting for the more conservative approach of spontaneous admission—likely means this lone response underestimates the potential discrimination that women politicians believed they encountered in local campaigns. These findings indicate that some women politicians are concerned about media bias even at the

municipal level, despite the reduced amount of coverage many local news outlets devote to local elections.

In addition to media bias, women candidates reported dealing with a combative media environment in municipalities across the country. A town council candidate noted "Yukon journalists are notorious for trying to be sensational and pit candidates against each other rather than allow candidates to focus on issues or platforms." This behaviour is true of many territorial journalists regardless of whether they work in print or radio, she said. Journalists covering a rural campaign in Ontario acted like attack dogs, according to a female incumbent, who said a new publication in her area was "very unprofessional and used negativity to attack all incumbents." In contrast to female respondents, only one male respondent spoke of media bias: "Some journalists favoured some candidates more than others," and the town council candidate felt this led to the distortion of facts.

While a couple of men were also concerned about media bias, other male respondents were more concerned that some journalists showed little interest in local elections and failed to produce much coverage as a result. One survey respondent argued that council hopefuls in his town "were never given a public platform to discuss their views or platform." This situation is more acute in smaller communities than it is in bigger ones, said another male town council candidate. In fact, candidates of both genders echoed this sentiment. A woman characterized the local journalist in her town as disinterested and "not very competent at times," while a woman in a rural municipality found the regional media to be even less interested in the campaigns taking place in the smaller communities in their audience area.

Qualitative data therefore reveal local journalists are providing an adequate if not necessarily ideal amount of electoral information, though women candidates in particular have some concerns about the appropriateness of local media behaviour. Women were more likely to express dissatisfaction with the fairness of journalists toward their campaigns and to comment more frequently about what they perceived to be biased coverage. In contrast,

men were primarily worried about the extent of overall election coverage or the lack of media visibility of local elections.

Fairness of the local news media

If women candidates tended to be more critical of the local news media in their written survey comments, men candidates were more likely to share positive experiences or outcomes. Several male respondents (14 of 84 comments, or 16.7%) felt local journalists covered their campaigns fairly. A town council candidate insisted the news media "accurately reported key talking points and reported my policy positions extensively," while a city council candidate explained his coverage reinforced the messages that he conveyed in his printed material. Two city candidates were pleased with the amount of media attention they received, with one happy to report he was quoted several times. A few women candidates also noted an effort on the part of local journalists to be fair. Wrote one rural candidate:

> Each candidate in the municipality was contacted for an interview and all interviews were published in the same edition of the newspaper in alphabetical sequence. No favouritism was shown to any of the candidates by the reporters or the newspaper.

A woman who ran for town council said, "I was able to have my political position reported without having my words or statements twisted." Some respondents measured media fairness in terms of how their coverage stacked up against those of their competitors. A woman town council candidate noted approvingly that the local journalist gave the same coverage to each candidate. She attributed differences in story length to the information included in each profile and added "I was pleased with my article and its message." One male candidate said he "got nothing more or less than the others," while another man noted coverage was "neutral" for everyone.

These mixed impressions of local media behaviour are reflected in the responses to a Likert-style item on the survey that asked all respondents to indicate their level of

TABLE 5.4: Responses of municipal candidates to the question: *Would you agree that journalists were fair in their news stories about your campaign?*

	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Undecided/ Neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Overall	3.2	(3)	7.2	(7)	23.3	(24)	59.7	(62)	6.7	(7)
Gender										
Women	6.9	(4)	12.1	(7)	17.2	(10)	51.7	(30)	12.1	(7)
Men	2.8	(6)	6.5	(14)	34.0	(73)	50.7	(109)	6.0	(13)
Municipality type										
City	3.7	(3)	8.5	(7)	26.8	(22)	52.4	(43)	8.5	(7)
Non-city	3.4	(6)	7.3	(13)	33.0	(59)	52.0	(93)	4.5	(8)
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	2.5	(2)	12.5	(10)	27.5	(22)	56.3	(45)	1.3	(1)
Challengers	3.7	(7)	5.3	(10)	32.3	(61)	48.7	(92)	10.1	(19)
Success										
Winners	0.6	(1)	3.7	(6)	28.2	(46)	63.2	(103)	4.3	(7)
Losers	8.2	(9)	13.6	(15)	33.6	(37)	32.7	(36)	11.8	(13)
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	0.0	(0)	12.0	(6)	24.0	(12)	62.0	(31)	2.0	(1)
Other candidates	4.1	(9)	6.5	(14)	32.7	(71)	47.9	(104)	8.8	(19)
Age										
Younger than 45	3.8	(2)	1.9	(1)	25.0	(13)	59.6	(31)	9.6	(5)
Candidates 45 and up	3.7	(8)	8.9	(19)	30.8	(66)	49.5	(106)	7.0	(15)

Note: Overall N = 272. Weighted data.

agreement with the question, "Would you agree that journalists were fair in their news stories about your campaign?" Overall, two-thirds of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the news media had been fair to them. Table 5.4 provides the crosstabluations for each response while Table A.5.8 in the appendix lists the results for a fairness index constructed from these categories. Reflecting the anecdotal comments above, the survey data presented in Table 5.4 show women were two times more likely than men to disagree that the media acted fairly, while men were far more likely than women to refuse to state an opinion. Candidates in cities, towns, villages, and rural areas assessed media fairness in the same way, though city campaigners were more likely than their small-town counterparts to believe journalists treated them adequately.

Electoral success played a much greater role in how candidates retrospectively evaluated media behaviour. Two-thirds of winners declared themselves pleased with the news media's approach to their election coverage while losers were more likely than winners to feel the media had been unfair. Bivariate correlations reveal candidates who spent

more money on communications tended to have a more negative view of media fairness (results not shown), suggesting that expectations for news coverage rise as candidates invest more resources into advertising their candidacies. A multivariate analysis (panel I in Table 5.2, page 114) confirmed the importance of communications spending on candidate perceptions: candidates who spent more were less likely to agree that media coverage was fair. However, the ordinary least squares regression also found that municipality type lost its significance once controlling for other factors.

Although many municipal candidates generally offered positive evaluations of the local media's performance, their assessments seem to be based on a realistic appraisal of the potential for news coverage in their communities rather than on democratic ideals about what kind of coverage they should receive during the electoral process. What became apparent in the semi-structured interviews is that, despite this, candidates strongly believe in the news media's educational and deliberative roles and would appreciate journalists providing more issue coverage while meeting professional expectations of objectivity. In other words, they want journalists to increase the visibility of local elections overall by devoting more resources to covering more than just who ran and won. For example, one woman candidate wanted her town newspaper to go beyond producing one-time candidate profiles to providing weekly updates on election issues and events: "I think they bear some responsibility for educating and informing people. People often vote—and for good reasons in many cases—on very specific issues." A female town council candidate asserted that greater media visibility of local issues would highlight differences between candidates, which would presumably make it easier for voters to decide how to mark their ballots. A male candidate concurred, arguing that journalists in his city need to generate the kind and amount of coverage they do when city council meets each Monday:

> Every Tuesday morning you can expect a lot of attention [on the radio], a lot of attention in the newspapers during the course of the week about all of the stuff going on in municipal affairs. But when it comes to moving into an election period, it seems to evaporate. There's no reflection on the past term. There's no real editorial critique of what the past council did, how things played out, what individual councillors stand for,

what individual candidates stand for, how these pieces all fit together. It kind of goes silent over the course of the campaign. Like I say, all you get is a little bit of a blurb in the paper that covers you, one page, before you step forward into the polls. So I personally think they could do an awful lot more.

In all fairness to local journalists, politicians are partly responsible for the lack of substantive coverage of municipal elections. A longtime mayor admitted that when the town council agenda is sent to members a couple days before the meeting, it is his customary practice to review it for any potentially controversial items and then call his fellow councillors to reach a consensus before they step inside town chambers. His preemptive approach means many meetings are rather dry affairs and, from a reporter's perspective, not worth covering. The resulting media inertia might carry into the municipal election. However, it is important to note that this practice does not necessarily take place in other jurisdictions and therefore may not be generalizable beyond this one community.

CONCLUSION

What this large-scale survey of Canadian municipal candidates indicates is that local journalists are not missing in action so much as careful about where they step in the electoral battlefield. Many journalists provide at least basic information about council hopefuls, though they do not give much visibility to individual candidates or to the municipal election itself. This makes it difficult for municipal candidates to establish themselves as legitimate actors in the local political sphere, raise additional money or volunteer assistance, create an impression of electoral viability, or gain access to a key platform for disseminating their political views.

Many journalists also apparently shy away from mediating municipal candidates, unlike national or provincial electoral contests. Candidate comments indicate some news outlets take care not to engage in any kind of media bias by, for example, listing candidate interviews in alphabetical order. This practice is by no means uniform among local journalists—some do demonstrate candidate preferences either covertly through slanted coverage or overtly through explicit endorsements—but it is not necessarily common either. Candidates indicated that most

journalists were fair to them in their election stories.

While local journalists perform their democratic function to at least a limited degree, their choices about what to cover were also influenced by commercialism. In addition to running an election insert with candidate profiles at the mid-way point of the campaign, a female candidate noted that her town's weekly "will print articles that will sell newspapers, obviously, so articles that might cause some controversy." A male candidate observed that his local media want a story with, well, a story to it. Human-interest items have long been a staple of commercially successful journalism (Weldon, 2008).

Consequently, many women and men candidates view municipal election coverage in Canada as achieving only the minimum standard of democratic utility. Local journalists equip citizens with little more than a basic amount of information about their electoral choices, forcing motivated municipal candidates to use other means of mass communication to disseminate their platforms and qualifications for office to interested voters. While candidate comments suggest they do not want municipal reporting to become as mediatized as national reporting, many respondents would welcome a move by the local news media to make municipal politics —and, of course, municipal elections and the candidates who run in them—far more visible in their communities. A female city candidate argued that local journalists should make local politics an editorial priority on an ongoing basis.

Candidate impressions of journalistic behaviour have important ramifications for the future of electoral communication. Political aspirants who do not believe the local news media provide a viable venue through which to generate public visibility will put their energies into other means of mass communication. Some respondents see social media as providing candidates with a new means of creating visibility in their communities, especially as the most avid users of social media—young people—grow older and move into municipal politics. The next chapter explores candidate use of social media to reach voters.

WORD OF MOUSE 6
THE ONLINE CAMPAIGN FOR MUNICIPAL VOTES

To me, the biggest advantage of social media is that we have a better chance of plugging in to the younger generation. It is always a problem to get the youth to vote, and whatever chance you have of getting the younger people on side, social media is the way to do it because social media is the way these young people survive today. They don't read a newspaper. They don't watch television but they live and die on their cellphone.

— Male town candidate

One of [the drawbacks of social media] is the shoot-from-the-hip attitude, I guess, without taking the time to inform oneself as to the accuracy of the information that's being posted and leaving it wide open for comments that I really find quite insulting sometimes.

— Female town candidate

INTRODUCTION[1,2]

Political communication research on the role of the Internet in political campaigns has largely focused on its democratizing potential. The belief is that politicians should use the Internet's interactive capabilities to reconnect with citizens in order to enhance democratic processes and outcomes. But Rune Karlsen asserts that scholars need to make a distinction between the Internet as a democratic tool and as a campaign tool (2009: 186). Candidates are more intent to use the Internet to optimize their campaign resources and to provide a platform for their views (Hendricks and Denton, Jr., 2010; Nickerson, 2009; Panagopoulos and Bergan, 2009) than to swap ideas with citizens (Williams and Tedesco, 2006). Canadian studies in particular suggest political parties rely on the Internet to do little more than amplify their traditional outreach efforts (Small, 2007, 2010b, 2012a). The fact that many politicians do not use the Internet to its full potential suggests they take a conservative approach when adopting new technologies (Stromer-Galley and Baker, 2006) or different types of candidates are more receptive to web campaigning than others (Carlson, Djupsund, and Strandberg, 2013).

Yet scholarship on variations in Internet uptake is primarily concerned with the activities of national politicians and political parties (c.f. Gibson, Nixon, and Ward, 2003)

and less so with subnational political actors. It is not hard to see why. Information and communication technologies (ICTs) such as websites and Facebook are ideal campaign tools for national politicians looking to become more visible to voters across the country. Even if only a small, though growing, percentage of voters seeks out political information online (Statistics Canada, 2008; Pew Research Center, 2013), national politicians can still reach enough voters to make it worthwhile investing time and money into digital media. ICTs are less useful at creating public visibility for those candidates seeking office in smaller jurisdictions such as municipalities, where the electorate can be as small as a few hundred voters. Add to this the fact that not everyone is hooked up to the Internet. While more than three-quarters of Canadian households had Internet access in 2010 (Statistics Canada, 2013), broadband service is much more developed in the cities, which continue to have the advantage in terms of quality and scope of Internet service over their rural counterparts. The Internet is therefore a more viable campaign tool in cities than in towns and villages (Ward, 2008). Many municipal candidates also continue to strongly believe in traditional techniques such as door-knocking and personal meetings (Lev-On, 2011, 2013).

This raises an important question: How can municipal candidates use the Internet to generate public visibility? Municipal politics is ideal for studying how individual candidates incorporate ICTs into their campaigns. In party-centred systems like Canadian federal politics, a few individuals are responsible for devising the online communications plan for hundreds of party candidates (Lev-On, 2013). In contrast, Canadian municipal politics is largely non-partisan and candidate-centred, with thousands of independent candidates responsible for establishing their online presence. The municipal level therefore provides a unique opportunity to conduct a rigorous statistical analysis of variations in how a large number of candidates use ICTs to make themselves more visible to voters (Lev-On, 2013). We also cannot assume that municipal politicians will use the Internet the same way as their national counterparts. Studies have generally found local politicians to be slow adopters of ICTs (Gasser and Gerlach, 2012; Yannas and Lappas, 2005; Wright, 2008).

A number of factors could encourage different types of candidates to avoid or assume the risks involved with using the Internet in their campaigns. Mayoral hopefuls, for whom everyone in the municipality is allowed to vote, might have a greater incentive to use online applications to create a public profile than other types of candidates who might only need to appeal to voters in a particular ward or division. Challengers could be more drawn to ICTs because of their need to innovate in face of the advantages of name recognition and a proven track record that incumbents possess (Vaccari, 2013; Waite, 2010). For their part, women candidates eager to avoid media bias in election coverage could retreat to the Internet, as "a campaign Web site can offer the most ungendered of expectations and requirements of any venue on the campaign trail" (Banwart, 2006: 52-53). Since scholars credit a sophisticated social media strategy for helping Barack Obama win the American presidency in 2008 (Hendricks and Denton, Jr., 2010), winners might be more likely to use the Internet in their campaigns than do losers.

This chapter investigates the extent to which Canadian municipal candidates have turned to the Internet as a viable alternative to the news media in creating a measure of public visibility during a local election. It will also identify candidate perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of the Internet as a campaign tool. This analysis is based on that portion of the survey and interviews in which respondents were asked about their experiences with, and thoughts on, the Internet in municipal elections. This approach permits an assessment of the Internet's viability as a tool for elevating a candidate's public visibility. Findings indicate ICTs have become an integral part of electioneering in cities in a short period of time but are far less prevalent in non-city campaigns. Not surprisingly, candidates use the Internet because they believe it will make themselves and their political views more visible to voters and the news media, while those who eschew e-politicking in general or just particular online-based applications do so because they either know little about ICTs or do not consider them to be all that useful.

TOOLS OF INTERNET CAMPAIGNING

Political use of the Internet by both politicians and voters has been growing in recent years. Many Canadians are going online to read about and debate issues of interest to them, with young Canadians especially engaged (Statistics Canada, 2008). A third of Americans are taking things a step further and using the Internet to actively participate in civic affairs, from contacting government officials and signing petitions to using social networking sites to share thoughts or information (Pews Research Center, 2012). The few studies examining municipal campaigning have found wide disparity in Internet use among candidates (Gasser and Gerlach, 2012). Only a small percentage of Greek candidates used the Internet in local elections in 2002 (Yannas and Lappas, 2005), while less than five percent of Arab candidates had a website compared to half of Jewish candidates in Israel in 2008 (Lev-On, 2012). In Canada, more than a third of city council and school board candidates used Twitter during the 2010 Ottawa civic elections, though not necessarily to the same degree (Raynauld and Greenberg, 2014). Yet Australian research claims online campaigning is making a difference for voters (Gibson and McAllister, 2011).

The ICTs that municipal candidates have at their disposal falls into two categories: Web 1.0 and Web 2.0. Static Web 1.0 tools such as websites and email permit the transmission of basic details about a candidate's policy ideas and campaign activities. While websites can incorporate multimedia features such as video, they have traditionally been no more than electronic replicas of the pamphlets that candidates give to voters (Carlson and Strandberg, 2007; Gibson and McAllister, 2008). Unlike websites, emails are a "push" technology: candidates can email messages to voters at will after the latter have given permission to receive such updates (Jackson, 2004), though the risk exists that these missives will be ignored (Mackay, 2010). Interactive Web 2.0 technologies have the same risk of being overlooked, but they offer greater rewards for candidates who learn to use them effectively. Blogs are electronic journals that candidates can use to explain their policy ideas or offer rebuttals in greater detail than would be the case in a news story, while

microblogging sites such as Twitter allow candidates to keep supporters informed of their activities or draw attention to positive press coverage in short 140-character texts (Elmer, 2013). Social networking services such as Facebook give candidates another chance to highlight their thoughts on the issues of the day and to receive feedback from voters. Finally, candidates can bypass journalism's sound-bite culture by uploading extended clips of them speaking on video-sharing sites such as YouTube and counteract any unflattering images of them in the press by posting more favourable images on photo-sharing sites such as Flickr. Understanding the extent to which candidates rely on the Internet for establishing a degree of public visibility requires answering the following research questions: Did Canadian municipal candidates use information and communication technologies in their recent campaigns? If so, which ones and how many did they use?

Extent of online campaign

Survey results indicate Canadian municipal candidates are reluctant to adopt the Internet as a campaign tool despite its potential to broadcast more information to a larger number of voters than is currently possible through news coverage of municipal elections. Table 6.1 demonstrates that less than half of respondents who needed votes to get elected reported using ICTs in their campaigns. The pattern held when comparing respondents by gender: women were no more likely to go online than men, either overall or within the other candidate categories. The analysis also reveals the Internet is not part of a winning strategy at the municipal level. Candidates who eventually lost the election were almost twice as likely as winners to have incorporated ICTs into their campaigns. This result, however, was driven by differences between winners and losers in smaller municipalities. City council hopefuls politicked online in equal numbers regardless of eventual electoral outcome. In fact, the Internet has quickly become a standard feature of most city campaigns regardless of electoral viability. More than three-quarters of city respondents employed ICTs while just over one-third of those in towns, villages, and rural municipalities did the same.

TABLE 6.1: Candidates who used the Internet in their most recent municipal campaign, overall, by gender, and by municipality type

	Women	Men	City		Non-city	All
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)		Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Gender						**.50 (.501)**
Women	.49 (.504)	------	.85 (.371)	**	.41 (.497)	.49 (.504)
Men	------	.50 (.501)	.78 (.416)	***	.35 (.479)	.50 (.501)
Municipality type						
City	.85 (.371)	.78 (.416)	.79 (.408)		------	.79 (.408) ***
Non-city	.41 (.497)	.35 (.479)	------		.37 (.483)	.37 (.483) ***
Incumbency status						
Incumbents	.32 (.478)	.56 (.500)	.81 (.398)	***	.35 (.480)	.50 (.503)
Challengers	.58 (.499)	.48 (.501)	.78 (.416)	***	.38 (.487)	.50 (.501)
Success						
Winners	.32 (.473)	.41 (.493)	.80 (.407)	***	.27 (.447)	.39 (.489) ***
Losers	.79 (.418)	.64 (.482)	.79 (.413)	*	.57 (.499)	.67 (.471) ***
Type of Office						
Mayoral candidates	.72 (.481)	.45 (.503)	.79 (.433)	*	.39 (.495)	.49 (.505)
Other candidates	.48 (.504)	.52 (.501)	.79 (.407)	***	.37 (.484)	.51 (.501)
Age						
Younger than 45	.70 (.480)	.54 (.505)	.66 (.487)		.48 (.508)	.57 (.500)
Candidates 45 and up	.44 (.502)	.48 (.501)	.83 (.383)	***	.34 (.476)	.47 (.500)

Note: Overall N = 286. Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Weighted data.

Page 141

The ubiquity of online campaigns in cities suggests we need to examine differences within type of municipality to understand how candidates deploy the Internet in local elections. Within the cities, factors such as gender, electoral outcome, type of office, incumbency status, financial resources, age, and years in municipal office did not influence how candidates choose to use the Internet. Almost everyone appeared compelled to go online to make their policy ideas and qualifications for office more visible to voters and journalists. Only well-funded city candidates were significantly more likely than their counterparts to treat ICTs as an important electoral resource (results not shown). Much more variation in candidate strategies existed in towns, villages, and rural municipalities: non-city candidates who lost the election and had more financial resources were significantly more likely to make use of ICTs than their respective counterparts, while increased years in municipal office is associated with a decrease in ICT use.

So far, the results suggest the type of municipality in which candidates campaign is the most important factor predicting whether or not they use the Internet to seek votes. But does this remain the case when controlling for other independent variables? The short answer is no. A logistic regression (panel A in Table 6.2, page 143) found municipality type ceased to be a major influence after controlling for other factors: electoral outcome, age, and communications spending were far more important in determining candidate adoption of the Internet. Eventual winners were three times (Exp(B) = 3.379) more likely than eventual losers to campaign online, indicating the Internet might be a component of a successful communications strategy. Older candidates and candidates with fewer financial resources were less likely to use the Internet.

The multivariate results suggest the characteristics of city candidates, rather than the need to reach a larger electorate, is behind greater Internet use in city campaigns. City candidates are significantly younger in age than their non-city counterparts. Since younger people as a group tend to be more comfortable with digital media, they have been at the forefront of digital campaigning in municipal elections. The influence of younger candidates

TABLE 6.2: Summary of regressions results for candidate strategy for and use of the Internet during their most recent municipal campaign

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
	Used Social Media	Used Website	Used Email	Used Facebook	Used Twitter	Used YouTube	Gain Media Attention	To help Organize	# of Visits Desired	Had Social Media Plan
	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Beta	Beta	Exp(B)	Exp(B)
Gender Female = 1	.793	1.803	.725	.739	2.903	13.391	-.064	.012	3.211	1.558
Municipality type City candidate = 1	.489	.211*	.455	.220*	.199**	.482	.172	.179	.709	1.291
Incumbency Incumbent = 1	.533	1.555	3.031	1.026	.787	.067	-.264*	-.179	.262*	.395
Type of office Mayoral candidate = 1	1.115	1.154	6.148*	.998	3.722	.020***	-.112	-.034	.629	1.396
Electoral outcome Winner = 1	3.379***	1.788	1.719	.671	2.040	17.626*	-.096	.053	.198**	1.118
Age (in years)	.943***	1.036	1.031	.849***	.913**	.831**	-.009	-.262*	.906**	.924**
Communications (in dollars)	1.000***	1.001*	1.001*	1.000	1.000	1.000*	.041	.028	1.000	1.000*
N	240	121	121	113	103	99	111	112	100	120
R²	.389	.477	.434	.445	.383	.557	.073	.119	.381	.215

Note: The R^2 for the logistic regression equations [Exp(B)] is Nagelkerke R^2 and for the ordinary least squares regression equations [Beta] it is Adjusted R^2. Interpreting the results for Exp(B): Any value greater than 1 is a positive odds ratio and any value less than 1 is a negative odds ratio. Interpreting the results for Beta: Values range from -1 to 1, with -1 a perfect negative relationship and 1 a perfect positive relationship. SPSS only reports data to the third decimal point.
* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. Weighted data.

is most noticeable in the cities because their numbers are greater in that municipal context. Online campaigning should become more prevalent in non-city campaigns when the number of younger candidates in towns, villages, and rural municipalities increases or when younger generations eventually move into local politics in sufficient numbers.

Preferences for online applications

Even though age played a key role in the extent to which municipal candidates deployed the Internet in their campaigns, municipality type proved to be a factor in which applications candidates used. Bivariate comparisons (see Table A.6.1 in the appendix) reveal city candidates made far greater use of Twitter, blogs, YouTube, and Flickr than non-city candidates, while a majority of both groups sent emails or maintained a website or Facebook page. Women and men candidates showed minor but distinct ICT preferences. Women employed email and Facebook more often to reach voters while men favoured websites, Twitter, and YouTube. The only statistically significant result, however, was for election blogs. As with the political blogosphere in general (Pole, 2010), male candidates were almost three times more likely than their female counterparts to report maintaining a blog.[3] These findings suggest that, for the most part, women and men candidates deployed ICTs to the same degree in their respective bids for municipal office, suggesting that "women do not take advantage of these new media to sidestep the gendered media coverage" that they could receive (Lawless, 2012: 217). While beyond the scope of this study, any gendered differences in Internet use will likely be found in the content and presentation of the specific messages that municipal candidates choose to convey in their online platforms.

Like municipality type, age was also a factor in candidates' ICT choices. The fact that younger municipal candidates opted to make significantly greater use of interactive Web 2.0 tools than their older counterparts reflects a current generational divide between so-called digital natives and digital newcomers. Candidates under the age of 45 had a

much stronger preference for Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, while older candidates were marginally more likely to use websites and email. Bivariate correlations with candidate age left as a scale variable confirmed a modest but significant association between an increase in age and a decrease in Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube use (results not shown). Coming of age in an era of advanced digital communications, younger Canadians are arguably more knowledgeable about, comfortable with, and better positioned to adapt to changes in the communications marketplace. Some long-serving politicians interviewed for this study noted how young people have already begun influencing the extent to which local governments use technology in day-to-day governance. For example, one male mayoral candidate said in an interview that chief municipal administrators in his province often keep in contact via Facebook. The greater propensity of younger politicians to stay current with evolving digital technology, even in smaller communities, suggests it is only a matter of time before Internet campaigning becomes an integral feature of all municipal elections.

Aside from age, candidates in a weaker position electorally and a stronger position financially are far more willing to adopt many of the Internet-based applications at their disposal in their bids for municipal office. Challengers demonstrated a higher use of most of the seven online tools that respondents were asked about, especially websites, blogs, and Facebook. Likewise, well-funded candidates were significantly more likely to use email, websites, Twitter, and YouTube than their more financially strapped competitors. Other types of candidates typically employed the seven ICTs to the same degree.

A multivariate analysis (panels B to F in Table 6.2, page 143) corroborates the importance of municipality type, age, electoral outcome, and communications spending, but not always in the expected direction.[4] After controlling for other factors such as age, non-city candidates were significantly more likely to have a website, Facebook page, or Twitter account than their city counterparts. While the Twitter results are surprising, the results suggest age is more important than location in driving use of this particular ICT. As expected, younger candidates were more active on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, while

FIGURE 6.1: Percentage of candidates who report using up to seven information and communication technologies in their most recent campaign for municipal office

N = 142. Weighted data
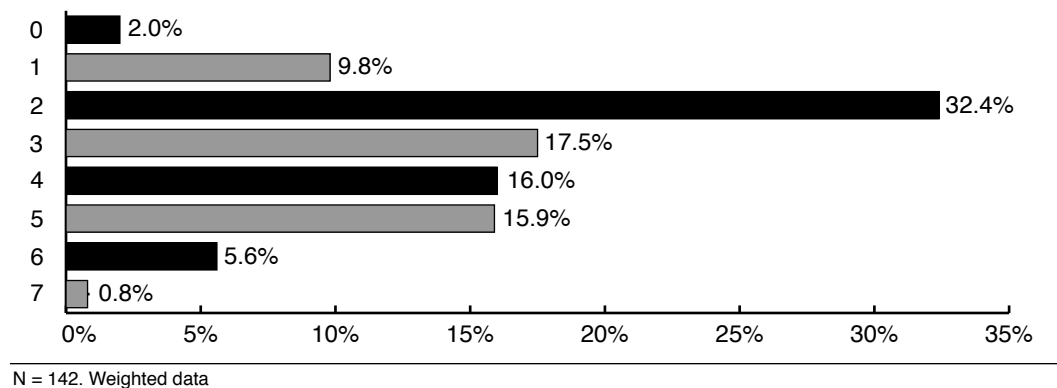
greater financial resources led candidates to set up a website and YouTube channel, and use email. Mayoral candidates were six times more likely than regular council hopefuls to use email in their campaigns but far less likely to use YouTube. These results affirm the role of money in communication choices in general and the importance of age in the adoption of digital media in particular. Non-city candidates' greater use of certain ICTs also points to the possibility that the Internet will become a regular feature of small-town campaigning once the profile of non-city candidates matches that of city candidates.

Intensity of online presence

How intense was the online campaign for candidate visibility in recent municipal elections? About one-third of respondents indicated they used two of the seven listed ICTs in their campaigns while more than half reported employing anywhere from three to six (see Figure 6.1). Only 9.8 percent of candidates used just one ICT and less than one percent claimed to exploit all seven, while two percent did not say. To investigate disparities in intensity of online campaigning, I constructed an index from the seven ICTs that respondents were asked about: websites, blogs, emails, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Flickr. A value of one (1) was given for each of the online applications, with a minimum score of zero (indicating the candidate did not report using any of those ICTs) to a maximum of seven (indicating the candidate used all the ICTs). The intensity of ICT

use followed similar patterns as candidate use of the Internet in general. City candidates, young candidates, well-funded candidates, and challengers used many more ICTs in their bid to build name recognition and solicit votes than their respective counterparts, while no significant differences were found based on gender, electoral success, type of office sought, and years in political office (results not shown).

Another measure of the intensity of the online campaign is the frequency with which municipal candidates updated their Internet-based applications. When the Internet first arrived on the political scene in the 1990s, many politicians treated their campaign websites as little more than electronic brochures. ICTs have become more sophisticated since then, making it possible for politicians to transmit information not only more frequently but also across more venues. Survey data indicate Canadian municipal politicians who campaign online understand the immediacy of ICTs. Many respondents refreshed their platforms on a daily basis and in proportion to the expectations for each type of technology. Candidates with a YouTube site rarely uploaded new videos, with 49.4 percent doing so weekly, 32.1 percent occasionally, and 18.5 percent just once during the campaign. In contrast, 33.4 percent of candidates with a website updated the content at least once a day, as did 43.1 percent of bloggers and 57.5 percent of Facebook users. More than half (57.1%) of candidates who used email in their campaigns sent out a new message at least once a day. Not surprisingly, the most active e-campaigners were those on Twitter, a microblogging site designed to encourage quick communication: almost half (41.3%) of users tweeted several times a day while a further 34.7 percent did so once a day.

Election websites are no longer static sites but they are updated far less often than most other ICTs. Just one-third of users reported updating their websites at least once a day with another third doing so on a weekly basis. Even less active candidates still found the time to update their ICTs on a weekly basis, especially blogs, YouTube, and, to a lesser degree, Facebook. Only a few council hopefuls who used online tools reported never updating them, or doing so only once during the election period. A closer

analysis of the three most popular ICTs—websites, email, and Facebook—found that only city candidates were significantly more likely than their counterparts to send emails and post Facebook messages. No significant patterns emerged between candidates on other dimensions (results not shown).

Interest in the online campaign

One of the shortcomings of the Internet in terms of generating candidate visibility, especially from a municipal perspective, is its small audience size in comparison to traditional media (Boas, 2008; Howard, 2005). Just because a candidate has set up an online headquarters does not mean voters will walk through the virtual doors. As Kate A. Mirandilla notes, "citizens must possess a certain degree of *motivation* to avail themselves of the services offered by the internet" (2007: 110; italics in the original). The small number of voters exacerbates this problem at the local level—municipal election sites are likely to attract far fewer visitors than national ones. And even if some voters are interested in accessing political information online, candidates might find the Internet unnecessary in smaller communities where "everyone knows everyone in person" (Lev-On, 2013: 163). Traditional techniques such as direct contact might be more effective in drawing voter attention to a candidate. Municipal candidates therefore need to be more judicious about whether, and which, ICTs to use. Consultants caution "that candidates have to avoid buying into the hype surrounding these new technologies and focus on tools that will actually help them in their campaigns, not just capitalize on the buzz surrounding new media" (Smith, 2010: 145-146).

As expected, survey data reveal candidate efforts to promote themselves to voters electronically generated only marginal public interest and raise questions about the Internet as an effective campaign tool for raising a candidate's public profile. Overall, citizens were most attentive to YouTube channels, blogs, and websites. Candidates reported their video channels received an average total of 3,259 visits by the end of the election, followed by

their blogs (2,177) and websites (1,732). Facebook was in a distant fourth place with an average of 550 visits, a surprising result considering the social utility's global popularity. And while some candidates are avid tweeters, they are only reaching a sliver of the electorate: an average of 392 people visited the respondents' Twitter feeds over the length of the campaign. So why do politicians use Twitter if it reaches so few voters? The answer might lie in its ability to generate *media* attention. New Zealand MPs have discovered "that Twitter posts are much more likely to be taken up and published by journalists than anything [they] say on Facebook" (Ross and Burger, 2014: 55). What social media sites are not doing is drawing much *public* attention. Examining Internet traffic by municipality type, a series of one-way ANOVAs determined that city candidates generally reported receiving far more visits to their online portals than candidates in towns, villages, and rural areas but not those in regional municipalities (results not shown). Yet no group's figures came near the population of voters that likely reside in their type of municipality.

The public visibility enjoyed by certain politicians, such as incumbents, suggests the number of visits might deviate between different types of politicians. However, a detailed analysis of the two most popular election sites—websites and Facebook—found no major variations in visits reported by different types of candidates, including between women and men (results not shown). The notable exception was for the money variables. Well-funded candidates received significantly more visits to their sites than their less well-off counterparts. One possible explanation for this result could be that richer candidates used their resources to produce more professional-looking sites and to advertise the existence of these sites, such as in their campaign brochures or newspaper advertisements. The fact that high-profile individuals such as incumbents and mayoral candidates did not generate more traffic to their electronic campaign hubs than their respective counterparts could be due as much to reporting error as to lack of public interest. Most candidates were asked to recall this information one or two years after the election; they might have under- or over-estimated the number of visits or simply guessed. While beyond the scope of this study, a

better approach would be to glean this information directly from candidate campaign sites at the conclusion of an election to gauge *actual* public interest in municipal e-politicking.

Media hype around social media suggests that candidates who went to the effort of creating and maintaining a virtual profile throughout the election period should have been disappointed with the modest public interest in the online campaign. Yet almost three-fifths of respondents (58.2%) were satisfied with the amount of traffic to their sites, indicating they received the number of visits they had hoped for. This opinion was uniform among most types of respondents. Women and men typically shared the same view, both overall and within the other candidate categories. Only well-funded candidates and younger council hopefuls reported receiving a desired number of visits to their sites than their respective counterparts (results not shown). Winners were content with their online traffic, especially those who won city seats. City and non-city candidates did not diverge on any other dimensions.

A multivariate analysis (panel I in Table 6.2, page 143) supports the contention that younger candidates were more satisfied with the attention their online sites attracted. However, the logistic regression also reveals that incumbents and winners were actually *less* pleased with their Internet traffic in comparison to their respective counterparts once other factors were taken into consideration. As presumable frontrunners, incumbents and eventual winners might have expected a greater number of voters to click on to their election sites to learn more about their policy ideas or qualifications before casting a vote. Or perhaps they put more effort into the creation and maintenance of their online sites and therefore had higher expectations for their Internet traffic.

Deliberateness of the online campaign

Municipal candidates' modest use of, and expectations for, online campaigning raises questions about how calculated their approach to digital technology actually was. Did their overall communications strategy include a specific plan for using ICTs to reach

voters? Survey data show that little more than half of digital campaigners (56%) drafted such a blueprint. Gender and, surprisingly, municipality type did not matter. Less than half of women and men, as well as city and non-city candidates, bothered to formulate a plan. Only age and money influenced how a candidate chose to act. Young candidates were determined to make digital technology work for them, crafting an Internet strategy almost twice as often as their older competitors. Younger city council hopefuls were especially focused in their efforts: 85% reported knowing how they wanted to use ICTs compared to just 33% of older city candidates.

Not surprisingly, well-funded candidates were also significantly more likely to have a plan of action than their counterparts. Male candidates showed the greatest disparity here. Men who raised and devoted more money to their bids for office were significantly more likely to note having an Internet plan than men with fewer resources at their disposal. Financial circumstances did not have an effect on women's preparedness in this regard (results not shown). Women and men candidates did not differ on any other dimension: they strategized to the same extent regardless of their personal traits, electoral circumstances, or social capital. Aside from age, the only difference among city and non-city candidates related to electoral success: winning candidates in the cities were almost twice as likely to have a plan than those who won office in towns, villages, and rural municipalities. Did these patterns prevail in a multivariate analysis? As the bivariate comparisons suggested, gender and municipality type did not predict whether or not a candidate had an Internet strategy, while age and campaign finances did and in the expected direction (panel J in Table 6.2, page 143).

A clear majority of municipal candidates were satisfied with the outcome of their Internet plan, but by no means overwhelmingly so. Two-thirds of respondents rated their digital media strategy a success with an additional one in 10 considering it very successful. Only 7.5% felt it was unsuccessful or very unsuccessful. Overall, men were more likely than women to believe their plan achieved a favourable outcome. City candidates were

also more gratified with their approach to Internet campaigning, while non-city candidates seemed more ambivalent about what they were able to accomplish. Neither result achieved statistical significance, though, probably due to small sample sizes. Bivariate comparisons also found no major variations between different types of women and men candidates and most types of city and non-city candidates. The sole exception related to money: the more city candidates spent on their communications, the less likely they were to indicate their digital communication strategy was successful (results not shown).[5]

ADVANTAGES OF INTERNET CAMPAIGNING

The results so far indicate the online campaign has yet to gain much traction with voters in many types of municipalities. Yet municipal candidates have several incentives to incorporate Internet-based applications into their communication strategies. The Internet provides them with a new means of achieving public visibility in their communities, however modest. The Internet not only offers candidates a direct channel to voters but also a means to "reach out with their messages without the distortion of the traditional media" (Karlsen, 2009: 192). The ability to use the Internet to build a public profile is especially important considering dwindling political news coverage is a growing problem (Waddell, 2012) and of particular concern for those in lower levels of government (Dunn, 1995).

Unlike brick-and-mortar headquarters, a candidate's electronic headquarters are always open to the public (Small, 2004). Voters do not need to wait for the next news broadcast to learn about a candidate's activities. They can get all of the information they want by going to a campaign website or Facebook page. The Internet's ease of access is complimented by its immediacy. Candidates can swiftly send messages to supporters on their various ICT platforms (Pole, 2010). Canada's New Democratic Party added "a whole new temporality to the media spin that typically erupts at the conclusion of televised debates" when it used Twitter during the 2008 federal election to offer rapid-fire reactions and rebuttals while the leaders' debate was underway (Elmer, 2013: 25).

But direct entreaties to voters are not the only appeal of the Internet: candidates can use ICTs to court journalists as well (Cunningham, 2008; Lilleker, Pack, and Jackson, 2010). Journalists are avid users of social media (Small, 2011), especially to find stories (Gueorguieva, 2008). Examining the 2004 Canadian federal election, Tamara A. Small (2007) found political parties presented information on their websites in a ready-made news format that would appeal to journalists. The Internet therefore facilitates a multi-pronged strategy: candidates can use ICTs to build name recognition with voters at the same time as they use it to elicit news coverage and influence the content of that coverage.

Research on digital communication has also found that, when used effectively, ICTs can also be a powerful organizational tool, especially for soliciting and mobilizing volunteers, supporters, and donations (Gibson and Ward, 2009; Smith, 2010). Barack Obama's ability to harness the Internet in his successful bid for the American presidency in 2008 is held up as the benchmark for online campaigning. Not only was he able to use it to generate significant resources but also to hurt the image of his Republican competitor. Brandon C. Waite says the Obama campaign used John McCain's inability to send an email because of a physical injury to portray him as old and out of touch (2010: 111). The desire to appear modern has driven some politicians to adopt ICTs, even if they are not entirely familiar with them (Bentivegna, 2008; Bowers-Brown, 2003; Kluver, 2008; Rose and Burger, 2014). Some political actors use online platforms "to support, ridicule and/or refute the statements and claims made by" others (Elmer, 2013: 21) or to launch their own attacks (Pole, 2010; Small, 2012b).

Motives for Internet use

What reasons do municipal candidates give for using the Internet in their campaign? Survey data reveal most Canadian municipal candidates who campaigned online approached the Internet as just another advertising medium through which they could build name recognition in their communities and promote their candidacies to both

TABLE 6.3: Ranking of reasons why candidates used information and communication technologies in their most recent campaign for municipal office

	Very important		Important		Neutral/ undecided		Not important		Not very important	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Reaching voters	66.1	(93)	24.7	(35)	8.0	(11)	0.0	(0)	1.3	(2)
Making yourself more visible	62.4	(86)	31.1	(43)	6.5	(9)	0.0	(0)	0.0	(0)
Making views more visible	53.8	(73)	39.3	(54)	6.7	(9)	0.0	(0)	0.2	(0)
Organizing campaign	30.8	(42)	18.4	(25)	30.0	(41)	18.1	(25)	2.8	(4)
Gaining visibility in traditional media	40.6	(55)	22.9	(31)	24.7	(34)	10.8	(15)	0.9	(1)
Appearing modern	31.7	(44)	39.8	(56)	17.4	(24)	10.5	(15)	0.6	(1)
Counteracting rumours/falsehoods	16.4	(22)	18.7	(26)	19.9	(27)	28.4	(39)	16.7	(23)
Critiquing other candidates	3.6	(5)	10.2	(14)	22.3	(31)	26.3	(36)	37.5	(51)

Note: N = 142. Weighted data.

voters and journalists alike. In short, they used the Internet primarily to generate *public* and *media visibility*. Table 6.3 outlines how local politicians rated the importance of seven reasons for using the Internet in their campaigns. A clear majority of respondents identified reaching voters, promoting themselves, and publicizing their views as key goals of their virtual campaigns, while two-thirds also used their ICTs to attract media attention.

The desire to enhance public and media visibility for themselves and for municipal politics in general was highlighted in candidate interviews and online comments. A female town candidate believed the Internet can play a role in generating interest in local politics: "For people interested in an issue, it can be, if it's used properly, a very efficient way of getting information out. It allows people a chance to feel that they are participating." A female city candidate welcomed the ability of social media to "reach people with a personal message every single day" of the election. A male city council candidate insisted council hopefuls could use ICTs to build name recognition months in advance of the formal campaigning period:

It's reaching such a large population so easily, so quickly … So at a minimum, even if they don't like what you're saying, they know you are out there. There's no possibility of walking into the polls and then finding [your name] on the ballot and going, 'Gee, I wonder who that person is.'

Not only can the Internet draw voter attention, several respondents felt it can play a crucial role in gaining media support. One male candidate said "social media connected me to more residents and mainstream media. Social media was one of the key reasons [why] the local daily paper endorsed my campaign." Another male candidate noted he "established local street cred … for using these tools successfully." In fact, three-quarters of respondents admitted to using ICTs to project an image of modernity, but only half used them as organizational aids.

In contrast, many candidates did not see the Internet as a conduit through which to counteract rumours or falsehoods, with only one-third of respondents saying this function was important. They were even more emphatic about not using their online platforms to critique their competitors. Two conclusions can be drawn from these data. First, municipal candidates avoid online behaviour or comments that could gift their opponents more media or public attention. They clearly prefer to keep their communications focused on themselves and not on their competitors. Second, municipal candidates are extremely reluctant to engage in negative campaigning, preferring to run a "clean" campaign and focusing on policy and qualifications rather than on personal character and private affairs.

But do all types of candidates take this promotional and informational approach? To answer this question, the Likert-like responses to the survey item were recoded so values ranged from 2 for "very important" to -2 for "not very important" with "neutral/undecided" as the midpoint. A series of t-tests and bivariate correlations (results not shown) reveal that candidates, for the most part, share the same motivations for using ICTs with only a few significant differences based on personal traits, electoral situation, financial resources, and social capital. For example, younger and well-financed candidates were more strongly

against using ICTs to critique other candidates than their respective counterparts, while challengers were more apt than incumbents to report using their online platforms to catch the eye of journalists. Media visibility was also a strong incentive for certain types of city candidates, such as younger candidates, challengers, and mayoral hopefuls. In fact, mayoral contenders treated their ICTs as part of an overall strategy to build *public* visibility in their cities: they not only wanted to generate more news coverage of their campaigns but also to directly transmit information about themselves and their policy ideas to as many voters as possible.

Visibility is also a key incentive for women candidates to campaign online. Overall, women and men offered similar appraisals of the seven potential reasons why they used the Internet, but a noticeable and sometimes statistically significant gender gap emerged for the two top-ranked reasons when comparing the two groups along a number of personal, political, and campaign dimensions. Women consistently displayed a stronger motivation than men to use Internet-based applications to reach as many voters as possible and to make themselves more visible to the public. This sentiment was especially strong for female city candidates, female incumbents, and female losers. While women candidates are no more likely than their male counterparts to have an online site, this finding provides some support for the contention that women might use social media in a bid to overcome the effects of media invisibility. The Internet provides women, as it does men, an opportunity to not only share information directly with voters but also to share it on their own terms.

This gendered pattern in candidate motivations could not be confirmed by a multivariate analysis. The ordinary least squares regression only achieved statistical significance for two models: gaining visibility in traditional media and organizing campaign. Their results (panels G and H in Table 6.2, page 143) lend some support to the general consensus among municipal candidates regarding the importance of various reasons for using the Internet in their campaigns. The sole exceptions relate to incumbency and age. Incumbents were significantly less likely than challengers to use the Internet to seek out

media coverage while younger candidates were more likely than their older counterparts to use it to organize their campaigns.

Information communicated online

Aside from achieving public visibility, Canadian municipal candidates are strongly committed to using the Internet to provide substantive information about their candidacies so voters can make an informed decision. Many council hopefuls made a point of presenting this material on their various Internet-based applications. The most notable pattern, though, is not *what* they talked about so much as *where* they talked about it. Candidates viewed websites, blogs, and Facebook as the best venues through which to convey details about their policy intentions or capabilities. The fact that websites were by far the most important such site and that they were updated on at least a weekly basis suggest candidates treated their campaign websites as electronic repositories of information offered to voters interested in learning more about their candidacies. A majority of respondents reported they noted their policy ideas, character, qualifications, leadership skills, and volunteer experience on their campaign websites.

The specific subjects respondents discussed on their websites, though, reflected their particular circumstances. Council hopefuls in a potentially weaker electoral position— such as challengers, eventual losers, and less well-financed candidates—were more likely to trumpet their leadership skills, possibly in a bid to overcome any presumed advantage their respective counterparts might have had in this or other areas. Older candidates also made greater efforts than younger ones to accentuate their leadership abilities, though in their case it was likely from a position of strength, as they have had more years to acquire these skills. Other candidates who had a shorter resume in terms of years spent in municipal office or volunteering in the community tried to demonstrate that they did indeed have the necessary qualifications for the post they were seeking. The competitiveness of many city contests, rendered more intense by ward-based electoral systems, could explain

why city candidates heavily noted policy and qualifications on their websites in comparison to their small-town counterparts.

The gender and politics literature suggests women politicians can use the Internet to present themselves as legitimate, competent, and viable political leaders. While women candidates in recent Canadian municipal elections certainly tried to do so, they were no more likely than their male counterparts to discuss their ideas, abilities, or backgrounds on their websites both overall and by candidate type. The notable exceptions are female incumbents and female winners: they were significantly more likely than their male equivalents to stress their policy ideas. These findings suggest women candidates who communicate a solid understanding of, and possibly tailored solutions for, the key issues in their municipality have strong electoral viability or, conversely, that women *need* to be strong on policy to improve their chances.

DISADVANTAGES OF INTERNET CAMPAIGNING

For all of the Internet's strengths, it also has a number of shortcomings that make it less viable as a means for generating public and media visibility during a short election campaign. Primary among its weaknesses is the time-consuming nature of regularly producing content. Managing online sites must compete with the myriad of other tasks a candidate must perform during an election (Pole, 2010). Karen Ross and Tobias Burger argue that "politicians are highly pragmatic in terms of how much time they are able and willing to give to cultivating their social media profile, recognizing both the opportunity cost of posting and tweeting when time-poor, but also weighing up the strategic importance of spending time doing one thing over others" (2014: 57). Involved in the calculation is the extent of their technical know-how and their ability to fully use the latest digital media. The perfunctory nature of many political portals suggests some candidates are not familiar with ICTs but have gone online anyway to signal to voters that they are part of the modern world (Southern and Ward, 2011). Younger candidates socialized to the Internet (Carlson and

Strandberg, 2007) and well-funded candidates who can hire consultants (Davis, Owen, Taras, and Ward, 2008; Ward and Gibson, 2003) are usually in the best position to develop a network of ICTs. And while the Internet is typically viewed as an inexpensive way of reaching a large number of voters (Small, 2010b), professional-looking and professionally maintained ICTs can require more resources than many municipal candidates have at their disposal.

A second major drawback of the Internet is its unmediated nature, which creates the potential for rumour mongering, misinformation, vitriol, and negative publicity. Bruce A. Bimber argues that the interactive, connective nature of the Internet can do as much harm to the quality of public debate as it can to improve it by making it easy to circulate rumours alongside news: "Internet rumor movement, sometimes called a cybercascade, is facilitated by rapid delivery, interconnected networks, and the absence of standards of reporting information. Candidates easily can become victims of these cybercascades" (2003: 49). Digital technology such as social media and smartphones also make it possible for anyone to become a proverbial Big Brother, monitoring other people's activities with the (expected or unexpected) intention of modifying their behaviour. Melissa S. Smith argues that politicians have to be even more guarded so as "not to make public gaffes or speak words that could be misinterpreted. Aside from the never-ending news cycle which is always looking for controversial political news, a candidate never knows when someone is recording his or her comments" (2010: 151).

Politicians are also concerned about the tone and content of comments posted *about* them. Women need to be especially alert to sexist treatment online (Lawrence and Rose, 2010). One American study discovered that female political bloggers are far more likely than their male counterparts to attract the attention of trolls, "individuals who attempt to thwart discussion on blogs that they are philosophically or ideologically opposed to" (Pole, 2010: 68). One New Zealand MP takes a cautious approach to Facebook because of the sexist vitriol directed at women online: "It … showed me that we still have a male

culture which leads men to think they can say whatever they like to a woman" (as quoted in Ross and Burger, 2014: 58). These drawbacks to Internet campaign lead to the following question: What reasons do municipal candidates have for not using specific information and communication technologies?

Reasons for rejecting ICTs

Many Canadian municipal candidates have been slow to incorporate the Internet into their campaigns because they do not yet view it as a necessary component of a successful communication strategy. This reason could simply be a justification, though, as many other candidates admit to not being sufficiently versed in the different digital technologies for their online campaigning to be effective. Very few respondents rejected an ICT because they found it to be too expensive, as Table 6.4 shows.

Though different types of candidates rejected ICTs for different reasons, what is clear from the analysis is that the Internet is not key to winning an election at the municipal level. Winners, non-city candidates, younger contestants, and those with fewer financial resources or time spent volunteering were significantly more likely than their respective counterparts to claim that a specific ICT was not necessary for their campaigns, while losers and non-mayoral candidates believed it would be ineffective in helping them to win (results not shown). Retrospective rationalization is probably at work in some of these assessments. Winners might have viewed their electoral success as validation of their campaign choices, while less well-funded candidates might have tried to justify the low-tech nature of their campaigns by asserting that it was the ICT that did not matter, not the lack of funds. Evaluating their campaigns in retrospect, losing candidates might not believe the Internet would have made a difference in their campaigns.

Other candidates' preferences probably resulted from a pragmatic approach to their electoral circumstances. With fewer voters to reach or with less of an orientation toward the Internet because of their older age, candidates in towns, villages, and rural areas might

TABLE 6.4: Most important reason why candidates reported **not** using information and communication technologies in their most recent campaign for municipal office

	Too costly		Time consuming		Ineffective		Unnecessary		Not familiar with it	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Websites	5.1	(9)	17.5	(32)	13.5	(25)	39.4	(72)	24.5	(45)
Blogs	0.8	(2)	14.2	(33)	11.2	(26)	33.5	(78)	40.3	(94)
Facebook	0.0	(0)	12.6	(24)	14.5	(28)	38.2	(73)	34.7	(66)
Twitter	0.8	(2)	8.2	(19)	10.9	(25)	33.6	(76)	46.5	(105)
YouTube	0.7	(2)	11.9	(29)	12.8	(31)	35.0	(86)	39.6	(97)
Flickr	0.7	(2)	5.2	(14)	11.5	(30)	28.2	(73)	54.4	(141)

Note: N = 294. Weighted data.

have opted for a simple online campaign or none at all. As for age in general, potentially tech-savvy younger candidates would be in a better position to know when to deploy a particular online utility while older candidates might have felt compelled to use an ICT to keep up with the digital times. Those candidates in the best position to incorporate Internet-based applications into their campaigns—city candidates, incumbents, and well-financed candidates—would be more likely to find them time consuming. These candidates likely had full campaign schedules. City council hopefuls can generate public visibility through a greater range of communication and community outlets. As either experienced campaigners or viable contenders, incumbents and well-funded candidates would also likely attempt to create a public profile through either direct contact with voters or advertising and news media appeals. Older candidates, as expected, opted not to use specific ICTs because of a lack of familiarity with the digital media. No significant differences were found for gender and years in political office.

The qualitative evidence reveals that many municipal candidates, including those online, are leery of the interactive capabilities of the Internet because of the strong potential to lose control of their campaign message. The comment function on social media utilities allows members of the public to post responses to policy ideas candidates put forward on their own sites. A female mayoral candidate discovered the debate could quickly spin out of control:

> Once you post something, such as we must build a library downtown, which is a local issue, people will come in and start posting and say, 'No, that's a stupid place to put the library.' And then the argument starts between all the people who are posting, and you lose control of the argument. And as you post back, you simply become one of many who are posting.

In those instances when candidates want to initiate a public debate about local issues, she warns that the borderless nature of the Internet enables people who do not live in the municipality to join the discussion and influence its direction. And she notes they can do so without identifying themselves as non-residents. Other candidates are concerned about the potential for misinformation to circulate on the Web. A female town candidate opted not to create any campaign ICTs and did not provide public access to her personal Facebook page during the election for this reason:

> I don't want to be on Facebook having to defend myself against things that may or may not be accurate. It just becomes a tit for tat kind of thing, and I'm not interested in that. If someone has an issue to raise with me, call me and let's talk about it.

She also disapproved of the way online debates can devolve into little more than bickering between political factions and of how some posters express their disapproval of political officials using violent language.

On the surface, these critiques of social media express a concern about the nature of online political debate in Canadian municipalities. But they also reveal a deeper anxiety triggered by the global nature of the Internet: how can municipal candidates be sure they are reaching *their* voters? The audience is key to understanding how municipal politicians use Internet-based applications, now and in the future. Some of them are struggling to figure out how they can use digital technology to develop electoral support. A female incumbent wished she had kept an electronic record of all the constituents she helped while on city council so she had a list of potential supporters when the election rolled around. She might have been able to defend her seat against an opponent who made much more effective use of social media:

I should have started a Facebook account when I was first elected and built my structure. And I should have been databasing my emails from when I was first elected, but I just never got on top of that. I was pretty busy. That was definitely something I did afterwards … I was doing it after I lost. It was some sort of therapy.

Candidates who have experimented more with digital media have discovered that not all ICTs are ideal for communicating with voters. "I find [Twitter] rather useless, frankly," said a male city candidate, who used the microblogging site in his campaign. "Yeah, it gets you out there, it gives you visibility, but you can't say much. You've got 140 characters for whatever it is that you are trying to comment on. Frankly, I find it a total waste of time." His comments indicate a growing awareness among politicians of the type of campaigning possible on each Internet-based application. The unique structure and function of each one determines the nature of the political engagement it can facilitate amongst the general public. This has, in turn, shaped the audience that each one reaches: Twitter is popular with journalists and other politically interested individuals while Facebook has a more general audience (Small, 2011; Ross and Burger, 2014). Municipal candidates need to carefully consider which ICT can help them create public visibility and which ones can lead to media visibility.

The task before municipal candidates, therefore, is to find the best mix of digital tools for their campaign. From an electoral point of view, they need to select online utilities that have the greatest likelihood of reaching their supporters and other electors who can be swayed to vote for them. But candidates also realize that they need to be careful about the extent to which they go high-tech. Not all voters want to be reached by social media. Some residents still prefer old-fashioned personal contact with candidates seeking their vote. One female respondent argued that "one must be careful about over-using Facebook to promote anything. There are a lot of seniors in this area who were annoyed by talk of websites and social media, so it was a balancing act." Likewise, not all voters *can* be reached by social media. A number of respondents who campaigned in 2010 noted social media was just starting to emerge as an election tool and many voters were not familiar

with it at that time. Considering the speed at which digital media evolves and the inevitable variation in popularity of different social networking sites, municipal politicians will always encounter large pockets of voters who are not familiar with the latest ICT. Lag time between the introduction of new forms of social media and their effectiveness as campaign tools means local politicians need to give serious consideration not only to whether or not they should use the Internet in their campaigns but also *which* ICTs.

The future of Internet campaigning

Even though many municipal candidates are reluctant to use the Internet, change is afoot. Some survey respondents believe generational change in municipal leaders will soon make the Internet an essential component of local electioneering. A female mayoral candidate predicts "social media will be, at least in the next decade, the arena where people do have discussions" about local political issues, especially as tech-savvy young people get older and become more active in municipal politics. A male candidate believes a contagion effect will help this process along:

> As more people use it, that's the thing, they get drawn into it. If you've got a certain amount of people running for a particular position, and three-quarters are using social media and the other quarter aren't, they might get left behind. What used to be is no longer the way of doing business.

But the evidence presented in this chapter suggests we need to be cautious about over-estimating the extent to which the Internet will become part of local campaigning. It is only one tool among many that candidates have at their disposal to promote their policies and qualifications to voters. What is in no doubt is that candidates will use the techniques that they believe will work best for their circumstances.

CONCLUSION

This chapter demonstrates Canadian municipal candidates are slowly adopting

the Internet in their campaigns as a means for creating public and media visibility, but the nature and degree of uptake varies depending upon their specific circumstances. Younger candidates, who are more likely to campaign in the cities, are clearly at the forefront of digital campaigning in municipal elections. They make far greater use of the Internet and some of the most popular ICTs than their older counterparts, who are more likely to seek office in towns, villages, and rural municipalities. This generational divide is likely behind some of the observed differences in Internet use between city and non-city candidates. But it is a difference that will not remain for long. One female mayoral candidate said in an email that her opponent used "all the bells and whistles of a big city campaign" to successfully topple her at the polls. Still, we cannot ignore the fact that three-quarters of city candidates reported using the Internet in their campaigns compared to just one-third of non-city candidates. For now, the Internet is far more prevalent in big-city battles than in small-town contests.

A second major finding of this chapter is that municipal candidates see the Internet as an advertising medium. They turn to online applications to convey information about themselves and their platforms in a bid to make themselves and their views more visible to voters. Moreover, municipal candidates overwhelmingly preferred static Web 1.0 tools such as websites and emails to interactive Web 2.0 applications such as Facebook and Twitter. Relying on websites and emails enabled candidates to exercise full control over their campaign messages while still conveying to voters a sense of modernity and professionalism. A conservative approach to online campaigning can also be ascertained from the generally low usage of YouTube, Flickr, and Twitter. City candidates in particular were far more willing than their small-town counterparts to use online applications that enable them to engage in a dialogue with voters. Unfortunately, the survey did not ask respondents if they allowed public comments or otherwise interacted with voters on their online platforms. If candidates did not allow citizens to post comments on their sites, then use of these newer ICTs was likely more about creating the appearance of approachability

than creating a new space for public deliberation during an election.

A third conclusion of this chapter is that campaign styles at the municipal level in Canada—at least in the deployment of online tools—are largely gender-neutral. Women and men generally used ICTs to the same degree and with the same level of intensity in their bids for local office. The only significant difference between the two groups was that men were significantly more likely to have a campaign blog than were women, which reflects male dominance in political blogging more generally (Pole, 2010). Otherwise, women and men candidates typically showed similar preferences in online tools. The interesting gender differences actually occurred within each gender group: women generally took a uniform approach to ICTs while men showed much greater variation depending upon their personal, political, and electoral circumstances. This result suggests many women look to see what other candidates are doing when deciding how to use the Internet in their campaigns, while men might craft their ICT plans according to their own needs or preferences.

While visits to election sites are currently low and not all applications are effective for their purposes, some candidates see a bright future for social media in municipal elections. Insights from the interviews suggest hope exists among municipal candidates that social media can increase the visibility of municipal politics and encourage public deliberation about local affairs. But until voters get in the habit of using the Internet to get election news and until candidates learn how to better use these technologies and their interactive features, many municipal politicians will likely eschew social media in favour of more traditional outreach efforts. The next chapter examines the extent to which local candidates employed paid advertising to generate public visibility in their communities.

7 Paying to be seen
Use of advertising in municipal elections

Lawn signs give both name recognition and show volume of support. Billboards and news advertising create both name recognition and show legitimacy of [the] campaign. Brochures are critical for getting every constituent information on who you are and what you stand for.

— Male city candidate

I think actually that we underestimate the importance of radio. But if you're not in the newspaper it is noticed. It's one of those things. I hate putting those ads in the newspaper every week — most people don't see them — but if you don't put them [in], they do notice, if that makes any sense at all. And I always put a small ad in every week and then I took a half page or full page out the last week [before the election], and that was as a candidate or as mayor.

— Female mayoral candidate

INTRODUCTION

Every major technological advancement in the communications field creates a new platform from which politicians can aspire to achieve a degree of visibility. Internet-based applications are the latest innovation to draw public and media interest because of their ability not only to expand the number of forums for direct discussion between politicians and citizens but also to accelerate the pace at which that interaction takes place. But before the Internet's arrival, candidates used more traditional means of political advertising to generate name recognition, political legitimacy, and electoral viability. Political advertising is "the method or process by which any entity promotes its image or services with the intention of attracting further interest from people" (Ademilokun and Taiwo, 2013: 439). Candidates have a number of advertising formats at their disposal, such as news media ads, online ads, lawn signs, billboards, brochures, posters, and buttons.

Yet our understanding of the role of different types of political advertising during elections is limited because of an intense scholarly focus on television commercials. An extensive literature examines the structure, content, deployment, and effect of political TV ads (Franz and Ridout, 2010; Kaid, Fernandes, and Painter, 2011; Kaid and Postelnicu,

2005; Ridout, Franz, Goldstein, and Feltus, 2012; Sanders, 2004), including in the Canadian context (Daignault, Soroka, and Giasson, 2013; Haddock and Zanna, 1997; Romanow, de Repentigny, Cunningham, Soderlund, and Hildebrandt, 1999) and from gendered perspectives (Banwart, Winfrey, and Schnoebelen, 2009; Hitchon and Chang, 1995; Johnston and White, 1994; Panagopoulos, 2004; Shames, 2003). The large sums of money that political parties in general and American politicians in particular are spending on television advertising are likely behind this research agenda (Overby and Barth, 2006). But it has led scholars to largely ignore the manner in which candidates use radio spots, newspaper ads, direct mail, street signs, and other promotional items in their campaigns, even though these are among the most common forms of election advertising at all levels of government (Bass, 2009; Overby and Barth, 2006; Richardson, 2008) and probably the largest expense for many individual candidates, especially at the municipal level. The focus on television commercials means scholars overlook a key source of political rhetoric during elections.

This chapter investigates the extent to which Canadian municipal candidates rely on different types of political advertising to enhance their public visibility during an election and the potential role of gender and municipality type in that process. I begin by outlining the benefits of political advertising before presenting data on how candidates deploy it in their campaigns and what they believe are the strengths and weaknesses of specific types of advertising. In addition to quantitative survey data about advertising practices, the analysis draws upon responses to an open-ended survey question and comments from interviews on advertising strategies.

THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF PAID ADVERTISING

In many municipal contexts, the news media and social media are not effective on their own at creating public visibility. Canadian municipal candidates are featured in only a few news stories and receive a small number of visits to their online platforms. The limited

impact of the news media and social media at the municipal level is because they are essentially pull technologies that require voters to read, listen, or watch election news or log onto a site to get information about a candidate. Paid advertising, on the other hand, is a push technology. Voters are forced to learn about a candidate's existence when they drive by lawn signs or billboards on their way to work or retrieve election leaflets from their mailbox (Dumitrescu, 2010). Voters can also be exposed to campaign messages when political commercials air during sitcoms, sporting matches, or other television programming (Cho, 2008). While attention to these promotional items may be short, voters are still confronted with campaign information. This makes paid advertising one of the most effective means by which municipal candidates can build name recognition and communicate their platforms to prospective voters during an election.

Paid advertising has a number of advantages. First, it has the potential to improve the amount of election information available to voters in otherwise low-information municipal elections (Strachan, 2003). Election brochures contain basic information about a candidate's policy ideas and qualifications for office. In those cases when substantial municipal election news is not available, this printed material is a vital resource for voters who need to make a choice between candidates. Candidates can also use brochures and media advertisements to shape their public image. As with social media sites, candidates control the presentation and content of their paid advertising. They decide what image they wish to project and what issues they wish to highlight (Kahn, 1993). This fact makes paid advertising of special value to women candidates (Johnston and White, 1994), who can shape their campaign messages to subvert negative gender stereotypes and/or activate potentially positive ones in their bid for elected office (Banwart, Winfrey, and Schnoebelen, 2009; Bystrom, Banwart, Kaid, and Robertson, 2004; Panagopoulos, 2004; Shames, 2003). Finally, candidates can use paid advertising to create the impression of electoral viability (Dumitrescu, 2012). For example, research suggests television advertisements and strategically placed lawn signs could increase a candidate's vote share (Franz and

Ridout, 2010; Kam and Zechmeister, 2013).

It is important to note, though, that candidate control of paid advertising does not extend to how voters receive campaign messages. Examining the role of direct mail in Michael Ignatiff's campaign for the leadership of the Liberal Party of Canada in 2006, Peter John Loewen and Daniel Rubenson conclude that "arguments aimed at swaying individuals' opinions can have the effect of moving attitudes in the opposite direction to that intended by the argument. That is, receiving more information about, say, a candidate can make that candidate less attractive to certain voters" (2011: 47). Put another way, political advertising can provide a candidate with public visibility but not necessarily a positive public image.

A second—and more important—drawback to paid advertising is its cost. Whether it is lawn signs or pamphlets, paid political advertising can consume a significant portion of a campaign's budget and volunteer support. Financial constraints were identified one as reason why a female town candidate used few promotional items during her last campaign for municipal council:

> In the last election, I don't recall anybody putting any kind of paid advertising in the media. I certainly didn't. Most people don't have money for that kind of thing. We don't fundraise. My expenditure was the ink for printing up the 100 copies of my handout. I actually printed out more than that. I might have printed out 200.

Even though she distributed brochures while door knocking, the town council candidate indicated many voters preferred to invite her inside their homes to talk about the campaign rather than read her election material. Her spending habits are not necessarily typical of all municipal candidates but do reflect a financial divide between city and non-city candidates. As Chapter 4 noted, city candidates raised an average of about $10,600 and spent almost $11,300 on their campaigns while non-city candidates raised about $760 and spent about $1,800. City candidates also spent almost five times as much as non-city candidates on their communications.

THE USE OF PAID ADVERTISING

Survey results reveal that the strengths of paid advertising clearly outweighed the drawbacks in the decision calculus of many Canadian municipal candidates. An impressive four-fifths of respondents reported using some form of paid advertising in their campaigns. Compare this to other forms of communication: only half set up an online election platform, three-quarters were in contact with journalists during the campaign, and almost all made efforts to meet voters in person (see Chapter 8). These results make paid advertising the most common communication technique used by candidates in municipal elections after face-to-face contact with voters.

Table 7.1 outlines the extent to which different types of candidates reported using paid advertising. As with social media, city candidates are significantly more likely than their non-city counterparts to use promotional items such as lawn signs and brochures to build public visibility. This pattern remains consistent when comparing city and non-city candidates along a number of dimensions, with one notable exception: a clear majority of *all* losing candidates, whether campaigning in cities, towns, villages, or rural areas, rely on paid advertising in an attempt to build electoral support. One possible explanation for this result is that weaker candidates might use paid advertising as a way not only to create name recognition but also to create an *impression* of electoral viability. Candidates could attempt to accomplish this by placing scores of election signs along key traffic thoroughfares and by blanketing neighbourhoods with leaflets. Considering the fact that city winners and most city losers and non-city losers advertise, it is the communication choices of non-city winners that is driving the overall trend of winners being significantly less likely than losers to report using paid advertising in their campaigns. Table 7.1 also shows that, like social media, paid advertising is a key component of many city campaigns. City candidates might depend on advertising to establish their presence in the race, reach the scores of voters they cannot hope to meet in person, create a sense of electoral viability, and/or to reinforce other communication efforts as part of a comprehensive effort to achieve public visibility.

TABLE 7.1: Candidates who reported using paid advertising during their recent municipal election, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men		City			Non-city		All	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)		Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Gender										**.80**	**(.404)**
Women	.77	(.422)	---	-------	.94	(.247)	*	.73	(.451)	.77	(.422)
Men	---	-------	.80	(.399)	.94	(.247)	***	.74	(.442)	.80	(.399)
Municipality type											
City	.94	(.247)	.94	(.247)	.94	(.246)		---	-------	.94	(.246)
Non-city	.73	(.451)	.74	(.442)	---	-------		.73	(.443)	.73	(.443) ***
Incumbency status											
Incumbents	.67	(.483)	.89	(.315)	.97	(.165)	**	.77	(.427)	.84	(.371)
Challengers	.83	(.378)	.76	(.426)	.92	(.278)	***	.72	(.451)	.78	(.416)
Success											
Winners	.68	(.472)	.74	(.443)	.99	(.105)	***	.65	(.479)	.72	(.448)
Losers	.92	(.271)	.90	(.297)	.90	(.306)		.91	(.285)	.91	(.291) ***
Type of Office											
Mayoral candidates	.82	(.416)	.85	(.361)	1.00	(.000)	**	.79	(.410)	.85	(.365)
Other candidates	.77	(.427)	.79	(.411)	.93	(.265)	***	.71	(.453)	.78	(.414)
Age											
Younger than 45	.91	(.300)	.73	(.451)	.91	(.294)	*	.66	(.483)	.76	(.428)
Candidates 45 and up	.73	(.451)	.82	(.388)	.94	(.237)	***	.74	(.437)	.80	(.402)

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 291. Weighted data.

As expected, candidate gender is not a significant factor in the decision to use this category of communication tools. The gender differences notable in Table 7.1 do not achieve statistically significance, likely due to small sample sizes within the candidate subcategories. Other bivariate comparisons find few other major differences. Aside from municipality type and electoral outcome, the only independent variables to achieve statistical significance relate to campaign financing. Not surprisingly, well-funded candidates were more likely to report using paid advertising than those with fewer financial resources. This pattern was especially true for male candidates and non-city candidates. Financial resources did not influence the degree to which women or city candidates used promotional items (results not shown).

While the bivariate comparisons found city candidates were consistently more likely than their non-city counterparts to advertise, a multivariate analysis (panel A in Table 7.2, page 174) reveals that municipality type lost significance when controlling for other factors. Incumbency status, age, and communications spending were the key determinants. Challengers and older candidates were significantly less likely to use paid advertising in their campaigns than their respective counterparts, while well-funded candidates were more likely to do so. Not only do these results suggest political, social, and financial circumstances play a strong role in determining whether or not city candidates advertise, they also demonstrate the continuing importance of incumbency and money in elections overall.

Value of news media advertisements

As with all forms of direct advertising, candidates can use paid announcements in the news media to increase name recognition and shape their public image. Newspaper ads, for example, typically feature a candidate's photograph, full name or last name in bold lettering, and the office sought. Large newspaper ads permit candidates to also include contact details, slogans, and succinct details about their personal qualities, policy

TABLE 7.2: Summary of regressions results for candidate strategy for and use of paid advertising during their most recent municipal campaign

	A Used Paid Advertising	B Ad in Daily	C Ad in Weekly	D Ad on TV	E Ad on Radio	F Ad in Mags	G Ad on News Site	H Ad on Website	I Used Pamplets	J Used Billboards	K Evaluation of Ad Plan
	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Beta
Gender Female = 1	.596	.734	1.950	73.576	2.085	8.549	.743	1.008	.704	.843	-.117
Municipality type City candidate = 1	.545	.159***	.375*	.000*	.176***	.298	.165*	.410	.824	.780	-.311***
Incumbency Incumbent = 1	.305*	.575	1.621	.000	1.070	10.557	.143	2.67E+7	2.950	.748	.017
Type of office Mayoral candidate = 1	.586	.407	.322	1.930	.364*	1.197E+8	.302	75.776	3.194	1.020	.214**
Electoral outcome Winner = 1	.955	.764	.547	1.275E+11	.509	13.052*	8.033*	5.980	.046**	.707	.278***
Age (in years)	.959*	1.000	1.021	.714	1.018	.978	.844**	.922	.947	.990	-.437***
Communications (in dollars)	1.004***	1.013	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000*	1.006**	1.000***	.010
N	241	156	179	145	153	143	147	144	188	154	132
R²	.548	.215	.256	.796	.231	.439	.413	.483	.511	.246	.263

Note: The R² for the logistic regression equations [Exp(B)] is Nagelkerke R² and for the ordinary least squares regression equations [Beta] it is Adjusted R². Interpreting the results for Exp(B): Any value greater than 1 is a positive odds ratio and any value less than 1 is a negative odds ratio. Interpreting the results for Beta: Values range from -1 to 1, with -1 a perfect negative relationship and 1 a perfect positive relationship. SPSS only reports data to the third decimal point. Weighted data.
* p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. Weighted data.

goals, and/or past accomplishments that signal to voters what kind of municipal politician they believe they will be. Placing such ads is a prudent strategy for candidates in towns, villages, and rural areas because of the strong readership of community newspapers: 73 percent of adults in non-urban areas in Canada (including 76 percent of women) read a community newspaper each week, with 62 percent of them interested in the advertising (Canadian Community Newspapers Association, 2013). Since smaller municipalities often use an at-large electoral system, many of those readers will likely be eligible to select candidates for every position on council, not just the mayor. The fact that most cities use a ward system to select councillors means newspaper advertising should be a strategy best suited for candidates for mayor, the one city politician elected by all voters. Mayoral candidates would get more value for any money spent on ads to reach the nearly three in four Canadians who read a daily newspaper each week (Newspaper Audience Databank Inc., 2013). These figures suggest many, but not all, municipal candidates can raise their public visibility by running advertisements in newspapers.

Yet newspaper ads are not only about promoting one's candidacy to the largest number of eligible voters. In some communities, newspaper ads establish one's presence in the local campaign. A female mayoral candidate said voters in her town expect candidates to run ads in order to be considered electorally viable, even if no one actually reads them. "I don't think they get you any votes, but if they're not there people are wondering if you're even bothering to do anything," she argued. "I don't [think] they have the effect that people think they do. I think people over-emphasize their importance." One reason why this type of advertising might not be effective is because the candidate is one of many advertisers pitching their wares. "[Y]ou're one of a crowd. You're not standing out," she added. However, a male candidate said the strongest drawback to media advertising is its high cost. For example, a display ad covering one-eighth of a page would cost an average of $172 in an Alberta weekly newspaper.[1] Candidates would thus face a $688 bill just for newspaper advertising if they ran this ad each week during a four-week municipal campaign.

Television commercials are undoubtably more expensive than newspaper ads, both in terms of production and air time. Despite the cost, American municipal candidates are increasingly turning to TV advertising for a competitive edge, even in midsized cities (Strachan, 2003). This is not necessarily the case in Canada. As Figure 7.1 shows, this study found few municipal candidates use this communication tool and the decision not to use it is likely influenced by cost. TV advertising is thus largely the purview of political parties in Canada. Since 2005, the Conservative Party of Canada has repeatedly engaged in pre-election ad campaigns "to define [new leader] Stephen Harper before he could be defined by his opponents and to define his opponents before they could define themselves" (Taras, 2012: 12), especially incoming leaders of the Liberal Party of Canada (Flanagan, 2012). The New Democratic Party ran TV commercials introducing Thomas Mulcair soon after he was selected leader in 2012, likely in a bid to preempt a similar advertising campaign by the Tories. However, scholarship on political TV advertising in Canada is sparse in comparison to the American literature, with research focusing on negative election advertising (Romanow, de Repentigny, Cunningham, Soderlund, and Hildebrandt, 1999; Rose, 2012), advertising effects (Haddock and Zanna, 1997), and government advertising at the national level (Rose, 2014; Rose and Mellon, 2010). American research suggests candidates can reach specific types of voters, including those who are most likely to be their supporters, by running commercials during television programs that typically appeal to those individuals (Ridout, Franz, Goldstein, and Feltus, 2012).

Lower production costs for radio spots mean candidates can tailor their advertising message *and* its delivery to specific groups of voters through selective exposure (Overby and Barth, 2006). L. Marvin Overby and Jay Barth argue that political TV ads must appeal to a large number of voters, a constraint not shared by radio: "On radio, subgroups of citizens often not reached by mainstream media can be communicated with on their own terms, with a focus on political issues that are of vital interest to them (usually in a larger format that allows greater depth to the presentation)" (2006: 458). Radio has the added

benefit of immediacy. Candidates do not need to create visuals to accompany voice-overs, so they can quickly produce new radio ads in response to the ebb and flow of the election campaign. The two scholars also note that many candidates can transmit their messages to voters without (much) interference from their opponents, as "[t]he sheer number of radio stations makes it difficult for anyone to track all the ads a campaign runs" (2006: 454). A female mayoral candidate interviewed for this study agrees with Overby and Barth that the importance of radio advertising in politics is often overlooked. She chose to run radio spots with the local station, insisting her ads air during the crucial 7 to 9 a.m. time slot when many people listen to the radio while getting ready for and/or travelling to work. She also found the local radio station would not cover candidates unless they purchased air time. Her comments suggest the possibility that municipal candidates need to advertise with their local news media outlets if they hope to receive "free" news coverage of their campaigns.

Use of news media advertisements

Considering the pros and cons of advertising with the news media, how frequently do Canadian municipal candidates actually use news media ads in their campaigns? Figure 7.1 visualizes the percentage of respondents who reported placing advertisements with different types of news organizations over the course of their campaign. What becomes apparent from the graphic is that, not surprisingly, the purchasing habits of municipal candidates reflect the composition of the news industry at the local level. Recall from Chapter 5 that almost 80% of survey respondents indicated they had a weekly newspaper in their municipality, followed by radio, daily newspapers, television, and magazines. We see a similar pattern emerge in how candidates choose to advertise. Almost three-quarters of candidates purchase commercial space in weekly newspapers, followed to a far lesser extent by radio, daily newspapers, television, magazines, and news websites. Put another way, municipal candidates, like other advertisers, make use of whatever news outlets are at their disposal to broadcast their messages to news audiences. Candidates do not just

FIGURE 7.1: The percentage of candidates who reported running paid advertisements with different types of news organizations during their recent municipal campaign

Daily newspaper	18.0%
Weekly newspaper	71.2%
Television	7.7%
Radio	21.6%
Magazine	7.0%
Websites of above	6.5%
Other website(s)	6.1%
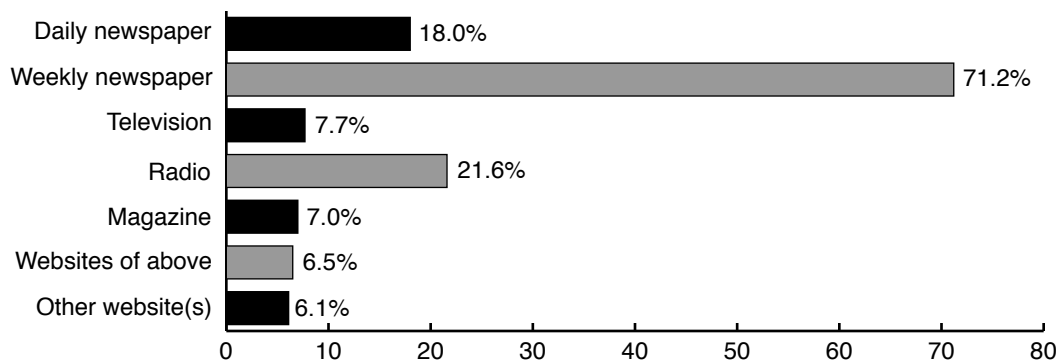
Note: The N ranges from 155 for Other Website(s) to 215 for Weekly Newspaper. Weighted data.

rely on news coverage to achieve their communication aims.

Bivariate comparisons again suggest municipal context matters in terms of candidate communication choices, and these results can be attributed to the nature of the news media industries and size of the electorates in the cities when compared to smaller municipalities (results not shown). City candidates were significantly more likely than their non-city counterparts to buy ads in both print and broadcast media. This pattern was particularly consistent when it came to daily newspapers. Regardless of gender, incumbency, electoral outcome, office sought, or age, city candidates were much more likely than candidates in towns, villages, and rural areas to place an ad in a daily newspaper. (The difference between women candidates in cities and non-cities is the only result that did not achieve statistical significance, though this is likely due to small sample sizes.) This advertising practice is hardly surprising considering daily newspapers tend to be located in cities and focused on covering the politics of the host city, with occasional stories on other municipalities in their readership area. In other words, city candidates can reach their targeted voters through daily newspapers while non-city candidates likely cannot. Small-town candidates would probably be better off advertising in their local weekly newspaper, though bivariate comparison indicate city candidates also advertise more often in weeklies than non-city candidates do. One probable explanation for this result is that city candidates

advertise in entertainment weeklies and other specialty titles that might operate in their municipality.

However, after controlling for other factors, a multivariate analysis (panels B to H in Table 7.2, page 174) found city candidates were actually significantly less likely to advertise in various kinds of news outlets except magazines and non-news media websites. This result suggests a city candidate's personal preferences or political circumstances play a greater role in decisions regarding with which news media outlets to advertise than they do for non-city candidates. Non-city candidates might simply follow the advertising habits of their competitors or respect the political advertising norms of their community.

As for other results, bivariate comparisons suggest differences in how women and men candidates choose to advertise (results not shown). Men demonstrated a greater tendency to run ads with traditional media—especially weekly newspapers, radio, and magazines—while women were slightly, but not significantly, more likely to exploit digital media. For example, more than three-quarters of male candidates advertised in weekly newspapers compared to just half of female candidates. Men were especially keen on advertising in weeklies when they were challengers, eventual winners, non-mayoral candidates, and younger than 45. In contrast, incumbents and challengers demonstrated similar advertising preferences in the bivariate comparisons, with the notable exception of magazines and websites. Challengers in both instances were significantly more likely than incumbents to place ads in magazines and non-news media websites. This approach suggests challengers advertised more widely than did incumbents, who focused more on key news outlets. Yet all of these differences disappeared in the multivariate analysis. Neither gender nor incumbency status were significant determinants in a candidate's decision regarding the use of different types of news media advertisements (panels B to H in Table 7.2, page 174).

Examining the other independent variables, candidates who had spent more years in municipal office showed a greater preference for radio and those who had spent less time

showed a greater preference for magazines, while candidates with a greater background in community volunteering were significantly more likely to place ads in daily and weekly newspapers. No major patterns were noted for age. Younger and older candidates place ads to the same extent in the different types of news organizations. The multivariate analysis confirmed this result for all except news media websites, with younger candidates significantly more likely to purchase space in these online venues.

Advertising trends suggest the electoral system could have an indirect effect on how council hopefuls try to achieve visibility during an election. The bivariate results indicate mayoral candidates exhibited a much greater preference than their non-mayoral counterparts for running ads in weekly newspapers and radio stations, both of which have the potential to reach a larger audience than most other types of news organizations, especially in smaller communities. Since mayors are selected under what is essentially a single-member plurality electoral system, candidates need to solicit votes from the entire electorate in order to win the sole seat available. Non-mayoral candidates, in contrast, can campaign under either a ward system, in which one seat is available, or an at-large system, in which they seek one of several open seats. In both instances non-mayoral candidates need fewer votes to get elected, so they can mount a less extensive advertising campaign. However, significant differences between mayoral and non-mayoral candidates dissipated for all but radio advertising in a multivariate analysis. After controlling for other factors, the logistic regression determined non-mayoral candidates were actually significantly more likely than their counterparts to advertise on radio. One possible explanation for this result is that radio advertising might be an inexpensive push technology for regular council candidates to use in a bid to become known to more voters in their ward or municipality.

Candidate preferences show that a successful advertising campaign focuses on those news organizations with the greatest potential audience. For example, *t*-tests show eventual winners were almost twice as likely to run radio spots while eventual losers were more likely to advertise in magazines and on television (results not shown). While television

stations broadcasts to a large audience, their market boundaries do not always neatly align with municipal boundaries. Candidates who advertise on television are more likely to reach non-voters as they are their own voters. No significant differences existed between winners and losers in relation to advertising with daily or weekly newspapers, television, radio, or other websites.

Trends noted in the bivariate comparisons also suggest candidates with financial resources invest more in advertising. For example, well-financed candidates are significantly more likely than those with fewer resources to run ads in weekly newspapers, news organizations' websites, other types of websites and, to a lesser extent, daily newspapers. These differences disappeared in the multivariate analysis, but this might be because of small sample sizes and/or different advertising preferences on the part of well-funded candidates.

Frequency of news media advertisements

Canadian municipal politicians are clearly taking advantage of media advertising to generate public visibility, with some of them doing so across multiple media formats, but they are by no means heavy advertisers. Local candidates are quite modest in their purchasing habits. Table 7.3 demonstrates that many council hopefuls place no more than a few newspaper ads over the course of the campaign, with a quarter going to the expense of running the odd radio spot and just 6.4% airing a TV commercial. This pattern is in contrast to the advertising habits of national political parties in Canada, which have increasingly been engaging in so-called air wars during non-election periods, and American politicians, who have long spent millions of dollars on TV advertising during primary and general election campaigns.

Again, the type of municipality in which candidates campaigned for office was more likely to play a role in their advertising choices than other factors. Non-city candidates were significantly more likely to report never running a newspaper, TV, or radio advertisement

TABLE 7.3: Candidate responses regarding how frequently they ran advertisements in different news media during their recent municipal election

	Daily		Weekly		Occasionally		Once		Never	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Type of media ad										
Newspaper	0.8	(2)	35.0	(79)	23.5	(53)	13.4	(30)	27.4	(62)
Television	1.7	(3)	1.2	(2)	3.1	(5)	0.4	(1)	93.6	(163)
Radio	2.7	(5)	4.8	(9)	11.2	(22)	4.7	(9)	76.5	(146)

Note: The Newspaper N = 225, the Television N = 174 and the Radio N = 191. Weighted data.

during the campaign while city candidates were far more willing to run such ads on at least an occasional basis (results not shown). Women and men candidates report advertising at the same rate of frequency, with two notable exceptions: men were significantly more likely to run weekly newspaper ads and radio spots on a weekly basis. Small sample sizes for these dependent variables discouraged a closer examination of gender and municipality differences by personal and political characteristics.

Returning to general comparisons, financial resources and volunteerism were both key factors in newspaper advertising frequency. Not surprisingly, well-financed candidates were more likely to report occasionally running a newspaper ad while those on a tighter budget were more likely to indicate they never ran such an ad. Volunteerism moved in the opposite direction as expected. Longtime volunteers would presumably have greater name recognition and therefore less of a need to advertise in comparison to more recent volunteers, but this proved not to be the case. Candidates with a longer volunteer background in their municipalities were far more likely to place a newspaper ad (and a radio spot, for that matter) while their counterparts were much more likely to indicate they never took out a newspaper ad. One explanation for this result could be that candidates with longer volunteer resumes were stronger candidates overall and used their advertising to highlight the contributions they had already made to the community as well as the ones they wanted to make in the future. No major patterns were detected for the other independent variables.[2]

FIGURE 7.2: The percentage of candidates who reported using different paid advertising methods during their recent municipal campaign

Note: The N ranges from 182 for Billboards to 232 for News Media Ads. Weighted data.
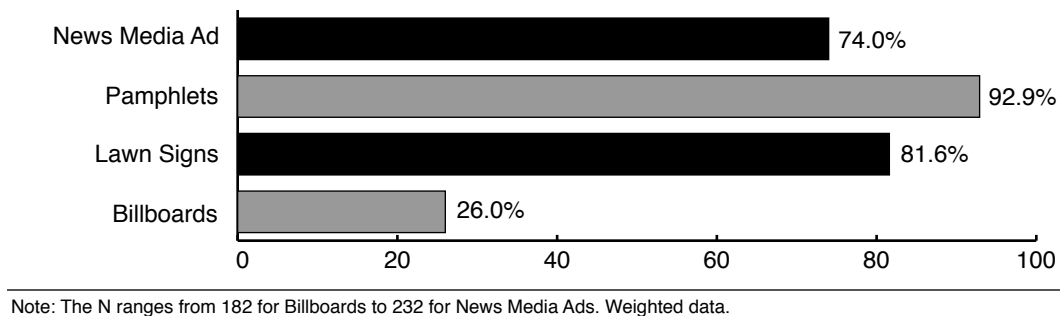
Use of pamphlets

News media spots are not the only method of paid advertising, or even the most important one, available to candidates during a municipal election. Other tools include pamphlets (also known as brochures, direct mail, mailouts, and election leaflets), lawn signs, and billboards.[3] Figure 7.2 illustrates that pamphlets are the most popular form of political advertising, followed close behind by lawn signs and news media ads. Billboards are a distant fourth. Once again, *t*-tests show municipality type played a significant role in candidate communication choices (see Table A.7.1 in the appendix). Even though an overwhelming majority of candidates used pamphlets, city candidates were significantly more likely than their small-town counterparts to incorporate them into their campaigns. This was especially the case if the city candidate was male, a non-mayoral hopeful, incumbent, and 45 years of age or older. The importance of municipality type, however, again disappeared in the multivariate analysis (panel I in Table 7.2, page 174). While the other independent variables had no significant influence in the bivariate comparisons, the logistic regression found that the more money candidates spent on communications, the more likely they were to produce a pamphlet. Eventual losers were also more likely to hand out pamphlets. Gender was not a significant factor in either the bivariate or multivariate analyses.

The popularity of pamphlets can be explained by their versatile format, available editorial space, and ease of use. Pamphlets provide enough space to include concise

information about a candidate's platform, qualifications, personal life, endorsements, and contact details. Depending upon their financial resources, candidates can either hire consultants to design professional-looking pamphlets or create a more modest version themselves on their home computers. They then have a choice of distributing this item by mail, as a flyer, or through volunteers. Pamphlets are especially ideal to have on hand when candidates go door knocking, either to provide voters with additional information that cannot be communicated during a brief encounter at the door or to leave behind if no one is home. "Leaving something there with them to digest over a period of time I thought was very important," a male candidate for deputy mayor said in an interview. "Now my brochure, do I believe that everybody reads it? No. But if I'm going to put one in everyone's door, in their mailbox, at least I think they're going to touch it."

Even though pamphlets can help elevate a candidate's visibility, their main function is to shape the candidate's image. By carefully selecting what goes into their election material, candidates can prime the issues, leadership qualities, and other information they believe are important for voters to think about in general and about them in particular. "It lays out more of what you want to do and who you are," said a female mayoral candidate. However, Loewen and Rubenson (2011) would remind candidates not to assume voters will be receptive to the information in their printed material. Pamphlets might help create public visibility for a candidate but they can also lead to greater public resistance to her or his candidacy if voters do not like what they read.

Use of lawn signs

While pamphlets are geared toward shaping a candidate's public image, lawn signs are specifically about generating public visibility. Lawn signs draw people's attention to the fact an election is underway in the municipality; they give the election *itself* a public profile (Dumitrescu, 2010). Lawn signs also draw people's attention to specific candidates. The main purpose of posting campaign signs is to help voters recall the candidate's name,

which, of course, is important when it comes time to vote (Dumitrescu, 2010). A male city candidate said lawn signs can be especially helpful for newcomers to the community, who might not be as familiar with the candidates as are longtime residents:

> If it were a larger community or a substantially changing community, I would say it is a way to give yourself visibility. Ads in the newspaper, billboards, lawn signs, yeah, you get your face, you get your name out there to a population that might show up at the polls. And if they haven't been around for a long time, they're looking for a name and a face that they can say, 'Hey, yeah, I've seen a lot of [his] signs out there so I think I'll vote for him. Don't know what he stands for but he's one of 22 and I've seen him a lot out there so obviously he's working hard for the community, so I'll vote for him.' There's that side of it. I'm not sure that's the way I would ever want to get elected. I prefer people say that they know me and wanted to vote for me because of what I stand for.

The number and location of lawn signs can also create an impression of electoral viability (Dumitrescu, 2012). It is not unusual for candidates to erect multiple campaign signs along major roadways to draw the eye of passing motorists, but this action really only signals that the candidate has the financial resources to afford to print all of those signs. Signs placed on front lawns of private homes, however, are arguably more important: they indicate the candidate has the support of the people who reside there. A male candidate for deputy mayor felt increasing the number of lawn signs on personal property was more important to improving his electoral chances: "That has more of the personable touch to it all because it was people who were backing you. 'Cause when you put it on the local corner there is no one backing you. See what I'm saying? And that's important." One experimental study found election signs placed in strategic positions could be effective at increasing a candidate's vote totals (Kam and Zechmeister, 2013). Hosting lawn signs can also be an important communicative activity for voters. Some scholars argue that it is an important form of political participation for many citizens (Makse and Sokhey, 2012, 2014). They not only get involved in the electoral process but also publicly express their political preferences in the hopes of persuading neighbours to support their chosen candidate or political party.

Canadian municipal candidates generally agree lawn signs are beneficial, as

the survey results reveal they use them to the same degree regardless of their political, personal, or social circumstances. This pattern was largely consistent when taking a closer look at candidate choices within the categories of gender and municipality type. Only city candidates under the age of 45 or seeking a mayoral seat were significantly more likely than their respective non-city counterparts to pitch a lawn sign. As for gender, the only men who were significantly more likely than women to use lawn signs in their campaigns were challengers, eventual winners, and non-city candidates.[4]

The fact that at least 10% fewer municipal candidates used lawn signs than pamphlets could be attributed to a number of factors. Traditional arguments against lawn signs revolve around the visual and environmental clutter they generate in municipalities. And candidates themselves are as concerned about environmental issues associated with printed election material as voters and local governments. As a male city candidate argues:

> It is inefficient in that it's also burning up a lot of the environment to produce flyers and the lawn signs as well. These are not environmentally friendly ways to go. And I'm also a big fan of making sure that, as best as possible, we reduce our impact on the environment. So I don't find them all that useful.

Other candidate comments reveal local political culture plays a role in whether or not some candidates can use lawn signs without being punished by voters. A female mayoral candidate noted that, until recently, candidates who pitched lawn signs in her town were "considered trying too hard," while a female town candidate indicated lawn signs were simply not part of the advertising mix in her community. A male mayoral candidate observed that citizens in his province are reluctant to publicly display their political stripes by putting a candidate or party's sign on their property, regardless of whether it is a municipal, provincial, or federal election. However, the fact that many candidates continue to use lawn signs indicates it will be a while before they become a thing of the past in municipal elections. For now, many candidates find them a useful way to make their name known to prospective voters.

Use of billboards

Like lawn signs, billboards are effective at generating public visibility, although in this case it is because of their sheer size: a candidate's visage is hard to ignore when it looms large over motorists and pedestrians alike. Billboards are also typically stationed in high-traffic areas, such as popular intersections where drivers cannot avoid seeing them while waiting at a red light. A female candidate who ran for city council noted how effective billboards were—for her competitor: "My opponent put up billboard style signs with his photo at [the] main intersections, which had never been done before for a ward election. My lawn signs seemed small and insignificant and did not have my face on them." Billboards are not used exclusively by city candidates, though. One woman who sought a spot on town council felt her billboards drew considerable public attention to her candidacy:

> I took a more aggressive approach this time to visibility in the community. The lawn signs and large billboard type signs had my picture on them. The larger signs were placed in high traffic areas once the other candidates had their signs up and certainly generated conversation. I was the only candidate running for councillor to have this size [of sign] with a picture; the others had small lawn signs. While campaigning I was told how effective the large signs were and that people not in my ward were talking about them as well. Well worth the additional cost. We moved all my signs the night before the election to the streets leading to the polling station.

Another woman candidate noted the issues she raised during her campaign "energized the electorate for change" in her town, with her billboard and lawn signs demonstrating the seriousness of her bid for office.

Even though these candidates found billboards successful, Figure 7.2 reveals only a quarter of municipal candidates use billboards to promote themselves to voters during a campaign. Again, bivariate comparisons found that only municipality type proved to be a significant factor in the decision to use this type of advertising. City candidates were far more likely than non-city candidates to erect a billboard, especially if they were non-mayoral hopefuls, incumbents, challengers, winners, and 45 years of age or older. Financial resources naturally made a difference for both city and non-city contenders: well-

funded candidates in both groups were significantly more likely than their more constrained counterparts to go to the expense of producing and placing billboards. As expected, women and men used this tool to the same extent, both overall and according to most candidate characteristics. The only significant finding related to financial resources, and then only for men, was that the more cash men had to spend on their campaign, the far more likely they were to purchase billboard space. Money did not influence women's decisions. The large difference in fundraising and spending between city and non-city candidates, however, is likely behind the significance of municipality type in the bivariate comparisons. A multivariate analysis (panel J in Table 7.2, page 174) found financial resources, and not municipality type, was the major influence on candidate use of billboards once other factors were considered. Well-funded candidates, not surprisingly, were much more likely to put up billboards than candidates with more limited funds.

THE CONTENT OF PAID ADVERTISING

What information did candidates put in their media ads, pamphlets, lawn signs, and billboards? What campaign messages were they most keen to convey to voters? Not surprisingly, the number one piece of information that candidates included on all promotional items was their name. Candidates clearly wanted voters to be able to recall their name on election day, making name recognition the primary purpose of all of their paid advertising. Some types of promotional items, though, allowed candidates to include other information and provide voters with more reasons why they should select their name from all the others vying for a spot on council. Pamphlets are especially useful in this regard. Many municipal candidates discussed their policy ideas (72.2%), character traits (50.7%), volunteer backgrounds (63.3%), and qualifications for elected office (59.8%). Advertisements in the news media discussed these topics to a lesser degree, with almost half of municipal candidates relaying details about their platforms (44.5%) and about one in five noting their character (20.3%), volunteer history (20.2%), and qualifications (23.3%).

In contrast to pamphlets and news media ads, very few candidates raised these issues in their lawn signs or billboards. These items are clearly focused on generating public visibility for the candidate.

Name recognition was not the only focus of paid advertising for challengers, though. They were significantly more likely than incumbents to note their policy ideas in all promotional items except pamphlets and their qualifications for office in media ads and pamphlets. While the policy ideas they conveyed in lawn signs and billboards probably consisted of little more than a slogan (Seidman, 2008), the fact that challengers promoted their ideas and qualifications across various advertising platforms suggests they felt the need to highlight their potential contributions as municipal politicians to overcome the perceived advantages incumbents have in that regard. For good or bad, incumbents have a track record on municipal council that they can point to when explaining what they have already contributed to local governance.

As for municipality type, city and non-city candidates discussed their platforms to the same extent in their paid advertising, with one notable exception. City council hopefuls were significantly more likely than their small-town counterparts to note their policy ideas, character traits, and qualifications for office in their news media ads. This finding could be because city candidates have a greater need to generate not only public visibility but also a public image than do non-city candidates, who live in small communities where many voters likely already know them. No major patterns were noted for the other independent variables, including gender. Women and men demonstrated an equal tendency to promote their policy ideas, character traits, volunteerism, and qualifications in their paid advertising.

THE ATTENTION PAID TO ADVERTISING

Considering four-fifths of Canadian municipal candidates used promotional items for the purpose of generating name recognition and, to a lesser extent, a public profile, do candidates believe their paid advertising was effective at building public visibility during the

campaign? Almost three-quarters (70.8%) of survey respondents who used paid ads felt their advertising efforts were successful in drawing public attention to their campaign, while another quarter (25.6%) were unsure. Just 3.5% were not satisfied with the public response to their self-promotion. Few differences in opinion could be found among different types of candidates, both overall and within the primary independent variables of gender and municipality type (see Table A.7.2). The only consistently important factor was years spent in municipal office. Candidates with fewer years on council were significantly more likely than their more veteran counterparts to express satisfaction with public response to their ads, and this was especially the case for men and city candidates. Municipal experience did not matter for women or non-city candidates.[5]

THE SUCCESS OF ADVERTISING

Before asking respondents to evaluate the success of their political advertising, the survey inquired about whether or not they had developed a specific plan for deploying paid advertising in their campaigns. Almost three-quarters of municipal candidates (71.2%) admitted to having drafted such a blueprint. Again, bivariate comparisons found municipality type was the only significant variable influencing candidate communication choices. Four-fifths of city candidates had an advertising plan compared to almost two-thirds of non-city candidates (see Table A.7.3). This trend was particularly significant for all types of city and non-city candidates except eventual losers, challengers, and women. Overall, none of the other independent variables, including gender, saw significant differences.[6]

With all the effort they put in campaign advertising, how do Canadian municipal candidates rate the success of their plan? Table 7.4 shows more than half of respondents with an advertising strategy believed they achieved their objectives, with a further 15.8% asserting their plan was very successful. Less than one in five registered disappointment. To facilitate bivariate comparisons, candidate responses were recoded so "very unsuccessful" had a value of -2, "undecided/neutral" as 0, and "very successful" as +2.

TABLE 7.4: Candidate responses to a question asking them to rate the success of their paid advertising plan during their recent municipal campaign, in percentages

	Very Unsuccessful		Unsuccessful		Undecided/ Neutral		Successful		Very Successful	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Overall	7.3	(12)	10.1	(16)	13.1	(21)	53.7	(87)	15.8	(26)
Gender										
Women	9.4	(3)	6.3	(2)	18.8	(6)	53.1	(17)	12.5	(4)
Men	6.9	(9)	10.8	(14)	11.5	(15)	53.8	(70)	16.9	(22)
Municipality type										
City	9.7	(6)	19.4	(12)	8.1	(5)	46.8	(29)	16.1	(10)
Non-city	6.3	(6)	5.3	(5)	16.8	(16)	57.9	(55)	13.7	(13)
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	5.9	(3)	11.8	(6)	15.7	(8)	54.9	(28)	11.8	(6)
Challengers	8.0	(9)	9.8	(11)	12.5	(14)	52.7	(59)	17.0	(19)
Success										
Winners	12.5	(11)	0.0	(0)	2.3	(2)	56.8	(50)	28.4	(25)
Losers	1.4	(1)	21.6	(16)	25.7	(19)	50.0	(37)	1.4	(1)
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	0.0	(0)	6.3	(2)	18.8	(6)	56.3	(18)	18.8	(6)
Other candidates	8.7	(11)	11.1	(14)	11.9	(15)	52.4	(66)	15.9	(20)
Age										
Younger than 45	4.0	(1)	4.0	(1)	12.0	(3)	40.0	(10)	40.0	(10)
Candidates 45 and up	8.0	(11)	11.7	(16)	13.1	(18)	55.5	(76)	11.7	(16)

Note: Overall N = 163. Weighted data.

Not surprisingly, losing candidates were the least satisfied of all municipal candidates with the outcome of their paid advertising. Evaluating their plan after the fact, winners were significantly more likely than losers to believe their plan was at least moderately successful (Table A.7.4 in the appendix presents the results of a satisfaction index comprised of the five potential responses). The other major differences related to age and volunteerism. Younger candidates and those with fewer years spent volunteering in the community were significantly more content with the outcome of their advertising plan than were their respective counterparts. Volunteerism was an especially important factor among men and city candidates. Large differences do exist in how candidates evaluated their advertising strategies within the gender and municipality type variables, but small sample sizes likely prevented these differences from achieving statistical significance.

The significance of electoral outcome and age were confirmed in a multivariate analysis (panel K in Table 7.2, page 174). Winners were significantly more likely to view

their plan a success, though the relationship is a weak one. The association between age and evaluations of advertising plans was stronger: the older a candidate, the more likely she or he was to express dissatisfaction with the results of their plan. The ordinary least squares regression also discovered that municipality type and type of office played a strong role in candidate assessments. City candidates expressed less satisfaction than non-city candidates, while mayoral candidates were more content than non-mayoral hopefuls with their advertising strategies.

As with social media, the qualitative data reveal that many municipal candidates naturally evaluated the success of their advertising plans based on whether or not they won the election. One female town candidate indicated she "received the most votes [in] my ward!" while another lamented that "[e]lection results indicated that I was not successful with the advertising that had been done." Survey comments also indicate paid advertising was not necessary for victory for some candidates. A male town candidate who advertised said he lost to opponents who did not bother to advertise at all. Other respondents assessed the success of their advertising based on whether or not it helped them to achieve a level of public visibility. A male candidate for town council said it helped him to raise awareness about his candidacy and policy ideas. Advertising even appeared to work in rural communities, where many residents would presumably have prior knowledge about the candidates:

> People in the community were able to see my signs and read my literature and that, along with personal contacts, helped keep my identity as a candidate and the issues front and centre; being a small town, everyone generally knows everyone anyway! (Male rural candidate)

A male city candidate indicated advertising enabled him to generate enough public visibility to put him ahead of all of his opponents except the incumbent: "His name recognition predated my birth by five years." Public response was another measure of success. Several respondents noted that members of the public commented on their lawn signs, billboards, and pamphlets or approached them to discuss the issues raised in their advertising. A male

candidate reported that people took the lawn signs he erected around town, presumably on public property, and placed them in their windows or on their own lawns.

The nature of the local news media industry served as a serious constraint on the ability of some candidates to use paid advertising in their municipalities. A female candidate in a rural area had few opportunities to place media ads during her campaign: "Due to the lack of local media, other than a bi-weekly journal/newspaper of poor reputation, it is very difficult in this rural municipality to run a successful advertising plan." A lack of campaign experience was another factor in some candidates' inability to make full use of advertising. One female town candidate quickly discovered she did not order enough lawn signs, while another female town candidate realized later that she should have done more advertising "as I was unknown to many but did not have the time and was new at this." Since municipal candidates are responsible for devising their own advertising strategy and many likely do not have the resources to hire experienced consultants, trial and error is likely a common approach to paid advertising in local elections.

THE REJECTION OF ADVERTISING TOOLS

Despite the popularity of paid advertising as a means of achieving public visibility, municipal candidates were not always keen to use specific promotional tools either because they considered the tool too expensive or not necessary for their campaign. Table 7.5 outlines candidate responses to a question asking them to identify the main reason why they rejected the use of six different types of advertising tools. Very few respondents felt the six items were too time consuming or ineffective. Of those who did not use pamphlets and lawn signs, about two-thirds said these promotional items were not necessary for their campaigns. The qualitative data presented above suggest environmental concerns and public attitudes probably played a role in some candidates' decision to forego lawn signs. Cost, on the other hand, was the major factor in the decision to reject billboards and various types of media advertisements.

TABLE 7.5: Candidate responses to a question asking them to identify the main reason for not using different types of advertising during their recent municipal campaign, in percentages

	Too costly		Time consuming		Ineffective		Unnecessary	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Lawn signs	26.5	(25)	3.6	(3)	5.4	(5)	64.4	(60)
Billboards	54.8	(119)	0.5	(1)	2.0	(4)	42.7	(92)
Newspaper ads	49.3	(74)	0.7	(1)	4.4	(7)	45.6	(68)
Television ads	50.8	(127)	0.1	(0)	7.0	(18)	42.1	(105)
Radio ads	50.3	(111)	0.6	(1)	8.1	(18)	41.0	(91)
Pamphlets	16.2	(10)	5.1	(3)	10.5	(6)	68.3	(41)

Note: The N ranges from 93 for Lawn Signs to 251 for Television. Weighted data.

These results can be attributed to the fact that paid advertising is the one communication tool where a candidate's financial resources are most important. A candidate's advertising plan will necessarily be limited by the amount of money she can spend. A female city candidate admitted she would have executed a very different advertising plan if only she had the financial support to do so. A woman who ran for town council made similar comments, though media relations appears to have also played a role in her decision not to do any media advertising:

> More money would have made for a very successful rating, but I was running on a tight budget. The radio ads did very poorly. The internet efforts resulted in young families and student voters but did not work well with seniors. Few people reported having heard the radio ads at all. The newspaper would have been effective although I was very concerned about their bias. I stood on principal that I would not support them with advertising dollars if they continued to try to influence voters without allowing for non-paid replies to their editorials. They would not even publish a "letter to the editor" from candidates but broke their own rule for candidates they supported. This was a very, very frustrating situation for candidates. Media matters very much to candidates and the current system is designed to favour candidates with deep pockets or corporate donations. I had neither but still managed to run a reasonably successful campaign. In hindsight, there are things I would have done differently.

A candidate's financial limitations are sometimes self-imposed. A different female city candidate commented on the survey that she elected not to do any fundraising in support of her bid for municipal office. Since she was underwriting her whole campaign, she opted not to pay for additional advertising that she believes might have helped her win the election.

CONCLUSION

In contrast to social media, paid advertising is an integral element of a majority of campaigns for municipal office, not just those in the cities. About four-fifths of Canadian municipal candidates rely on some form of paid advertising to help them generate public visibility and, to a lesser extent, a public profile in their communities in the lead-up to an election. The municipal context still matters, though, with city candidates much more likely to use various types of advertising such as news media ads, lawn signs and billboards. Their communication practices are likely partly a reflection of the size of city electorates and the corresponding difficulty of reaching a large number of voters by other means, such as direct contact. These practices could also be due to fewer pre-existing personal contacts between candidates and voters in the cities than in non-cities.

Survey results also support the contention that the nature of the local news media industry plays an important role in municipal campaigning. The existence of a diverse news industry in the cities allows city candidates to place ads with a wider range of news outlets than is possible in smaller municipalities, multiplying their opportunities to generate public visibility. Yet the fact that non-city candidates also made strong use of paid advertising confirms it is a traditional and, in many cases, necessary means of establishing one's electoral presence in a variety of municipal contexts. Candidates in communities big and small use lawn signs and billboards to build name recognition, and rely on media ads and pamphlets in particular to generate what they likely hope is a positive public image.

The latter point brings us to one of the primary benefits of paid advertising: control over the campaign message. Candidates determine what information is included in their promotional material. The strong use of pamphlets in particular demonstrates that scholars are overlooking a key source of political rhetoric during elections when they focus on television commercials. More than any other type of advertising, municipal candidates use pamphlets to convey a great deal of information and, in the process, help to shape ideas about everything from municipal governance and political leadership to gender relations and

community values. What candidates discuss in their literature not only reveals their political and personal ideology but also a great deal about their perceptions of voter preferences. In short, campaign literature is an important form of political communication in municipal elections.

The second major finding of this chapter is that gender, as expected, is not a major factor in the communication practices of municipal candidates. Women and men generally make equal use of the various advertising tools available to them in order to increase their public visibility. The few key differences relate to media ads and lawn signs. Men were much more avid advertisers with weekly newspapers, radio, and magazines in comparison to women, who were slightly but not significantly more likely to favour digital media. Likewise, men in smaller municipalities, male winners, and male challengers were significantly more likely than their respective female counterparts to dot the municipal landscape with their lawn signs in what is likely a bid to establish electoral viability. But it is important not to overstate the importance of these few gender differences. The overall evidence suggests that both women and men candidates are strategic in their use of paid advertising to raise their public profile.

Perhaps the most intriguing finding of this chapter is that public visibility is about much more than establishing a presence in the community. The format that political advertising takes also matters a great deal in municipal elections. Candidates' advertising strategies are shaped as much by the local political culture as by their personal, political, and social circumstances. Voter backlash prevents some candidates from using lawn signs to build name recognition, while local opinion leaders expect other candidates to place ads in the newspaper in order to be viewed as "in the race." Media involvement in power struggles among political factions in a community leads still other candidates to refuse to do little or no media advertising. However, survey comments indicate advertising practices might also be the result of candidates never having tried certain tools before.

Regardless of the strengths or weaknesses of paid advertising, several respondents

indicated in this portion of the survey that personal contact with voters was far more important for their campaigns than paid advertising. A male candidate who campaigned in a rural area "made the decision at the very start to work hard every day for personal contact with as many ward residents as possible." A female city candidate determined her advertising plan was successful because she was re-elected, but she appeared to give more weight to the fact she "knocked on every door in the ward. Personal contact is important." These two candidates were not alone in their assessment of the value of face-to-face contact. As the next chapter reveals, almost all municipal candidates seek out direct contact with voters during an election.

GETTING PERSONAL 8
DIRECT CONTACT IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

In politics, and I think our campaign was a perfect example, there's absolutely no substitute for looking somebody in the eye and talking to them about their vote. You can have all the ads you want and you can glamorize candidates and have the nicest, slickest material, but if you don't have this human connection to convince somebody of your ideas or the ideas of the person you're representing, you really have nothing.

— Chris Henderson, campaign manager
Don Iveson's Edmonton city council campaign in 2007 (Rojas, 2008: 7)

INTRODUCTION

Chris Henderson's comments above are indicative of the faith many municipal candidates place in the power of personal contact. While it typically involves candidates giving speeches, debating opponents, attending community events, and knocking on doors, direct campaigning revolves around candidates finding ways to meet voters in person. These one-to-one interactions are key to candidates achieving four main goals: improving their public invisibility, creating a favourable public image, informing voters about their policy ideas, and soliciting votes. In essence, candidates use direct contact to draw voters' attention to their candidacy and their platforms. The manner in which candidates conduct themselves during this conversation can create a favourable impression with voters, some of who might cast a ballot in their favour.

Direct campaigning offers additional benefits for women candidates. Women can use it to counteract the potentially negative effects of media bias and limit the influence of gender stereotypes on voter assessments by providing voters with an opportunity to get to know them personally. Voters can also use these direct encounters to assess the quality of a candidate and to hold political leaders accountable (Strachan, 2003). What are her proposed solutions to the major policy concerns facing the community today? Has she been an effective leader for the community? And is his personality and comportment appropriate for someone who not only would be a representative *of* the people in his civic

duties but also a representative *for* the municipality to the outside world?

Personal contact is not without its drawbacks, though. As the survey comments reveal, candidates expend a considerable amount of time knocking on unanswered doors before finding someone at home. Mass media can thus make a candidate known to more voters in less time than can direct contact. Moreover, not all voters appreciate candidates coming to their door to talk politics. Some view it as an intrusion. For voters willing to talk, candidates need to be prepared for negative, disappointing, and even fruitless encounters (Nielsen, 2012). And, most importantly, direct contact with citizens does not always translate into votes. Many citizens do not even bother to vote, let alone support one candidate over another. Public visibility matters little if citizens are not motivated to cast a ballot.

Unfortunately, our understanding of the role of direct campaigning in elections is limited because of scholarly preoccupation with the news media, social media, and paid advertising. Furthermore, research on canvassing tends to examine it from the perspective of get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts to improve overall voter turnout. Fewer studies explore how candidates use personal contact to boost their own vote totals. Yet Rasmus Kleis Nielsen's (2012) research on the American context demonstrates that national politicians are showing a renewed interest in the so-called ground war. American candidates in highly competitive races are increasingly using paid staff and volunteers to help mobilize select voters in a bid to register a few additional votes.

This chapter investigates how Canadian municipal candidates use direct contact to increase their public visibility, promote their platform, and solicit votes. In particular, it aims to answer the following question: What do municipal candidates believe they can achieve with direct contact that they cannot with other means of communication such as news coverage, social media, and paid advertising? The analysis presented here draws upon data from a section in the survey and interviews focusing on direct campaigning. As with news media, social media, and paid advertising, the survey contained an open-ended question asking respondents to evaluate the success of their plan for contacting voters

in person. The resulting 160 comments, together with those from the in-depth interviews, provide a wealth of qualitative information about candidates' experiences with, and views of, direct campaigning. Before outlining the findings, I begin by reviewing research on the utility of personal contact in mobilizing voters. The main thesis of this chapter is that, despite its limitations, personal contact with voters is an invaluable campaign tool for municipal candidates seeking to generate public visibility in a low-information electoral environment.

THE BENEFITS OF PERSONAL CONTACT

Personal contact is arguably the oldest form of electioneering. Tracing the evolution of campaign communications in postindustrial societies, Pippa Norris (2000) notes what she calls the premodern campaign was based on political party-organized exchanges between candidates and citizens. Campaigning centred on "relatively demanding political activities like rallies, doorstep canvassing, and party meetings" (Norris, 2000: 137). However, the increasing centralization of power in the hands of political leaders, importance of external consultants, and clout of the news media led political parties to shift their focus from the streets to the newsrooms, resulting in a modern campaign noted for its "distance from most voters, leaving them disengaged spectators outside the process" (Norris, 2000: 139-140). These trends are heightened in the postmodern campaign. Norris sees some hope, though, for a return to direct contact thanks to new communications technology. While no campaign neatly fits into one of her premodern, modern, or postmodern categories, Norris argues that the "traditional campaign, built on personal networks of volunteers and face-to-face candidate-voter communications, continues to be common when mobilizing voters in no-frills contests" for local office and in electoral systems with multimember seats (Norris, 2000: 142), which is the case in many Canadian municipalities, including some cities.[1]

The continuing use of premodern campaign techniques is largely because many candidates are convinced that personal contact is still an important means of reaching citizens (Greenblatt, 1999; Hooge and Vissers, 2008). Evidence largely supports this view.

The mobilization literature, which investigates the effectiveness of GOTV initiatives, has found that door-to-door canvassing boosts voter turnout, both overall (Bennion, 2005; Bergan, Gerber, Green, and Panagopoulos, 2005; Gerber and Green, 1999, 2000; Green, Gerber, and Nickerson, 2003; Guan and Green, 2006; Kramer, 1970-71; Michelson, 2003, 2005; Niven, 2004; Parry, Barth, Kropf, and Jones, 2008) and, to a lesser extent, for specific candidates or political parties (Bochel and Denver, 1971; Lariscy, Tinkham, Edwards, and Jones, 2004; Price and Lupfer, 1973). A few studies have found little or no effect (Bartell and Bouxsein, 1973; Black, 1984).

Canvassing can, but does not always, make the election and individual candidates more visible to voters. This potential strength means city and non-city candidates are not likely to differ in their use of direct contact in their campaigns. In her study of the professionalization of municipal campaigns, J. Cherie Strachan (2003) found mayoral candidates in midsized American cities who used sophisticated campaign techniques such as public opinion polling were also more likely to use traditional campaign ones such as speeches and canvassing. Mayoral candidates, it seems, are keen to use many of the communications tools at their disposal. As noted in Chapter 2, the small population size of towns, villages, and rural municipalities should make direct contact one of the best campaign techniques available to non-city candidates. Still, both city and non-city candidates can use direct campaigning to increase their public visibility.

Increased visibility is not the only potential benefit of personal contact, though. Examining two national party leadership conventions held in Canada in the 1980s, Frederick J. Fletcher and Robert J. Drummond (1988) discovered delegates relied less on news coverage and more on candidate and party materials for information after they had met the candidates. Direct contact with delegates essentially enabled leadership hopefuls to limit the power of journalists to mediate the leadership contest. The limited coverage of many, but by no means all, local elections in Canada means this benefit will be of limited utility to many local candidates. Municipal candidates in many smaller communities probably do

not need to worry about competing with journalists for control of their public image. The possibility for much greater news coverage in the cities, though, suggests city candidates (and especially high-profile candidates such as mayoral hopefuls and incumbents) would find this function to be of the greatest use.

Another strength of politician-citizen interactions is the potential for improved voter evaluations. Kim Fridkin Kahn and Patrick J. Kenney argue that personal contact was a key factor in the more intense races for the U.S. Senate between 1988 and 1992: "In competitive races, personal contact probably becomes more important because people are playing closer attention to the campaign. In these races, citizens may be more willing to tie positive feelings generated by personal contact to their overall evaluations of the political contestants" (1997: 1191). Their findings suggest that municipal candidates can use direct campaigning to create a more positive view of their leadership abilities and that women candidates in particular can use it to minimize the effect of media bias and gender stereotypes on voter evaluations.

Yet mobilizing voters through face-to-face appeals has its limits. For one, reaching enough people to make a difference in the voting booth requires considerable time and resources. Referring to U.S. House of Representative elections, Christopher Kenny and Michael McBurnett argue that the size of many congressional districts means "[e]ven the most herculean effort will personally introduce the candidate to only a small fraction of the electorate" (1997: 77). Daniel E. Bergan and his colleagues (2005) add that whatever benefit candidates might receive from direct contact will no doubt be mitigated by their opponents' own efforts. Every candidate is trying to shake voters' hands. Every candidate is trying to increase her or his public visibility.

Other electoral dynamics can also limit the utility of personal contact. After examining the 1967 municipal campaign in Monroe County, N.Y., John C. Blydenburg concluded personal contact had little influence on candidates' final vote tally because of the availability of other sources of information and the lateness of canvassing efforts:

When a voter is deluged with free and conflicting information from the mass media and elsewhere, personal contact becomes just another bit of information to evaluate. Most voters, by the time they are exposed to personal contact campaigning, have made their decision (relying on some cost-reducing decision rule like party identification, or on free information available elsewhere), thus additional exposure to campaigning would only serve to remind them of their obligation to vote. (Blydenburg, 1971: 380)

The partisan nature of many American campaigns raises the possibility that personal contact will have more of an effect in Canadian municipal elections, where candidates do not run under party banners. Voters cannot rely on partisan cues to determine how to vote in advance of municipal canvassing efforts. As researchers in this field acknowledge (Bennion, 2005), scholars need to examine mobilization efforts in a variety of electoral and cultural contexts before making definitive statements about the utility of personal contact. This chapter explores potential differences between candidates on a number of dimensions, including the type of municipality in which they campaign.

While scholars pay close attention to the partisan characteristics of the election under study, they are less attentive to the role that gender, race, and other personal characteristics might play in personal contact (Gillespie, 2010). When gender is discussed, it is treated as a (surface) variable that distinguishes voters rather than as a (deeper) factor in the process of personal campaigning. J.M. Bochel and D.T. Denver (1971) found men were significantly more likely than women to cast a ballot in the 1970 municipal elections in Dundee, Scotland, and to do so for the local Labour candidate. The authors attribute this result to differences in the political socialization of women and men at the time: "Among the roles prescribed to citizens in society is that of voter, and this role prescription seems to be interpreted differently by men and women. In other words, men feel more obliged to vote than women" (Bochel and Denver, 1971: 264). More than 30 years later, Melissa R. Michelson (2003) found no differences between women and men Latinos in their propensity to vote in a 2001 American school board election.

Andra Gillespie's research on voter responses to canvasser characteristics offers

a glimpse into the role that gender stereotypes might play in candidate-voter interactions. In focus groups held across the United States in 2006, participants were shown a series of photographs and videos of fictional canvassers who dressed and behaved in a variety of ways. Gillespie learned that, with only one exception, participants expressed a greater willingness to open the door for the female characters than for the male ones and many of them explicitly based this decision on the gender of the character. Physical appearance also mattered in other ways:

> When presented with the opportunity to choose whether to open doors to some of these characters, respondents varied their decisions based on appearances and articulately justified their choices. They seemed more receptive to women and more receptive to people who smiled and looked friendly. They were more apprehensive about opening their doors for people who they perceived to be threatening … Getting someone to open the door is half the battle of canvassing. If voters refuse to open the door to certain types of people, then it will be impossible for these people as canvassers to even transmit the information they are trying to convey to voters. (Gillespie, 2010: 732)

However, as Gillespie discovered, once the participants watched videos in which the characters make brief presentations encouraging them to vote, knowledge became more important than appearance in terms of how they evaluated the fictional canvassers. Her findings suggest women politicians have a slight edge over their male counterparts in terms of getting voters to at least listen to their election pitch. How women politicians are perceived by voters will then depend more upon the content of their presentation than on how they look. While gender was still in play here, Gillespie's research indicates personal campaigning might be an effective way for women candidates to present a positive image of themselves to voters.

THE VALUE OF PERSONAL CONTACT

Before analyzing the perspectives of Canadian municipal candidates on the value of personal contact with voters, we need to first establish the extent to which they use this technique in their campaigns for elected office. An analysis of the survey data reveal direct

exchanges are by far the most popular tool for enhancing a candidate's visibility in the eyes of voters. While a sizable number of respondents indicated they used news coverage, online platforms, and paid advertising to promote themselves, almost all of them (97.3%) reported engaging in face-to-face contact with voters at some point in the campaign. This commitment to pressing the flesh was nearly universal among all types of candidate, as Table 8.1 shows. The majority of incumbents and challengers, eventual winners and losers, and young and older candidates reported spending time in personal outreach activities. Only mayoral candidates were significantly more likely than their counterparts to do so. As expected, city and non-city candidates did not differ in their extensive use of direct campaigning, either overall or by specific characteristics.

As with office type, gender proved a statistically significant—but, ultimately, not a substantively important—determinant in candidate use of personal contact. All female respondents disclosed they had face-to-face encounters with voters during their most recent campaign compared to 96.5% of male respondents. This pattern largely repeated itself when women and men were compared along several dimensions, but it only reached statistical significance for challengers, non-mayoral candidates, and older individuals. Financial resources, volunteerism, and years in municipal office were not important, either overall or within each candidate category.[2]

While this pattern is substantively meaningless because of the high proportion of women and men candidates who used direct contact, three possible reasons could explain women's slightly greater preference for interacting with electors: (1) as non-traditional politicians, women might believe this approach will best assist them in convincing voters of their suitability for public office, (2) women might try to counteract negative media messages or opponent-led whispering campaigns against them by appealing directly to voters, or (3) considering women are usually socialized to put an emphasis on relationships, this style of campaigning might play to women's traditional strengths. The qualitative data provide some evidence for the latter. Describing herself as a "people person," a female incumbent

TABLE 8.1: Candidates who reported engaging in face-to-face contact with voters during their recent municipal election, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men		City		Non-city		All	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Gender									**.97**	**(.163)**
Women	1.00	(.062)	----	-------	1.00	(.000)	1.00	(.070)	1.00	(.062)
Men	----	-------	.97	(.181)	.96	(.186)	.97	(.172)	.97	(.181) *
Municipality type										
City	1.00	(.000)	.96	(.186)	.97	(.171)	----	-------	.97	(.171)
Non-city	1.00	(.070)	.97	(.172)	----	-------	.98	(.154)	.98	(.154)
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	.99	(.110)	.96	(.193)	.91	(.298)	1.00	(.066)	.97	(.176)
Challengers	1.00	(.000)	.97	(.177) *	1.00	(.000)	.97	(.178)	.97	(.158)
Success										
Winners	.99	(.079)	.96	(.204)	.98	(.141)	.96	(.186)	.97	(.184)
Losers	1.00	(.000)	.98	(.139)	.96	(.190)	1.00	(.000)	.98	(.124)
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	1.00	(.000)	1.00	(.000)	1.00	(.000)	1.00	(.000)	1.00	(.000)
Other candidates	1.00	(.000)	.96	(.202) **	.96	(.186)	.97	(.168)	.97	(.178)
Age										
Younger than 45	.98	(.149)	.96	(.201)	1.00	(.000)	.94	(.246)	.96	(.190)
Candidates 45 and up	1.00	(.000)	.97	(.178) *	.96	(.201)	.98	(.129)	.97	(.158)

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 289. Weighted data.

who ran for re-election to town council said she likes "to connect with people and I don't feel that placing an ad in the newspaper or just shoving a handout in somebody's mailbox does that." Canvassing door to door enabled her to personally connect with constituents.

The main point of making this personal connection, of course, is to solicit votes. This calculation is never far from the minds of candidates. Many respondents judged the success of their direct campaigning efforts based on whether or not they lost the election or, in the case of losing candidates, if their vote placing or tally matched or exceeded expectations. However, some candidates learned the true strength or weakness of their campaigns long before voters marked the ballot. Conversations with voters provided insights into public thinking about the candidates running for municipal office. "I could tell at the door that my opponent was convincing people of his abilities and that he had some strong support from his church community," said a female city candidate. Other candidates used these interactions to figure out how to refine their campaign tactics. A male city candidate said voter contact "allowed us to gauge the effectiveness of the different media we were using throughout the campaign. It was like a giant continuous focus group." Candidates discovered just how viable their campaigns for municipal office actually were.

But direct contact can still be an opportunity for candidates to boost their electoral viability. For some respondents, just going to the effort of meeting voters demonstrated they wanted the job and cared what voters thought. A female candidate in a rural area said "[t]he overwhelming comments were that door-to-door [canvassing] showed effort and had not been used in our municipality in the past," while a female town candidate said it "means a lot to people that you take the time to go to their house to see them on a face-to-face level." A male candidate said many voters in his village "were surprised to be able to talk one on one to a candidate." Another male candidate attributed the success of his efforts

> to the fact that I took time to knock at their door and talk to everyone no matter who they are, rich, poor, educated or not. For a lot of people it counts a lot. My evaluation is that [it] has been the masterpiece of the campaign and the difference between a success or a failure.

Even if they were not successful, candidates revealed that time spent canvassing in one election built a foundation for them in the next one. Establishing sufficient public visibility to be a viable candidate for political office can be a long-term project for some individuals. A female city candidate said she not only generated name recognition and support for her next municipal campaign but she was also approached by political parties about running for federal and provincial office. In short, many candidates view personal contact as an excellent method for establishing their electability both in the short and long term.

While gaining votes is the primary goal, many women respondents asserted that personal contact also served a deeper purpose in terms of the quality of local democracy. The women interviewed for this study believe direct interaction with voters is key to being an effective municipal representative because of what they learn during these one-on-one conversations. A female town candidate said residents in her community often use these encounters to provide feedback—both positive and negative—on the delivery of municipal services and the performance of their elected officials. A female city incumbent added that many electors "don't have the wherewithal to write the letter or email the city, but they do have something to say. So you learn a lot at the door about what's important." For one disabled voter, the key issue was finding an accessible apartment. "He was stuck in the auxiliary hospital with nobody to talk to," said a female candidate who sought re-election as mayor of her small town.

> He was a very intelligent man. He was going nuts. So we were able to help him. But I would not have known that if I had not bothered going to the hospital and talk[ing] to these people. You find out that, 'No, we didn't get our streets cleared. This cul-de-sac never gets the snow cleared. We're stuck in here all winter.' … So you can actually make yourself a better councillor or mayor by doing that, win, lose or draw. Because when I lost, I took my notes and gave them to the new mayor.

Only a few of the men respondents mentioned voter feedback on local governance or representation as a strength of personal contact. A male city candidate, who described himself in an interview as a "hermit" and admitted he actively avoids public events, said he

prefers to communicate with constituents via email rather than in person.

Many men instead took a strategic view toward interacting with voters, emphasizing how it gave them an opportunity to promote themselves and their platforms. A different male city candidate said "[f]ace to face contact with the electorate is the best way to seek their support and directly get your message to them," while another one said "letting them get to know me" was a key factor in his electoral success. Several women expressed similar strategic motivations, but men seemed more focused on using direct contact with voters to improve their visibility and, by extension, viability as municipal representatives.

Debating for votes

Considering the benefits of direct contact, what specific techniques do municipal candidates use to make themselves and their views more apparent to voters? One of the most common methods is by participating in an all-candidates forum. These forums are public meetings where candidates take turns answering questions formally posed by a moderator but submitted by individuals either in advance or at the event itself. Often staged by local groups such as the chamber of commerce, forums can be organized by theme, where all questions relate to a single topic, or by office, where only candidates for mayor, council, or a specific ward seat are invited to participate. Forums are focused on discussing local issues, affording candidates an opportunity to highlight their political views, policy prescriptions, and leadership skills or experience. These sessions are not an ideal form of mass communication, however, because of the small numbers of voters who attend and because of the large number of candidates who do. A male candidate estimated that, at his city's election forum, he had "36 seconds to answer a complicated question" because every one of the 22 candidates for the six open council seats had to have a chance to respond. "It was, I think, totally useless." He argued that many residents already know how they intend to vote and these forums do not change their minds.

Despite the limitations of all-candidates forums, more than three-quarters (77%)

of respondents indicated attending one during their most recent bid for local office (see Table A.8.1 in the appendix). Candidates in the cities, those who eventually lost, and those who had greater financial resources were all significantly more likely than their respective counterparts to report appearing at a forum. Office type, incumbency, age, volunteerism, and years in municipal office had no effect in the bivariate comparisons. As for gender, men were slightly but not significantly more likely than women to participate in a forum. Women and men also did not differ by candidate characteristics. Only financial considerations played a role, and then only for men. Male candidates were significantly more likely to report increased forum attendance the more monetary resources they had. Volunteerism and years in municipal office did not have an effect on women or men's rates of participation. A multivariate analysis, however, found municipality type and electoral success lost their influence on candidate attendance when controlling for other factors (panel A in Table 8.2 on page 211). A logistic regression determined that communications spending was the only significant predictor of whether or not a candidate attended an all-candidates forum.

The fact that not all municipal hopefuls attended an all-candidates forum might not be a matter of choice but of opportunity. More forums might be organized in cities than in towns, villages, and rural areas. A female candidate recalled in an interview that the first election she contested in her town featured a forum, but the second election did not. Overall, 39% of respondents reported attending just one forum during their most recent campaign, while 22.7% went to two, 13.9% to three, and 21.4% to anywhere from four to nine. Survey data also reveal city candidates participated in twice as many forums as did candidates in towns, villages, and rural areas, a statistically significant result (results not shown). Even though city and non-city candidates engage in direct campaigning to the same degree, this finding suggests they differ in the intensity with which they can undertake certain activities. Losing candidates certainly tried to debate their opponents as often as they could. Eventual losers reported going to three such events and eventual winners to just two. Office type, incumbency, age, financial resources, volunteerism, and

TABLE 8.2: Summary of regressions results for candidate strategy for and use of direct contact with voters in their most recent municipal campaign

	A **Election Forums**	B **Door Knocking**	C **Hours DK Before Start of Election**	D **Direct Plan**	E **Opinion on Plan**
	Exp(B)	Exp(B)	Beta	Exp(B)	Beta
Gender Female = 1	1.166	.820	-.026	.938	-.012
Municipality type City candidate = 1	.592	.890	.047	.815	-.157
Incumbency Incumbent = 1	1.065	2.931 **	-.015 *	2.230 *	-.127
Type of office Mayoral candidate = 1	.620	2.454 *	-.232	1.121	.097
Electoral outcome Winner = 1	1.318	1.089	-.314 ***	.853	.247 **
Age (in years)	1.006	1.003	-.019	1.046 **	-.194 *
Communications (in dollars)	1.001 **	1.001 ***	.038	1.000 *	.003
N	234	237	124	234	164
R^2	.187	.344	.145	.160	.108

Note: The R^2 for the logistic regression equations [Exp(B)] is Nagelkerke R^2 and for the ordinary least squares regression equations [Beta] it is Adjusted R^2. Interpreting the results for Exp(B): Any value greater than 1 is a positive odds ratio and any value less than 1 is a negative odds ratio. Interpreting the results for Beta: Values range from -1 to 1, with -1 a perfect negative relationship and 1 a perfect positive relationship. SPSS only reports data to the third decimal point.
* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Weighted data.

years in municipal office were not major factors.

Candidate gender also had no significant bearing on forum attendance, both overall and within each candidate category. In general, men respondents attended an average of 2.59 forums and women respondents 2.14 (results not shown). Men consistently exhibited a greater tendency than their female counterparts to appear at forums in each candidate category, though none of the results achieved statistical significance. The only statistically significant results related to financial resources, and this time only for women: women reported attending more forums the more campaign money they had at their disposal.

Canvassing for votes

Another common technique for contacting voters is by canvassing door to door. It basically involves candidates spending a considerable amount of time walking from one home to another, hoping to catch voters at home. When their knocks go unanswered,

some candidates leave behind a brochure outlining their talking points for voters to read later at their convenience. A female town candidate who has waged several campaigns for municipal office has developed a routine for her canvassing. When she finds someone at home, she compliments the voter about something (such as her roses) before introducing herself and explaining what office she is seeking. She then hands the voter a brochure, pointing to something inside that might be of interest to the person. "Then you try to engage her in conversation. And you want to keep it down to two minutes because you've got to hit another three houses. And then you go back [later in the campaign] and do it again." But above all, she makes sure not to walk on the voter's lawn when she arrives or leaves. "That's lost more votes than anything."

Survey results indicate slightly fewer municipal candidates use canvassing than all-candidate forums to appeal to voters in person. Almost three-quarters (72%) of respondents reported going door knocking during their most recent campaign (see Table A.8.2). Breaking down this result by candidate characteristics uncovered few major differences. Eventual losers were significantly more likely than eventual winners to report going door to door during the campaign, possibly as part of an overall strategy to strengthen their campaign through personal appeals. Alternatively, winning candidates might have been well known or had other strengths that led them to conclude they did not need to go door knocking as much as their counterparts. This result might also be an indication some losing candidates are simply paying their dues, building a public profile that will help them achieve electoral success in the future.

The second major result revolved around money. Well-funded candidates were much more likely to spend time door knocking than were candidates with less cash to spend on lawn signs and other means of advertising (results not shown), a surprising result considering canvassing is a relatively inexpensive way to promote oneself. In this instance, the relationship between financial resources and canvassing might actually reflect the competitiveness and/or seriousness of a campaign. Candidates serious about or capable

of capturing municipal office might not only be able to raise more money but also make greater use of a variety of outreach techniques to do so.

As with other methods of communication, the type of municipality in which a candidate sought a council seat also significantly influenced the extent to which candidates used canvassing to increase their public visibility. The small population and geographical size of towns, villages, and other municipalities suggest canvassing should be a popular method of campaigning for small-town candidates, who can realistically shake hands with every voter in their community during a month-long campaign. City candidates cannot do the same because of the large populations and urban sprawl of many cities, even in wards. They might seek out other forms of direct contact that allow them to meet a much larger number of voters at once. Yet contrary to these expectations, bivariate comparisons reveal city candidates were actually significantly more likely than candidates in towns, villages, and rural municipalities (which are themselves quite expansive, if sparsely populated) to report going door knocking.

Two factors could explain this result. First, the concentration of citizens in a compact geographical area not only means non-city candidates can reach many voters in person but also that they probably do not need to unless they are new to the community. Most people in a town or village would already know something about the candidates and would likely recognize their names on the ballot. Generating public visibility should not be an issue. For non-city candidates, door knocking might be more about getting their supporters to turn out at the polls. In comparison, cities are more anonymous places. Most residents do not personally know the candidates running for city council. Candidates might therefore believe they need to go door knocking in order to introduce themselves to their neighbours and create name recognition. Second, canvassing has an advantage over mass media, even for city candidates. Whereas the Internet is a pull technique that relies on voters seeking out candidates by accessing their online sites, canvassing is a push technique whereby candidates seek out voters by going to their homes or public places.

Candidates would in all probability not assume city voters would go online to learn more about them and, as a result, would hit the streets to disseminate their campaign messages personally.

Unlike municipality type, gender did not apparently influence a candidate's decision to canvass voters. Women and men respondents were largely of one mind when it came to door knocking, with men (73%) only slightly more likely than women (71%) to report engaging in this activity. Intervening factors such as municipality type, office sought, incumbency status, electoral outcome, or age failed to alter this general agreement. Only finances and years in municipal office were significant, and then only for men. Men who spent more on communications or who had spent fewer years in municipal office were significantly more likely to report canvassing voters than men who spent less or were more veteran local politicians. Financial resources or years in municipal office did not influence women's choices (results not shown).

Gender remained unimportant while municipality type lost significance when a multivariate analysis controlled for other factors. A logistic regression found financial resources and incumbency played a far more important role in a candidate's decision to go canvassing (panel B in Table 8.2, page 211). The more money candidates spent on their communications, the more likely they were to go door knocking. Meanwhile, incumbents were 2½ times more likely than challengers to pound the pavement in search of votes. This result provides further support for the contention that money and incumbency are key factors in elections.

Canvassing intently for votes

The fact that a majority of municipal candidates report canvassing voters in person does not mean it is an integral part of their communications strategy. Just how much effort do council hopefuls put into this grassroots activity? The survey asked those who went canvassing to indicate how many hours a week they did so both before and during the

official election period. Almost half of respondents apparently waited until after the election started to begin knocking on doors, evidenced by the fact they indicated spending no time in pre-election canvassing. The other half did get a head start, in some cases spending more than 20 hours a week doing so (see Table A.8.3). Canvassing efforts stepped up once the official election was underway. Almost one-third of respondents spent an average of up to 10 hours a week on this activity while two-fifths devoted 11 to 20 hours (see Table A.8.4). Others spent far more time than that.[3]

Personal and political circumstances appeared to determine the intensity of pre-election campaigning. City candidates spent almost twice as much time knocking on doors in the weeks leading up to the election than did their counterparts in towns, villages, and rural areas, canvassing an average of 9.34 hours a week compared to 5.58 hours for non-city candidates (see Table A.8.3). City candidates' need to reach a larger electorate or increase their public visibility might have necessitated their greater effort before the election. The spread in hours spent canvassing was even larger for office type. Non-mayoral candidates were almost four times more likely to go door knocking before the official election period than were mayoral hopefuls. Eventual losers also made a valiant effort in their bid for municipal office, devoting an average of 10.09 hours per week to canvassing compared to 4.49 hours for eventual winners. Candidates with greater financial resources also spent more time on this form of personal contact with voters than their less well-off counterparts. Incumbency, age, volunteerism, and years in municipal office were not important factors.

Yet a multivariate analysis once again revealed that it is the unique characteristics of city candidates, rather than type of municipality, that drives some of the communication differences between city and non-city aspirants. City candidates are significantly more likely than their non-city counterparts to lose their electoral bids, and an ordinary least squares regression found eventual losers spent significantly more hours knocking on doors in the weeks leading up to the election than did eventual winners (panel C in Table 8.2, page 211). The regression determined the same is true for non-mayoral candidates in

relation to mayoral hopefuls. Municipality type, gender, incumbency, and communication expenditures were not factors in a candidate's decision calculus.

Variations in campaign intensity all but disappeared when the election officially got underway. Only electoral outcome and financial resources still mattered, though the differences were less pronounced (see Table A.8.4). Losing candidates reported spending almost 25 hours a week door knocking compared to 20 hours for winning candidates. Well-financed candidates were also significantly more likely to canvass voters.[4]

The bivariate comparisons reveal gender did not play a major role in determining how much time a candidate spent personally soliciting votes. Men respondents reported devoting slightly more time to canvassing both before (7.26 hours) and during (22.92 hours) the election than did women respondents (6 versus 18.31 hours). The multivariate analysis leads to a similar conclusion. Breaking down gender by candidate type resulted in only a few meaningful differences between women and men (results not shown). Male incumbents and men in small municipalities spent significantly more time going from door to door during the campaign than their respective female counterparts. An increase in men's financial resources was also associated with an increase in canvassing hours in both time periods; money played no role in how much women chose to go door knocking.

Not only do women and men candidates generally canvass voters to the same degree in a municipal election but they also share many of the same reasons for engaging in this type of personal contact. The qualitative data reveal municipal candidates use canvassing to increase their public visibility and shape their public image by introducing themselves personally to as many voters as possible. A female candidate explained that candidates in her rural community "need to be open and approachable" no matter where they are or what they are doing:

> Showing concern and taking the time to listen to what people have to say whether you agree with them or not is very important. I gave people that opportunity and I think because of that I received the highest number of votes overall.

Candidates' deportment at the doorstep can challenge or reinforce public impressions of their leadership style. This is especially true for candidates who are incumbents or well-known individuals in a community. "You're loved or vilified," said a female candidate who sought re-election as a city ward representative. "You're either reinforcing that by being pleasant at the door or maybe changing what people assumed about you when they finally meet you." For one male town candidate, making a good first impression begins with how he is dressed. "You're not going to go there with a pair of jeans that are ripped. You want to be presentable." He asserted that voters are not only evaluating a candidate's platform and qualifications but also her or his character and personality.

But no matter how positive an impression that candidates make at the door, the most important drawback of canvassing is that they can never be sure that a positive evaluation will turn into votes. Some respondents expressed reservations about the extent to which door-to-door campaigning actually works:

> My campaign was almost solely based on door to door canvassing and I am not sure how effective it really was. Many people were not at home and those that were at home were difficult to get engaged in any meaningful discussion about issues. Further, if I had engaged them in discussion on issues it would have severely reduced the number of contacts I could have made. I would do it differently next time and use social media to get my message out. (Male town candidate).

Still, most respondents who answered the open-ended survey question attributed the success of their direct campaign efforts to knocking on doors.

Stumping for votes

The fact that almost all municipal candidates used personal contact to raise their public profile but only three-quarters of women and men attended forums or canvassed suggests the survey did not capture all of the techniques candidates used to personally reach voters. Responses to open-ended questions in the survey and interviews indicate that municipal candidates use a variety of approaches. A female city candidate tried to

make her interactions with voters more meaningful by doing pre-announced walks in the different neighbourhoods of her ward. She believed it would give residents more time to converse with her about their concerns or opinions on local matters. In a previous election, she organized a shoreline cleanup event so her canvassing efforts not only benefited her but also the community:

> When you're going door to door, you're not really making anything better. You're giving people a chance to meet you. Ideally, as a candidate, you don't spend 10 minutes [at a person's door] because you got 10,000 doors to do. You gotta say, 'Hi, here's my literature. How are you doing? Oh, I remember I talked to you about the problem with the tree down the street. How are you feeling about that now? Goodbye.'

In addition to the brevity of these exchanges, traditional canvassing is hampered by the fact that many voters are not at home when candidates come knocking on their door. A woman campaigning in a December mayoral byelection did not go door knocking because it was too dark and cold to do so in the evening, when most people are home from work, and because many people were "settled in for the night" by 8 p.m. Another woman said many residents "seemed upset that [she] went and knocked on their doors" but attributed this reaction to the fact she tried to reach them during a holiday weekend. As a result, candidates waste a great deal of time walking from one door to another in search of someone to whom they can make their election pitch. A different female city council candidate got around this by heading to the grocery store each week and speaking "at length" with voters there, while a female candidate in one town went to the local farmers' market both before and during the election for "one on one conversations with potential voters, asking [for] their opinions and support." Another woman co-hosted a pre-election wine and cheese event with another candidate, though she was not convinced of its success in garnering either of them any votes.

Other candidates chose to press the flesh at community events. "There is always an opportunity to go and be visible in the community by going to these kinds of events,"

noted a male city candidate. "And some politicians are *absolutely* glued to that." He has a strong aversion to such events, though, and has actively avoided them throughout his political career, both as a candidate and as an elected councillor. Instead, during his recent campaign, he held an open house where voters could approach him with questions or comments as they saw fit. He argued that this "subtle" approach to his re-election campaign was possible because of the public prominence he had already gained through a careful cultivation of news coverage while in office. Other candidates also questioned the value of canvassing in boosting voter turnout. One female candidate for town council in 2010 found residents expressed support at the door but did not necessarily follow up that verbal backing by voting. As a consequence of this experience, she decided not to canvass voters in her community's 2012 byelection for mayor and opted instead to attend organizational meetings and concentrate on lawn signs, billboards, and newspaper advertising to achieve public visibility.

Even if a candidate opts not to canvass, direct contact with voters is often unavoidable. Many voters approach candidates while they walk down the street, fetch groceries, or do other personal errands. "I'm everywhere walking," said a male city candidate, "so people see me a lot and they will stop and ask me questions or give me comments on things." Residents in some communities actually prefer a casual approach to electioneering. A female candidate commented on the survey that "over-campaigning" is not appreciated in her small community, so "I just spoke to folks when I saw them" and called others who had questions. Her comment indicates that, as with paid advertising, the local political culture can influence candidate approaches to initiating direct contact with potential voters.

Evaluating canvassing efforts

Even though they raised concerns about the efficacy of canvassing, municipal candidates in general viewed their efforts at speaking directly with voters as ultimately

successful. To understand the basis of this evaluation, the survey first asked candidates to indicate whether or not they had a plan for such direct campaigning. Almost three-quarters (73%) of respondents answered in the affirmative (see Table A.8.5). City candidates were significantly more likely than non-city candidates to report devising a blueprint for deploying personal-contact techniques in their campaigns. Financial resources were also largely associated with deliberate strategizing. Gender, office type, incumbency, electoral outcome, volunteerism, and years in municipal office were not major factors in the bivariate comparisons. While more men reported having a plan than did women, the difference was not statistically significant.

Only one major difference emerged when women and men were compared by candidate characteristic: the more money men spent on their campaign communications, the more likely they were to report having a plan for reaching voters in person (results not shown). This was not the case for women. Overall, these results suggest that women and men candidates share at least a rudimentary level of organization when it comes to preparing for their direct dealings with voters. The multivariate analysis confirms this analysis (panel D in Table 8.2, page 211). Even when controlling for other factors, gender remains an insignificant determinant. Only incumbency matters: the regression found incumbents are almost three times more likely than challengers to have a strategy for direct campaigning.

But how similar are municipal candidates when it comes to evaluating the success of these plans? Candidate attitudes were assessed using a five-point Likert-style item where "very unsuccessful" was coded as -2, "undecided/neutral as 0, and "very successful as +2. Two-thirds of respondents offered positive appraisals of their strategy for directly engaging voters. In contrast, only 7.9% rated their plans as ultimately unsuccessful and 9.7% as very unsuccessful. A further 15.5% were undecided. Not surprisingly, the bivariate results reveal electoral success had a major impact on candidate opinion: winners were significantly more likely than losers to describe their plan as successful (see Table A.8.6).

No other factors, including gender, were significant. Women and men generally had a positive view of their plan's success, both overall and by candidate characteristic. The lone exception to this pattern related to volunteerism, and then only for men (results not shown). Men who had spent more years volunteering in the community before their most recent campaign were significantly more likely than men with fewer years volunteering to offer a negative evaluation of their plan's success. Volunteerism had no effect on women's attitudes.

A multivariate analysis (panel E in Table 8.2, page 211) confirmed the influence of electoral outcome on candidates' subsequent opinion of the success of their strategy for reaching voters in person. Winners were significantly more pleased with the results of their plan for face-to-face contact with voters. However, the ordinary least squares regression determined age also played a strong role in candidate assessments: the younger the respondent, the more content they were with their direct contact strategy.

CONCLUSION

The results for direct campaigning demonstrate that personal contact is by far the most pervasive communication technique used by municipal candidates to generate public visibility, establish electoral viability, and promote policy ideas. Most survey respondents reported trying to reach voters in person, with about three-quarters attending all-candidate forums and canvassing door to door. The analysis also found city and non-city candidates differed in their use of specific activities but not in their use of direct campaigning in general. Women candidates were slightly more likely than their male counterparts to seek out personal contact with voters, but women and men did not differ in their approach to forums or canvassing. The qualitative data also reveal some municipal candidates are experimenting with new forms of personal outreach in a bid to spark voter interest in their candidacies and in the civic election itself.

Personal contact is admittedly far from an ideal method for creating public

visibility—not everyone is at home when candidates come knocking or is even interested in what they have to say—but its allure for candidates is not hard to understand. Candidates can use personal contact to create a name for themselves in the community, and, by extension, solicit voter support for their political ambitions. They can also use it to exert greater influence over the messages voters receive and the perceptions voters form about them. In short, personal contact gives municipal candidates an important opportunity to shape voter evaluations.

Personal contact has an added benefit for women candidates. Though beyond the scope of this study, women could use one-on-one conversations with voters to challenge potentially gendered narratives about their political personas put forward by journalists in election coverage, by posters in online chat forums, and by opponents in whispering campaigns. Women candidates could limit the potential for voters to use abstract gender stereotypes when evaluating their candidacies by providing voters with substantive information about their policy ideas and qualifications for office. In essence, women candidates can offer counter-narratives that assert their viability, and desirability, as elected municipal officials. These counter-narratives can certainly be gendered in their own way, but at least women candidates would be the ones propagating the gendered presentations of their political personas.

From a political participation perspective, direct campaigning also has enormous value for the democratic system. Personal contact with candidates provides an important entry point for citizens into the democratic process:

> The opportunity to interact with candidates personally is equally important. Meeting candidates enables voters to communicate their concerns and to influence candidates' positions, as well as to learn about their choices. In short, interaction empowers the electorate and provides the ability to hold public officials accountable. (Strachan, 2003: 89)

While journalists and online posters might focus on a limited range of issues during the municipal election, voters are free to raise whatever questions or concerns matter to

them when they meet with the candidates. They can bring their agenda to the political conversation rather than be beholden to the agendas of others. The next chapter outlines the main findings of candidate use of the news media, Internet, paid advertising, and direct campaigning and analyzes their implications for political communication at the municipal level.

CONCLUSIONS
A FEW PIECES OF THE PUZZLE

INTRODUCTION

My examination of candidate experiences in pursuing electoral visibility indicate that a competitive communications strategy in Canadian municipal elections is multimodal, deliberate, reflexive, adaptive, and, above all, personal. As this study illustrates, the mix of techniques candidates use to promote their candidacies and platforms often varies from one individual to another and from one municipality to the next. No single template exists. A few successful candidates mainly campaign through social media while some longtime incumbents are able to get re-elected with little more than phone calls and personal visits to select voters. Whatever the approach, the typical communications strategy not only reflects the campaign preferences of candidates but also those of local voters. Lawn signs are a key method of achieving name recognition (Kam and Zechmeister, 2013), especially in non-partisan elections, but candidates will forgo their use if voter objections to their visual and environmental clutter are too strong. What rarely varies, though, is the desire for face-to-face contact between candidate and voter. Municipal candidates are largely uniform in their inclusion of some method of direct campaigning: examples include door knocking, forums, neighbourhood walks, open houses, and community cleanups. Yet this study finds they are not just motivated by utility. Many municipal candidates are as committed to drawing citizens into political debate and the political process more generally as they are to seeking enough votes to win elected office.

When I embarked on the data collection for this research project in spring 2012, I did not expect to find strong affirmation of candidate commitment to the democratic ideals of citizen inclusion in politics and policymaking. My goals were to investigate how differences in candidates' personal characteristics, municipal context, political situations, and campaign resources shape their communication strategies during a municipal election, and to identify the gendered and municipal dimensions of political communication as they relate to the pursuit

of electoral visibility. I expected women and men candidates to be equally strategic in their use of communication techniques such as media relations, Internet-based applications, paid advertising, and direct canvassing to promote their candidacies, a prediction borne out by the data. As for municipal context, differences in the size of the electorate led me to expect that the type of municipality in which a candidate campaigned would largely be responsible for any variations in communication practices between candidates in cities, towns, villages, and rural municipalities. This proved not to be the case. I discovered that municipal context exerted an indirect and varied influence on political communication strategies. Major differences in candidate characteristics, news media industries, and local political cultures between cities and non-cities shaped the nature of electoral communication in different municipalities.

My study also determined that age, incumbency, and financial resources are also key independent variables shaping candidate communication choices at the municipal level. Although these variables usually exerted an independent influence, in some cases they interacted with municipal context to lead to specific patterns of campaigning in cities and non-cities. Finally, despite all the presumed power of social media to transform the nature of campaigning, I discovered that municipal candidates remain committed to activities, such as door knocking and election forums, that bring them into direct contact with voters. Their approach stems from a larger commitment on the part of many local politicians to the value of democratic deliberation. Candidate comments on the survey and in interviews indicate that many local politicians are keen to foster political engagement at the municipal level. In this concluding chapter, I discuss the important contributions that this project makes to our understanding of political communication, gender and politics, and municipal government.

THE NON-ROLE OF GENDER

My quantitative and qualitative exploration of the political communication strategies of Canadian municipal candidates between 2010 and 2012 makes several important theoretical and empirical contributions to the literature on gender and political communication. First, by

comparing women and men's communication tactics rather than their campaign messages, I demonstrate that electoral outcomes and the gendered dimensions of news coverage are not because of different levels of effort on the part of women and men candidates. Both are aware of the importance of establishing electoral visibility in their communities and are equally engaged in the task of generating name recognition and disseminating information about their candidacies.

Where women and men candidates sometimes differ is in their motivations for using, or not using, different communication techniques and in their observations of how other candidates, journalists, and citizens use these techniques to politick. Of particular note is the fact that women respondents were especially attentive to the political biases of local journalists, a finding that is in line with research on the national media in the Canadian and British contexts (Goodyear-Grant, 2009, 2013; Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross, 1996). More research is needed on politicians' perceptions of journalistic behaviour to determine whether or not media relations themselves are gendered and what influence that might have on gendered coverage of women and men politicians.

Second, by examining the extent to which women use a wide variety of communication techniques in their campaigns, my study challenges the political communication literature's strong focus on the role of gender stereotypes in television commercials and online platforms (Banwart and Winfrey, 2013; Bystrom, Banwart, Kaid, and Robertson, 2004; Carlson, 2001; Dolan, 2005; Panagopoulos, 2004; Sapiro, Walsh, Strach, and Hennings, 2011; Shames, 2003; Windett, 2014). My analysis reveals municipal candidates are far more likely to run commercials on radio than on television and to use pamphlets rather than websites for distributing information to voters. More importantly, municipal candidates exhibit a much stronger preference for personal contact than mass media engagement when trying to communicate with voters. Yet the literature is largely silent when it comes to the gendered dimensions of political rhetoric in radio spots, pamphlets, and one-to-one conversations with voters (for exceptions, see Larson, 2001; Lee, 2007). Future research should investigate how women politicians navigate gender

stereotypes in communication formats other than television and websites.

Third, my study illustrates the importance of investigating alternative explanations to gender for understanding differences in women and men's political communication strategies. Survey responses reveal that women municipal candidates in Canada are significantly younger in age than their male counterparts. Considering the role that age plays in candidate decisions to set up online election sites, it is possible that factors other than gender influence the strategies that candidates pursue to achieve electoral visibility. Equally likely is the possibility that gender exerts a more indirect influence on candidates' communication choices. Women's historical exclusion from politics gave men an advantage in areas such as incumbency and fundraising when women did finally begin seeking elected office in large numbers a few decades ago. While these advantages are diminishing (Adams and Schreiber, 2010; Herrick, 1996; Jeydel and Lascher, Jr., 2011), variations in women and men's communication strategies could stem from structural factors that result in women and men candidates having different personal and/ or political profiles. The fact that women and men municipal candidates in Canada are similar in every respect but age is likely why gender, either directly or indirectly, did not lead to major variations in communication strategies.

My analysis of the role of gender in political communication in municipal elections thus offers a note of optimism for the future. It provides evidence that gender does not always matter in political communication and that women politicians exert a considerable amount of agency in determining how they pursue electoral visibility. The challenge, then, is to follow Regina G. Lawrence and Melody Rose's advice (2010) and treat gender as one of many variables that shape a candidate's communication strategies.

THE VARYING INFLUENCE OF MUNICIPAL CONTEXT

If gender does not lead Canadian municipal candidates to devise various political communication strategies in their pursuit of electoral visibility, my study finds that municipal context often does and in a variety of unexpected ways. Differences in candidate characteristics

shape the nature of Internet campaigning, variations in local news media industries influence news coverage, and voter preferences limit advertising options in cities as opposed to towns, villages, and rural municipalities. These findings indicate that political communication research needs to expand beyond ideology, institutional characteristics, party-system features, financial resources, and societal and/or power relations to explore other factors such as municipal context that could also explain how candidates deploy communication techniques in their campaigns (Cunha, Martin, Newell, and Ramior, 2003; Franz and Ridout, 2010; Gibson, Ward, and Lusoli, 2002). By examining political communication at the under-studied municipal level, my study demonstrates the need to develop a more nuanced understanding of the publicity-seeking efforts of politicians in a variety of electoral and political contexts.

A second, and related, contribution of my study to the political communication and political journalism literatures is the need to investigate media behaviour toward politicians in all three governmental contexts, not just in federal politics. Candidate comments suggest local journalists provide sufficient but not substantial information to voters about the political options before them, with one city candidate noting journalists scale back their coverage of municipal politics when an election begins and offer little more than candidate profiles and factual reports about the campaign. My previous research on newspaper coverage of the 2007 Alberta municipal elections found journalists often left it to voters to make judgments about the quality and electability of council candidates (Wagner, 2014). The apparent lack of mediatization of many, though by no means all, municipal elections is in strong contrast to research on national politics (Jebril, Albaek, and de Vreese, 2013; Langer, 2007, 2010; Stromback, 2011; Trimble, Wagner, Sampert, Raphael, and Gerrits, 2013; Sampert, Trimble, Wagner, and Gerrits, 2014; Vliegenthart, Boomgaarden, and Boumans, 2011). My study therefore supports the contention among some scholars that the mediatization of politics is not consistent across time or political contexts (Stromback, 2008; Takens, van Atteveldt, van Hoof, and Kleinnijenhuis, 2013). More comparative research on the mediatization of politics in a wide variety of municipal contexts and across all levels of government is needed in order to identify the conditions under

which mediatization occurs, its degree of progression, and its influence on politicians' news management practices.

Third, my analysis of the composition of local news industries and their differing orientations to electoral communication at the municipal level highlights the importance of accounting for the specific characteristics of a news organization or medium when investigating the role of journalism in politics. The political communication literature too easily slips into the assumption that the news media are a monolithic group, offering conclusions about political journalism based on empirical studies of a few elite news organizations, usually large-circulation newspapers. In reality, the universal category of news media hides a considerable amount of diversity in the industry (Baird, 2004). Candidate responses and comments suggest city media are driven by a media logic, which prioritizes the news media's norms, values, and commercial needs over democratic considerations, while non-city media follow a political logic, which focuses on "the needs of the political system and political institutions" (Stromback, 2008: 234). In other words, city journalists appear to be ruled more by the commercial imperative to entertain their audience, using news values such as newsworthiness and unusualness to determine which city candidates to cover, while non-city journalists seem to focus on providing information about each candidate so citizens can decide how to cast their vote.

Finally, this study contributes to a small but growing literature on municipal e-politicking (Criado, Martinez-Fuentes, and Silvan, 2012; Hagar, 2014; Lev-On, 2011, 2012, 2013; Kalnes, 2009; Raynauld and Greenberg, 2014; Saglie and Vabo, 2009; Segaard and Nielsen, 2013; Wright, 2008; Yannas and Lappas, 2005, 2006) by providing the most comprehensive analysis of the motivations behind and use of information and communication technologies in municipal campaigns. The finding that politicians do not adopt the Internet to the same degree in all electoral environments illustrates the importance of context to research on Internet-based campaigning. National politicians, for example, are in the best position to use ICTs to generate public visibility because of their need to appeal to a large electorate. Local politicians, on the other hand, can still make effective use of traditional tools such as personal contact to become

more known to voters. The data also reveal that many municipal candidates are unsure of what ICTs can do for them electorally and they are not necessarily in a (financial) position to draw upon the expertise of others to develop a sophisticated ICT strategy. If these obstacles remain, this study finds that municipal uptake of ICTs will likely be limited and much slower than at the national level.

Despite these findings, we need to be careful not to make too many firm conclusions about online campaigning at the municipal level. Digital media have developed considerably since these candidates sought local office between 2010 and 2012. Some candidates might have become more sophisticated in their use of ICTs and voters might have become more avid visitors to these sites than they were during this study's time frame. Voters today might expect candidates to have such sites and are more willing to log on. Future research needs to monitor the progression of ICT use in municipal elections to ascertain how candidates are responding to this newer form of campaigning.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CANDIDATE CHARACTERISTICS

Not surprisingly, younger candidates were far more comfortable using ICTs in their pursuit of electoral visibility. In fact, they repeatedly exhibited more interest than their older counterparts in using all types of mass media, and not just digital media, to promote their candidacies and platforms to voters during municipal elections. These findings demonstrate that, in addition to the governmental or electoral context, research on political communication in candidate-centred political systems must give serious consideration to the role of candidate characteristics in the adoption of communication techniques. The general consensus in the political communication literature is that Barack Obama's success in the 2008 American presidential elections is due in part to his innovative, sophisticated, and widely successful social media campaign (Hendricks and Denton, Jr., 2010), yet the role his age might have played in his willingness or ability to use ICTs is rarely central to the analysis.

In this study, a series of multiple regressions found that municipal context lost

statistical significance when the model controlled for candidate characteristics such as age, financial resources, and electoral outcome. As discussed in Chapter 4, city candidates are significantly younger than their non-city counterparts. They also spend more money on their communications yet are still more likely to lose their bid for a council seat. So while they often need to solicit votes from a larger electorate than do non-city candidates, evidence indicates city candidates respond to this communication challenge according to their specific social, political, and financial circumstances. The literature develops an incomplete portrait of political communication strategies when it prioritizes structural factors such as ideology, institutional characteristics, and party system features over individual factors such as candidates' personal traits. Scholars' statistical models and qualitative examinations would benefit from the inclusion of both structural and individual factors in the analysis.

THE ONGOING INFLUENCE OF MONEY AND INCUMBENCY

While this study identifies municipal context and candidate characteristics as key variables in political communication, it also provides support for the traditional influence of money and incumbency. The financial resources of Canadian municipal candidates consistently shaped the communication choices they made, with well-funded candidates far more likely than those with less money at their disposal to make greater use of communication tools to generate media and public visibility. Incumbency was not as influential as money, but it led to different communication strategies between incumbents and challengers in a few instances. Challengers made greater use of Internet-based applications and did so to promote their leadership skills, perhaps in part to overcome the advantages that incumbents have in terms of greater public visibility as well as a track record in office to point to as a demonstration of their leadership abilities. Incumbents, for their part, were more avid advertisers and door knockers. The fact that many candidates, including incumbents, win municipal office with a small communications budget, however, suggests scholars should not just "follow the money" and concentrate on expensive political communication strategies such as television advertising

(Overby and Barth, 2006: 455) but also seek to identify the approaches that candidates take to generating electoral visibility when their financial resources are limited. The absence of money can shape political communication strategies as much as the amount of money a candidate has.

THE ENDURING VALUE OF DIRECT CONTACT

A statistical analysis of survey data consistently demonstrates that candidates' political communication strategies are often shaped by their financial, political, and personal circumstances. But one of the most encouraging results of this study is that Canadian municipal candidates remain committed to meeting voters personally despite the availability of new outreach techniques such as social media and advancements in more established ones such as political advertising. Almost all respondents reported using direct canvassing in their campaign, with three-quarters attending election forums and going door knocking and some indicating they are experimenting with other approaches such as holding open houses or neighbourhood walks in order to personally interact with voters. This finding challenges the political communication literature's hype around the value of social media to encourage interaction between politicians and voters, which is based on the assertion that personal contact between the two are rare (Bystrom, Banwart, Kaid, and Robertson, 2004: 129).

While such interactions might be uncommon in U.S. national elections, by identifying the most common communication tactics in municipal campaigns, my study provides compelling empirical evidence that personal contact remains a pillar of electioneering at the municipal level. Survey and interview comments indicate that municipal candidates believe it is important to meet voters in person to demonstrate their seriousness or be taken seriously as candidates, increase their public profile in the community, and promote their preferred policy solutions to pressing local problems. For candidates who cannot afford to do polling, direct contact with voters also becomes a reliable way of seeking public opinion about their campaign, electoral chances, and, where relevant, performance on council. When scholars focus exclusively on

trendy communication methods such as social media, they ignore a major part of democracy and campaigning (for an exception, see Nielsen, 2012). We need to know a great deal more about how politicians and voters use personal interactions during an election to exchange ideas about politics, policy, and democratic representation.

THE COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY

Personal contact with voters has obvious instrumental value for politicians. Candidates hope these face-to-face interactions will lead to increased electoral support and, eventually, a seat on municipal council. The need to seek votes also drives their approach to media relations, Internet-based applications, and paid advertising. But my qualitative data demonstrate that municipal candidates are also motivated by a strong commitment to democratic values such as public debate. This democratic approach is evident in their call for journalists to provide more in-depth coverage of municipal elections. Candidates want local voters to have extensive and substantive information about campaign issues and candidates in order to effectively carry out their democratic function of selecting our public representatives.

By seeking candidates' perspectives on the value of communication techniques, my study challenges the literature's strong focus on examining the strategic aspects of political communication and establishes the need to qualitatively investigate the multiple instrumental and democratic purposes to which politicians put their communications. Future research should explore the following questions: Are municipal politicians more steadfast in their support of the democratic ideals of political communication than their federal or provincial counterparts? Or are they in a better position to use political communication to foster democratic deliberation because the non-partisan nature of local government in Canada puts them, and not political parties, in charge of their political rhetoric?

My study also makes key theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions to the social media literature by identifying an important reason why some politicians avoid using the interactive capabilities of the Internet. Qualitative data from the survey and, especially, the

interviews indicate candidates avoid online interactivity not out of a desire to limit democratic deliberation but because of a belief that such public debate should be orderly, civil, and respectful on both sides. Municipal candidates, in other words, care as much about the tone of political debate as they do its content. The anonymity of the Internet allows individuals to make negative, and even nasty, comments to and about candidates. Such behaviour is less likely in face-to-face contact. A desire for courteous interactions might be another reason why Canadian municipal candidates exhibit such an impressive commitment to personal contact with voters.

This finding regarding political resistance to digital interactivity demonstrates the ability of qualitative research to advance knowledge about politicians' use of social media. The literature's reliance on content analysis often leads scholars to conclude that the one-way nature of communication on election sites is because candidates prefer to treat the Internet as just another broadcast medium (Small, 2008a, 2010b, 2012a). The implication is that candidates are more interested in using the Internet for instrumental purposes, such as securing votes, than for democratic purposes, such as encouraging political debate or creating relationships with voters (Small, 2012a). I certainly found empirical support for the claim that politicians avoid the interactive features of social media because of the potential to lose control of their message (Francoli, Greenberg, and Waddell, 2011). But my interviews with municipal politicians reveal that candidate orientations toward social media are more complex and nuanced than suggested by the literature. My study therefore illuminates new and expanded avenues of research for understanding the role of social media in democratic politics.

In addition to the forms and functions of individual Internet-based applications, scholars should investigate how candidates' communication choices are shaped by their perceptions of the culture of social media discourse and the nature of the communities reached by each type of application (Ross and Burger, 2014). Does the absence of interactivity on political Internet sites reflect a lack of commitment to democratic debate overall or to online debate specifically? Are moderated community forums a more appropriate location for the expression of diverse political

viewpoints? Or does the culture of social media need to evolve to make it more amenable to respectful and constructive political debate, and how could that be achieved? Answering these questions would clarify the extent to which we can realistically expect social media to address concerns about public apathy toward politics.

REFINING THE RESEARCH AGENDA

The limitations of this exploratory study direct attention to additional avenues for research on political communication at the municipal level. The survey questionnaire only measured how Canadian municipal candidates used the most common communication techniques in their campaigns. Closed-ended questions about ICTs, for example, restricted respondents to discussing and evaluating popular Internet-based applications such as websites, email, blogs, Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, and YouTube. Yet qualitative responses to the survey suggest candidates are seeking new and more meaningful ways to reach out to voters during an election, such as staging open houses and neighbourhood walks. We know little about how municipal politicians are rethinking political advertising and digital promotion in a bid to establish a connection with citizens. Future research should investigate the manner in which some municipal politicians are experimenting and innovating with traditional and new mass media to not only generate electoral visibility but also to encourage political participation in local politics.

This study also focuses primarily on the means by which municipal candidates transmitted their campaign messages and not as much on the content of those messages. We need to know more about the manner in which municipal politicians shape public debates about policy, governance, democracy, political participation, and citizenship, as well as the role that gender plays in that process. Additional research is needed to understand the gendered aspects of political narratives at the municipal level. Refining our research agenda in this way will advance our knowledge about the contributions of municipal politicians to political communication and political rhetoric.

FINAL THOUGHTS

This exploratory examination of the political communication strategies of women and men municipal candidates in Canada is an important step toward understanding when gender does, and does not, play a role in electoral communication. By comparing women and men's communication choices, this study demonstrates that women politicians are every bit as strategic as their male counterparts in pursuing media and public visibility. Survey and interview data also reveal that different aspects of the municipal environment might influence candidate decisions about which communication techniques to use and how to use them. The nature of the local news media industry places constraints on candidates' ability to garner media attention, the characteristics of city and non-city candidates matter for how they each use ICTs to increase their media and public visibility, and community preferences limit the kind of paid advertising candidates can undertake to build their public profile.

Yet Canadian municipal candidates do not simply take an instrumental view of political communication. In addition to getting elected, many candidates want to draw voters into local politics and engage them in discussions about local political issues. They seek a true exchange of ideas and perspectives on local politics, but in a civil and respectful manner. The quantitative and qualitative findings therefore suggest that municipal candidates want a rich information environment during elections and many try to play their part by using different communication techniques to disseminate details about their own candidacies. While this study cannot assess the quality or quantity of their messages nor their impact on the information environment, it still illustrates the importance of political communication to electoral democracy. The news media, ICTs, paid advertising, and direct contact are vital conduits through which candidates provide information to voters. Women and men municipal candidates make use of them to varying degrees and for varying purposes in a bid to increase their public visibility. The fact that Canadian municipal candidates use political communication to improve the quality of democracy as much as to secure elected office provides a note of optimism about the state of campaigning and democratic life in the 21st century.

ENDNOTES

Chapter 1: Introduction

1: The figures presented in Table 1.1 are an approximate reflection of women's rate of candidacy and electoral success in Canadian municipal politics between 2010 and 2013 for two reasons: First, complete candidate lists and/or election results were not available for every province or territory. Second, gender could not be determined for all known candidates. Only those candidates whose gender were noted by provincial, municipal, or media sources or could be determined from first names are included in this analysis. The reader should thus keep in mind that the number of candidates in general, and of women in particular, is actually much higher than noted in this table.

2: This question, and its wording, is inspired by Kathleen Dolan's 2014 book *When Does Gender Matter? Women Candidates and Gender Stereotypes in American Elections*.

Chapter 2: Communicating Politics

1: YEG is the world airport code for the Edmonton International Airport and has become slang for Edmonton itself.

Chapter 3: Designing Research

1: Several provinces appear to be moving toward a four-year term for municipal councils. Starting in fall 2013, Alberta civic politicians will serve in office for four years before facing the voters again in 2017.

2: At the time of this study, Saskatchewan stagered elections for its ward-based rural municipalities. Voters in odd-numbered divisions select their representatives at the same time as do those in cities, towns, and villages. Voters in even-numbered divisions went to the polls in 2011 and 2014 before moving to a four-year interval between elections.

Chapter 4: Candidate Resources

1: The survey questionnaire asked respondents to provide the name of their religious faith (see Appendix I). Their answers were used to construct a nominal variable with categories such as Anglican, Baptist, Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Hinduism, Jewish, and so on. These categories were subsequently narrowed down to the major faith groups, such as Christianity, Judaism, and Hinduism.

Chapter 5: News Media

1: The survey question asked candidates to select each type of news organization that operated in their municipality. As a result, a value of zero was recorded when a candidate did not select one of the categories. This approach means some of the zeros used in these calculations were due to non-response (the candidate just opted not to answer the question, overlooked it, or did not know) rather than to a lack of that type of organization in

the candidate's municipality.

2: No multivariate results are presented, as the logistic regression model did not reach statistical significance for the dependent variable measuring whether or not candidates had a strategy on how to deal with the news media.

3: Candidates were asked to respond "yes" or "no" to whether they were covered by each type of news outlet. As a result, the zero category only includes respondents who deliberately selected the "no" answer. Non-responses were treated as missing data and excluded from these calculations.

4: I did not include the variable on journalist contact in the index because it does not specifically measure contact initiated by candidates and because it does not specify a type of contact, unlike the other five index items.

Chapter 6: Internet

1: The name of the chapter "Word of Mouse" is derived from Tamara A. Small, 2008b, "Equal access, unequal success — Major and minor Canadian parties on the Net." *Party Politics* 14(1): 60.

2: A version of this chapter is set to appear in *Forms and Functions of Political Participation in a Digital World*, eds. Alex Frame and Gilles Brachotte. Earlier versions of this chapter have also been presented at the Canadian Political Science Association conference in Victoria, B.C., in June 2013 and at the Forms and Functions of Political Participation in the Digital world conference in Dijon, France, in November 2014.

3: This gendered pattern of blog use could not be verified by a multivariate analysis, as the logistic regression model for this dependent variable did not achieve statistical significance.

4: Multivariate results are not presented for Flickr as the logistic regression model did not reach statistical significance.

5: No multivariate results are presented, as the logistic regression model did not reach statistical significance for the dependent variable measuring candidate evaluations of the success of their social media plan.

Chapter 7: Advertising

1: This figure was calculated by averaging the estimated cost of a 1/8-page display ad in each of the 128 newspapers listed in the Alberta Weekly Newspaper Association's display ad selection tool (www.awna.com/awna-display-ad-selection-tools). The rate ranged from $76 for the *Slave Lake Scope* to $866 for the *Edmonton Examiner*. The rates were valid as of February 16, 2015.

2: No multivariate results are presented, as the logistic regression model did not reach statistical significance for the dependent variable measuring whether or not candidates ran a media ad.

3: I also asked candidates about their use of phone calls, but realized during the interviews that candidates could have interpreted this to mean one-to-one phone calls rather than

automated or robotic phone calls that deliver a pre-recorded message to voters in much the same way as a radio advertisement. So I have dropped this item from the analysis.

4: No multivariate results are presented, as the logistic regression model did not reach statistical significance for the dependent variable measuring whether or not candidates used lawn signs.

5: No multivariate results are presented, as the logistic regression model did not reach statistical significance for the dependent variable measuring whether or not candidates felt their paid advertising attracted the attention they wanted.

6: No multivariate results are presented, as the logistic regression model did not reach statistical significance for the dependent variable measuring whether or not candidates had a plan for using paid advertising.

Chapter 8: Direct Contact

1: In the at-large system used in many Canadian municipalities, voters can cast a ballot for the same number of candidates as there are open seats on council. (The mayor is elected separately.) If a municipal council has six members, then the six candidates with the largest vote totals are elected to office. In contrast, the ward system typically involves partitioning a community into specific ridings, with voters in each area picking one politician to represent them on council. Notable exceptions have occurred. Edmonton residents could select two people until the 2013 municipal elections, when the city moved to a one-member ward system.

2: No multivariate results are presented, as the logistic regression model did not reach statistical significance for the dependent variable measuring whether or not candidates engaged in direct contact.

3: Some respondents reported spending an average of 240 or more hours a week on canvassing, either before or during the campaign. A week only contains 168 hours. While these respondents likely meant they spent a total of 240 or more hours on canvassing, these cases were treated as missing data and excluded from the analysis.

4: No multivariate results are presented, as the ordinary least squares regression model did not reach statistical significance for the dependent variable measuring how many hours that candidates went door knocking during the formal election campaign.

REFERENCES

CANDIDATE INTERVIEWS

Candidate 1. Telephone interview. 19 September 2013.

Candidate 2. Telephone interview. 24 September 2013.

Candidate 3. Telephone interview. 25 September 2013.

Candidate 4. Telephone interview. 4 October 2013.

Candidate 5. Telephone interview. 5 October 2013 and 7 October 2013.

Candidate 6. Telephone interview. 7 October 2013.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Canada Elections Act. S.C. 2000, c. 9. Accessed April 17, 2012. http://laws-lois.justice.
    gc.ca/PDF/E-2.01.pdf.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Aalberg, Toril and James Curran. 2012. "How media inform democracy: Central debates."
    In *How Media Inform Democracy: A Comparative Approach*, eds. Toril Aalberg
    and James Curran. New York: Routledge.

Ackerly, Brooke. 2009. "Why a feminist theorist studies methods." *Politics and Gender*
    5(3): 431-436.

Adams, Brian E. and Ronnee Schreiber. 2010. "Gender, campaign finance, and electoral
    success in municipal elections." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 33(1): 83-97.

Aday, Sean and James Devitt. 2001. "Style over substance: Newspaper coverage of
    Elizabeth Dole's presidential bid." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*
    6(2): 52-73.

Adcock, Charlotte. 2010. "The politician, the wife, the citizen, and her newspaper:
    Rethinking women, democracy, and media(ted) representation." *Feminist Media
    Studies* 10(2): 135-159.

Ademilokun, Mohammed and Rotimi Taiwo. 2013. "Discursive strategies in newspaper
    campaign advertisements for Nigeria's 2011 elections." *Discourse and
    Communication* 7(4): 435-455.

Alboim, Elly. 2012. "On the verge of total dysfunction: Government, media, and
    communications." In *How Canadians Communicate IV: Media and Politics*, eds.
    David Taras and Christopher Waddell. Edmonton: Athabasca University Press.

Allan, Stuart. 2004. "The gendered realities of journalism." *News Culture*. Berkshire: Open University Press.

Anderson, Susan E. and Bruce M. Gansneder. 1995. "Using electronic mail surveys and computer-monitored data for studying computer-mediated communication systems." *Social Science Computer Review* 13(1): 33-46.

Andrew, Caroline. 1992. "The feminist city." In *Political Arrangements: Power and the City*, ed. Henri Lustiger-Thaler. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Andrew, Caroline. 1995. "Getting women's issues on the municipal agenda: Violence against women." In *Gender in Urban Research*, eds. Judith A. Garber and Robyne S. Turner. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Andrew, Caroline. 2000. "Resisting boundaries? Using safety audits for women." In *Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, eds. Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Angrosino, Michael V. and Kimberly A. Mays de Pérez. 2003. "Rethinking observation: From method to context." In *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Ansolabehere, Steven and Shanto Iyengar. 1995. "Winning through advertising: It's all in the context." In *Campaigns and Elections American Style*, eds. James A. Thurber and Candice J. Nelson. Boulder: Westview Press.

Apodaca, Clair. 2009. "Overcoming obstacles in quantitative feminist research." *Politics and Gender* 5(3): 419-426.

Asp, Kent and Peter Esaiasson. 1996. "The modernization of Swedish campaigns: Individualization, professionalization, and mediatization." In *Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences*, eds. David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini. Westport: Praeger.

Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Timothy B. Krebs. 2008. "Press coverage of mayoral candidates: The role of gender in news reporting and campaign issue speech." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2): 239-252.

Atkeson, Lonna Rae, Alex N. Adams, Lisa A. Bryant, Luciana Zilberman, and Kyle L. Saunders. 2011. "Considering mixed mode surveys for questions in political behavior: Using the Internet and mail to get quality data at reasonable costs." *Political Behaviour* 33(1): 161-178.

Attallah, Paul and Angela Burton. 2001. "Television, the Internet, and the Canadian federal election of 2000." In *The Canadian General Election of 2000,* eds. Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan. Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Babbie, Earl and Lucia Benaquisto. 2002. *Fundamentals of Social Research: First Canadian Edition*. Scarborough: Nelson.

Bachmann, Ingrid and Homero Gil de Zuniga. 2013. "News platform preference as a predictor of political and civic participation." *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 19(4): 496-512.

Page 241

Baekgaard, Martin, Carsten Jensen, Peter B. Mortensen, and Soren Serritzlew. 2014. "Local news media and voter turnout." *Local Government Studies* 40(4): 518-532.

Baird, Julia. 2004. *Media Tarts: How the Australian Press Frames Female Politicians*. Melbourne: Scribe Publications.

Banwart, Mary Christine. 2006. "Webstyles in 2004: The gendering of candidates on campaign web sites?" In *The Internet Election: Perspectives on the Web in Campaign 2004*, eds. Andrew Paul Williams and John C. Tedesco. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Banwart, Mary Christine and Kelly L. Winfrey. 2013. "Running on the web: Online self-presentation strategies in mixed-gender races." *Social Science Computer Review* 31(5): 614-624.

Banwart, Mary Christine, Kelly Winfrey, and James M. Schnoebelen. 2009. "'It's 3 a.m.': Strategic communication in Hillary Clinton's 2008 presidential primary televised announcements." In *Cracked But Not Shattered: Hillary Rodham Clinton's Unsuccessful Campaign for the Presidency*, ed. Theodore F. Sheckels. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Barker-Plummer, Bernadette. 2002. "Producing public voice: Resource mobilization and media access in the National Organization for Women." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 79(1): 188-205.

Bartell, Ted and Sandra Bouxsein. 1973. "The Chelsea project: Candidate preference, issue preference, and turnout effects of student canvassing." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 37(2): 268-275.

Bass, J.O. Joby. 2009. "Posted: The campaign sign landscape, race, and political participation in Mississippi." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 26(2): 223-241.

Beail, Linda and Rhonda Kinney Longworth. 2013. *Framing Sarah Palin: Pit Bulls, Puritans, and Politics*. New York and London: Routledge.

Belt, Todd L., Marion R. Just, and Ann N. Crigler. 2012. "The 2008 media primary: Handicapping the candidates in newspapers, on TV, cable, and the Internet." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 17(3): 341-369.

Bengoechea, Mercedes. 2011. "How effective is 'femininity'? Media portrayals of the effectiveness of the first Spanish woman defence minister." *Gender and Language* 5(2): 405-429.

Bennion, Elizabeth A. 2005. "Caught in the ground wars: Mobilizing voters during a competitive congressional campaign." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 601 (The Science of Voter Mobilization): 123-141.

Bentivegna, Sara. 2008. "Italy: The evolution of e-campaigning 1996-2006." In *Making a Difference: A Comparative View of the Role of the Internet in Election Politics*, eds. Stephen Ward, Diana Owen, Richard Davis, and David Taras. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Bergan, Daniel E., Alan S. Gerber, Donald P. Green, and Costas Panagopoulos. 2005.

"Grassroots mobilization and voter turnout in 2004." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 69(5): 760-777.

Biles, John and Erin Tolley. 2004. "Getting seats at the table(s): The political participation of newcomers and minorities in Ottawa." *Our Diverse Cities* No. 1: 174-179.

Bimber, Bruce A. 2003. "Candidate approaches to election web sites." *Campaigning Online: The Internet in U.S. Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Black, Jerome H. 1984. "Revisiting the effects of canvassing on voting behaviour." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 17(2): 351-374.

Black, Jerome H. 2003. "Differences that matter: Minority women MPs, 1993-2000." In *Women and Electoral Politics in Canada*, eds. Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Blais, Andre, Elisabeth Gidengil, Patrick Fournier and Neil Nevitte. 2009. "Information, visibility and elections: Why electoral outcomes differ when voters are better informed." *European Journal of Political Research* 48(2): 256-280.

Bledsoe, Timothy and Mary Herring. 1990. "Victims of circumstances: Women in pursuit of political office." *American Political Science Review* 84(1): 213-223.

Blydenburg, John C. 1971. "A controlled experiment to measure the effects of personal contact campaigning." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 15(2): 365-381.

Boas, Taylor C. 2008. "Chile: Promoting the personal connection—The Internet and presidential election campaigns." In *Making a Difference: A Comparative View of the Role of the Internet in Election Politics*, eds. Stephen Ward, Diana Owen, Richard Davis, and David Taras. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Bochel, Catherine and Hugh Bochel. 2008. "Women 'leaders' in local government in the UK." *Parliamentary Affairs* 61(3): 426-441.

Bochel, J.M. and D.T. Denver. 1971. "Canvassing, turnout and party support: An experiment." *British Journal of Political Science* 1(3): 257-269.

Boles, Janet K. 2001. "Local elected women and policy-making: Movement delegates or feminist trustees?" In *The Impact of Women in Public Office*, ed. Susan J. Carroll. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Borkan, Bengu. 2010. "The mode effect in mixed-mode surveys: Mail and web surveys." *Social Science Computer Review* 28(3): 371-380.

Borquez, Julio and Donna Wasserman. 2006. "Patterns of press coverage of mayoral campaigns: Comparing Detroit and Los Angeles." *Social Science Journal* 43(3): 375-391.

Bowers-Brown, Julian. 2003. "A marriage made in cyberspace? Political marketing and UK party websites." In *Political Parties and the Internet: Net Gain?*, eds. Rachel Gibson, Paul Nixon, and Stephen Ward. New York: Routledge.

Brants, Kees, Claes de Vreese, Judith Moller, and Philip van Praag. 2010. "The real spiral of cynicism? Symbiosis and mistrust between politicians and journalists."

International Journal of Press/Politics 15(1): 25-40.

Bratton, Kathleen A. and Leonard P. Ray. 2002. "Descriptive representation, policy outcomes, and municipal day-care coverage in Norway." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(2): 428-437.

Brians, Craig Leonard, Lars Willnat, Jarol B. Manheim, and Richard C. Rich. 2011. *Empirical Political Analysis: Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods, Eighth Edition.* Boston: Longman.

Briggs, Jacqui. 2000. "'What's in it for women?' The motivations, expectations and experiences of female local councillors in Montreal, Canada and Hull, England." *Local Government Studies* 26(4): 71-84.

Brighenti, Andrea. 2007. "Visibility: A category for the social sciences." *Current Sociology* 55(3): 323-342.

Bristowe, Stephen L. 1980. "Women councillors — An explanation of the underrepresentation of women in local government." *Local Government Studies* 6(3): 73-90.

Brodie, Janine. 1985. *Women and Politics in Canada.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.

Brooks, Stephen. 2007. "Television advertising by political parties: Can democracy survive it?" In *Canadian Parties in Transition, Third Edition*, eds. Alain-G. Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Bryant, Jay. 1995. "Paid media advertising." In *Campaigns and Elections American Style*, eds. James A. Thurber and Candice J. Nelson. Boulder: Westview Press.

Bucy, Erik P. and Kimberly S. Gregson. 2001. "Media participation: A legitimizing mechanism of mass democracy." *New Media and Society* 3(3): 357-380.

Bullock III, Charles S. and Susan A. MacManus. 1991. "Municipal electoral structure and the election of councilwomen." *Journal of politics* 53(1): 75-89.

Burke, Cindy and Sharon R. Mazzarella. 2008. "'A slightly new shade of lipstick': Gendered mediation in Internet news stories." *Women's Studies in Communication* 31(3): 395-418.

Bystrom, Dianne G. 2005. "Media content and candidate viability: The case of Elizabeth Dole." In *Communicating Politics: Engaging the Public in Democratic Life*, eds. Mitchell S. McKinney, Lynda Lee Kaid, Dianne G. Bystrom, and Diana B. Carlin. New York: Peter Lang.

Bystrom, Dianne G., Mary Christine Banwart, Lynda Lee Kaid, and Terry A. Robertson. 2004. *Gender and Candidate Communication: Videostyle, Webstyle, Newsstyle.* New York: Routledge.

Campbell, David E. and Christina Wolbrecht. 2006. "See Jane run: Women politicians as role models for adolescents." *Journal of Politics* 68(2): 233-247.

Canadian Community Newspapers Association. 2013. *Connecting to Canadians with*

Community Newspapers. Accessed February 16, 2015. www.newspaperscanada. ca/sites/default/files/Connecting-to-Canadians-2013-Readership-Survey-Results-20131210.pdf.

Caprioli, Mary. 2004. "Feminist IR theory and quantitative methodology: A critical analysis." *International Studies Review* 6(2): 253-269.

Caprioli, Mary. 2009. "Making choices." *Politics and Gender* 5(3): 426-431.

Carbert, Louise. 2006. *Rural Women's Leadership in Atlantic Canada: First-Hand Perspectives on Local Public Life and Participation in Electoral Politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Carlin, Diana B. and Kelly L. Winfrey. 2009. "Have you come a long way, baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and sexism in 2008 campaign coverage." *Communication Studies* 60(4): 326-343.

Carlson, Tom. 2001. "Gender and political advertising across cultures: A comparison of male and female political advertising in Finland and the US." *European Journal of Communication* 16(2): 131-154.

Carlson, Tom and Goran Djupsund. 2001. "Old wine in new bottles?: The 1999 Finnish election campaign on the Internet." *The Harvard International Journal of Press/ Politics* 6(1): 68-87.

Carlson, Tom, Goran Djupsund, and Kim Strandberg. 2013. "Taking risks in social media campaigning: The early adoption of blogging by candidates." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 37(1): 21-40.

Carlson, Tom and Kim Strandberg. 2007. "Finland: The European Parliament election in a candidate-centered electoral system." In *The Internet and National Elections: A Comparative Study of Web Campaigning*, eds. Randolph Kluver, Nicholas W. Jankowski, Kirsten A. Foot, and Steven M. Schneider. New York: Routledge.

Carroll, Susan J. and Kira Sanbonmatsu. 2013. "Entering the mayor's office: Women's decisions to run for municipal positions." In *Women and Executive Office: Pathways and Performance*, ed. Melody Rose. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Carroll, Susan J. and Ronnee Schreiber. 1997. "Media coverage of women in the 103rd Congress." In *Women, Media, and Politics*, ed. Pippa Norris. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cho, Jaeho. 2008. "Political ads and citizen communication." *Communication Research* 35(4): 423-451.

Clancy, Peter. 2001. "The Northwest Territories: Old and new class politics on the northern frontier." In *The Provincial State in Canada: Politics in the Provinces and Territories*, eds. Keith Brownsey and Michael Howlett. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Cohen, Jeffrey H. 2000. "Problems in the field: Participant observation and the assumption of neutrality." *Field Methods* 12(4): 316-333.

Cook, Colleen, Fred Heath, and Russel L. Thompson. 2000. "A meta-analysis of response rates in web- or Internet-based surveys." *Educational and Psychological Measurement* 60(6): 821-836.

Coulson, David C., Daniel Riffe, Stephen Lacy, and Charles R. St. Cyr. 2001. "Erosion of television coverage of city hall? Perceptions of TV reporters on the beat." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 78(1): 81-92.

Crawford, Jarret T., Lee Jussim, Stephanie Madon, Thomas R. Cain, and Sean T. Stevens. 2011. "The use of stereotypes and individuating information in political person perception." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 37(4): 529- 542.

Criado, J. Ignacio, Guadalupe Martinez-Fuentes, and Aitor Silvan. 2012. "Social media for political campaigning. The use of Twitter by Spanish mayors in 2011 local elections." In *Web 2.0 Technologies and Democratic Governance: Political, Policy and Management Implications*, eds. Christopher G. Reddick and Stephen K. Aikins. New York: Springer.

Cruickshank, John. 1998. "Redefining the role of daily newspapers in the community." In *Journalism in the New Millennium: Essays in Celebration of the Sing Tao School of Journalism*, ed. Donna Logan. Vancouver: Sing Tao School of Journalism, University of British Columbia.

Cunha, Carlos, Irene Martin, James Newell, and Luis Ramior. 2003. "Southern European parties and party systems, and the new ICTs." In *Political Parties and the Internet: Net Gain?*, eds. Rachel Gibson, Paul Nixon, and Stephen Ward. New York and London: Routledge.

Cunningham, Stuart. 2008. "Political and media leadership in the age of YouTube." In *Public Leadership: Perspectives and Practices*, eds. Paul 't Hart and John Uhr. Canberra: The Australian National University E Press.

Dahlgren, Peter. 2009. *Media and Political Engagement: Citizens, Communication, and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Daignault, Pénélope, Stuart Soroka, and Thierry Giasson. 2013. "The perception of political advertising during an election campaign: A measure of cognitive and emotional effects." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 38(2): 167-186.

Davis, Richard, Diana Owen, David Taras, and Stephen Ward. 2008. "Conclusion." In *Making a Difference: A Comparative View of the Role of the Internet in Election Politics*, eds. Stephen Ward, Diana Owen, Richard Davis, and David Taras. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Delanty, Gerard. 1997. "Positivism, science and the politics of knowledge." *Social Science: Beyond Constructivism and Realism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Devitt, James. 2002. "Framing gender on the campaign trail: Female gubernatorial candidates and the press." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 79(2): 445-463.

Dolan, Kathleen. 2005. "Do women candidates play to gender stereotypes? Do men candidates play to win? Candidate sex and issue priorities on campaign

websites." *Political Research Quarterly* 58(1): 31-44.

Dolan, Kathleen. 2014. *When Does Gender Matter? Women Candidates and Gender Stereotypes in American Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Domingo-Tapales, Proserpina. 1998. "Women local chief executives in the Philippines." *Teaching Public Administration* 18(2): 1-17.

Doolittle, Robyn. 2014. *Crazy Town: The Rob Ford Story*. Toronto: Viking.

Dorofeev, Sergey and Peter Grant. 2006. *Statistics for Real-Life Sample Surveys: Non-Simple-Random Samples and Weighted Data.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dumitrescu, Delia. 2010. "Know me, love me, fear me: The anatomy of candidate poster designs in the 2007 French legislative elections." *Political Communication* 27(1): 20-43.

Dumitrescu, Delia. 2012. "The importance of being present: Election posters as signals of electoral strength, evidence from France and Belgium." *Party Politics* 18(6): 941-960.

Dunn, Anita. 1995. "The best campaign wins: Local press coverage of nonpresidential races." In *Campaigns and Elections American Style*, eds. James A. Thurber and Candice J. Nelson. Boulder: Westview Press.

Eagly, Alice H. 2007. "Female leadership advantage and disadvantage: Resolving the contradictions." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 31(1): 1-12.

Eagly, Alice H. and Linda L. Carli. 2003. "Finding gender advantage and disadvantage: Systematic research integration is the solution." *The Leadership Quarterly* 14(6): 851-859.

Eagly, Alice H. and Linda L. Carli. 2007. "Women and the labyrinth of leadership." *Harvard Business Review* (September): 62-71.

Elmer, Greg. 2013. "Live research: Twittering an election debate." *New Media and Society* 15(1): 18-30.

Enloe, Cynthia. 2004. "Margins, silences, and bottom rungs: How to overcome the underestimation of power in the study of international relations." *The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Equal Voice. 2014. Fundamental Facts: Elected Women in Canada By The Numbers. Accesed August 5, 2014. http://www.equalvoice.ca/assets/file/Fundamental%20 Facts%20-%20Elected%20Women%20in%20Canada%20by%20the%20 Numbers(3).pdf

Everitt, Joanna. 2003. "Media in the Maritimes: Do female candidates face a bias?" *Atlantis* 27(2): 90-98.

Everitt, Joanna. 2006. "Gender-role orientations and the conversion of social capital into political engagement." In *Gender and Social Capital*, eds. Brenda O'Neill and

Elisabeth Gidengil. New York: Routledge.

Falk, Erika. 2008. *Women for President: Media Bias in Eight Campaigns*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press.

Farrell, Jim. 1998. "Frontman for Stickmen jumping into mayoralty race." *Edmonton Journal*: 5 August 1998: B3.

Fisher, Justin, David Cutts, and Edward Fieldhouse. 2011. "Constituency campaigning in 2010." In *Political Communication in Britain: The Leader Debates, the Campaign and the Media in the 2010 General Election*, eds. Dominic Wring, Roger Mortimore, and Simon Atkinson. Basinstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Flanagan, Thomas. 2012. "Political communication and the 'permanent campaign.'" In *How Canadians Communicate IV: Media and Politics*, eds. David Taras and Christopher Waddell. Edmonton: Athabasca University Press.

Fletcher, Frederick J. with Robert J. Drummond. 1988. "The mass media and the selection of national party leaders: Some explorations." In *Party Democracy in Canada: The Politics of National Party Conventions*, ed. George Perlin. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc.

Fowler Jr., Floyd J. 2002. *Survey Research Methods, Third Edition*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Francoli, Mary, Josh Greenberg, and Christopher Waddell. 2011. "The campaign in the digital media." In *The Canadian Federal Election of 2011*, eds. Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan. Toronto: Dundurn Group.

Franz, Michael M. and Travis N. Ridout. 2010. "Political advertising and persuasion in the 2004 and 2008 presidential elections." *American Politics Research* 38(2): 303-329.

Freedman, Eric, Frederick Fico and Brad Love. 2007. "Male and female sources in newspaper coverage of male and female candidates in US Senate races in 2004." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 29(1): 57-76.

Fridkin, Kim L. and Gina Serignese Woodall. 2005. "Different portraits, different leaders? Gender differences in U.S. Senators' presentation of self." In *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future*, eds. Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox. New York: Oxford University Press.

Garber, Judith A. 1995. "Defining feminist community: Place, choice, and the urban politics of difference." In *Gender in Urban Research,* eds. Judith A. Garber and Robyne S. Turner. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Garcia-Blanco, Inaki and Karin Wahl-Jorgensen. 2012. "The discursive construction of women politicians in the European press." *Feminist Media Studies* 12(3): 422-441.

Gasser, Urs and Jan Gerlach. 2012. "E-campaigns in old Europe: Observations from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland." In *iPolitics: Citizens, Elections, and Governing in the New Media Era*, eds. Richard L. Fox and Jennifer M. Ramos. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Geiger, John. 1995. "Stickmen offer only insults." *Edmonton Journal.* 11 October 1995: A14.

Gerber, Alan S. and Donald P. Green. 1999. "Does canvassing increase voter turnout? A field experiment." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 96(19): 10939-10942.

Gerber, Alan S. and Donald P. Green. 2000. "The effects of canvassing, telephone calls, and direct mail on voter turnout: A field experiment." *American Political Science Review* 94(3): 653-663.

Gibson, Rachel and Ian McAllister. 2008. "Australia: Potential unfulfilled? The 2004 election online." In *Making a Difference: A Comparative View of the Role of the Internet in Election Politics*, eds. Stephen Ward, Diana Owen, Richard Davis, and David Taras. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Gibson, Rachel K and Ian McAllister. 2011. "Do online election campaigns win votes? The 2007 Australian "YouTube" election." *Political Communication* 28(2): 227-244.

Gibson, Rachel, Paul Nixon, and Stephen Ward, eds. 2003. *Political Parties and the Internet: Net Gain?* New York: Routledge.

Gibson, Rachel and Stephen Ward. 2009. "Parties in the digital age—a review article." *Representation* 45(1): 87-100.

Gibson, Rachel, Stephen Ward, and Wainer Lusoli. 2002. "The Internet and political campaigning: The new medium comes of age?" *Representation* 39(3): 166-180.

Gidengil, Elisabeth, Andre Blais, Neil Nevitte, and Richard Nadeau. 2004. *Citizens*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Gidengil, Elisabeth and Joanna Everitt. 1999. "Metaphors and misrepresentation: Gendered mediation in news coverage of the 1993 Canadian leaders' debates." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 4(1): 48-65.

Gidengil, Elisabeth and Brenda O'Neill. 2006. "Removing rose colored glasses: Examining theories of social capital through a gendered lens." In *Gender and Social Capital*, eds. Brenda O'Neill and Elisabeth Gidengil. New York: Routledge.

Gidengil, Elisabeth and Richard Vengroff. 1997. "Representational gains of Canadian women or token growth? The case of Quebec's municipal politics." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 30(3): 513-537.

Gillespie, Andra. 2010. "Canvasser affect and voter response: Results from national focus groups." *American Politics Research* 38(4): 718-758.

Gingras, François-Pierre. 1995. "Daily male delivery: Women and politics in the daily newspapers." In *Gender and Politics in Contemporary Canada*, ed. François-Pierre Gingras. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Green, Donald P., Alan S. Gerber, and David W. Nickerson. 2003. "Getting out the vote in local elections: Results from six door-to-door canvassing experiments." *Journal of Politics* 65(4): 1083-1096.

Page 249

Greenblatt, Alan. 1999. "A tale of two underdogs." *Campaigns & Elections* 20(9): 27-32.

Goodyear-Grant, Elisabeth. 2009. "Crafting a public image: Women MPs and the dynamics of media coverage." In *Opening Doors Wider: Women's Political Engagement in Canada*, ed. Sylvia Bashevkin. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth. 2010. "Who votes for women candidates and why? Evidence from recent Canadian elections." In *Voting Behaviour in Canada*, eds. Cameron D. Anderson and Laura B. Stephenson. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth. 2013. *Gendered News: Media Coverage and Electoral Politics in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Guan, Mei and Donald P. Green. 2006. "Noncoercive mobilization in state-controlled elections: An experimental study in Beijing." *Comparative Political Studies* 39(10): 1175-1193.

Gueorguieva, Vassia. 2008. "Voters, MySpace, and YouTube: The impact of alternative communication channels on the 2006 election cycle and beyond." *Social Science Computer Review* 26(3): 288-300.

Haddock, Geoffrey and Mark P. Zanna. 1997. "Impact of negative advertising on evaluations of political candidates: The 1993 Canadian federal election." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 19(2): 205-223.

Hagar, Douglas. 2014. "Campaigning online: Social media in the 2010 Niagara municipal elections." *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 23(1): 74-98.

Halevi, Sharon. 2012. "Damned if you do, damned if you don't?" *Feminist Media Studies* 12(2): 195-213.

Harnois, Catherine E. 2013. *Feminist Measures in Survey Research*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Harper, Dustin, Jaime Loke, and Ingrid Bachmann. 2010. "First impressions of Sarah Palin: Pit bulls, politics, gender performance, and a discursive media (re) contextualization." *Communication, Culture and Critique* 3: 291-309.

Hayes, Bernadette C. and Toni Makkai. 1996. "Politics and the mass media: The differential impact of gender." *Women and Politics* 16(4): 45-74.

Heith, Diane J. 2001. "Footwear, lipstick, and an Orthodox sabbath: Media coverage of nontraditional candidates." *White House Studies* 1(3): 335-347.

Heldman, Caroline, Susan J. Carroll, and Stephanie Olson. 2005. "'She brought only a skirt': Print media coverage of Elizabeth Dole's bid for the Republican presidential nomination." *Political Communication* 22(3): 315-335.

Hendricks, John Allen and Robert E. Denton, Jr., eds. 2010. *Communicator-in-Chief: How Barack Obama Used New Media Technology to Win the White House*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Herrick, Rebekah. 1996. "Is there a gender gap in the value of campaign resources?" *American Politics Research* 24(1): 68-80.

Hinojosa, Magda. 2010. "'She's not my type of blond': Media coverage of Irene Saez's presidential bid." In *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling: A Global Comparison of Women's Campaigns for Executive Office,* ed. Rainbow Murray. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Praeger.

Hitchon, Jacqueline C. and Chingching Chang. 1995. "Effects of gender schematic processing on the reception of political commercials for men and women candidates." *Communication Research* 22(4): 430-458.

Hooghe, Marc and Sara Vissers. 2008. "Belgium: Websites as party campaign tools—comparing the 2000 and 2006 local election campaigns." In *Making a Difference: A Comparative View of the Role of the Internet in Election Politics*, eds. Stephen Ward, Diana Owen, Richard Davis, and David Taras. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Hoonakker, Peter and Pascale Carayon. 2009. "Questionnaire survey nonresponse: A comparison of postal mail and Internet surveys." *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction* 25(5): 348-373.

Hopmann, David Nicolas, Rens Vliegenthart, Claes de Vreese, and Erik Albaek. 2010. "Effects of election news coverage: How visibility and tone influence party choice." *Political Communication* 27(4): 389-405.

Howard, Philip N. 2005. "Deep democracy, thin citizenship: The impact of digital media in political campaign strategy." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 597: 153-170.

Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2014. Women in parliaments: World classification. Accessed August 2, 2014. http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm.

Iyengar, Shanto and Adam Simon. 1993. "News coverage of the Gulf crisis and public opinion: A study of agenda-setting, priming, and framing." *Communication Research* 20(3): 365-383.

Jackson, Nigel. 2004. "Email and political campaigning: The experience of MPs in Westminster." *Journal of Systemics, Cybernetics and Informatics* 2(2): 66-71.

Jakubowicz, Karol. 1996. "Television and elections in post-1989 Poland: How powerful is the medium?" In *Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences*, eds. David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini. Westport: Praeger.

Jebril, Nael, Erik Albaek, and Claes H de Vreese. 2013. "Infotainment, cynicism and democracy: The effects of privatization vs personalization in the news." *European Journal of Communication* 28(2): 105-121.

Jeydel, Alana S. and Edward L. Lascher, Jr. 2011. "Incumbent gender and electoral safety in local races." *California Politics and Policy* 13(1): 1-16.

Jenkins, Shannon. 2007. "A woman's work is never done? Fund-raising perception and effort among female state legislative candidates." *Political Research Quarterly* 60(2): 230-239.

Johnston, Anne and Anne Barton White. 1994. "Communication styles and female candidates: A study of the political advertising during the 1986 Senate elections." *Journalism Quarterly* 71(2): 321-329.

Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1992. "Does being male help? An investigation of the effects of candidate gender and campaign coverage on evaluations of U.S. Senate candidates." *Journal of Politics* 54(2): 497-517.

Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1993. "Gender differences in campaign messages: The political advertisements of men and women candidates for U.S. Senate." *Political Research Quarterly* 46(3): 481- 502.

Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1994a. "The distorted mirror: Press coverage of women candidates for statewide office." *Journal of Politics* 56(1): 154-173.

Kahn, Kim Fridkin. 1994b. "Does gender make a difference? An experimental examination of sex stereotypes and press patterns in statewide campaigns." *American Journal of Political Science* 38(1): 162-195.

Kahn, Kim Fridkin and Edie N. Goldenberg. 1991. "Women candidates in the news: An examination of gender differences in U.S. senate campaign coverage." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 55(2): 180-199.

Kahn, Kim Fridkin and Patrick J. Kenney. 1997. "A model of candidate evaluations in Senate elections: The impact of campaign intensity." *Journal of Politics* 59(4): 1173-1205.

Kaid, Lynda Lee, Juliana Fernandes, and David Painter. 2011. "Effects of political advertising in the 2008 presidential campaign." *American Behavioral Scientist* 55(4): 437-456.

Kaid, Lynda Lee and Monica Postelnicu. 2005. "Political advertising in the 2004 election: Comparison of traditional television and Internet messages." *American Behavioral Scientist* 49(2): 265-278.

Kalnes, Oyvind. 2009. "Norwegian parties and web 2.0." *Journal of Information Technology and Politics* 6(3-4): 251-266.

Kaplowitz, Michael D., Timothy D. Hadlock, and Ralph Levine. 2004. "A comparison of web and mail survey response rates." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 68(1): 94-101.

Kam, Cindy D. and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2013. "Name recognition and candidate support." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 971-986.

Karlsen, Rune. 2009. "Campaign communication and the Internet: Strategy in the 2005 Norwegian election campaign." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 19(2): 183-202.

Kenny, Christopher and Michael McBurnett. 1997. "Up close and personal: Campaign contact and candidate spending in U.S. House elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 50(1): 75-96.

Keohane, Robert O. 1998. "Beyond dichotomy: Conversations between international relations and feminist theory." *International Studies Quarterly* 42(1): 193-197.

Kittilson, Miki Caul and Kim Fridkin. 2008. "Gender, candidate portrayals and election Kahn, Kim Fridkin and Patrick J. Kenney. 1997. "A model of candidate evaluations in Senate elections: The impact of campaign intensity." *Journal of Politics* 59(4): 1173-1205.

Klite, Paul, Robert A. Bardwell, and Jason Salzman. 1997. "Local TV news: Getting away with murder." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 2(2): 102-112.

Kluver, Randolph. 2008. "Singapore: Elections and the Internet—online activism and offline quiescence." In *Making a Difference: A Comparative View of the Role of the Internet in Election Politics*, eds. Stephen Ward, Diana Owen, Richard Davis, and David Taras. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Koopmans, Ruud. 2004. "Movements and media: Selection processes and evolutionary dynamics in the public sphere." *Theory and Society* 33(3/4): 367-391.

Kramer, Gerald H. 1970-1971. "The effects of precinct-level canvassing on voter behavior." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 34(4): 560-572.

Krebs, Timothy B. 1998. "The determinants of candidates' vote share and the advantages of incumbency in city council elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 42(3): 921-935.

Krippendorff, Klaus. 2004. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Kroth, Philip J., Laurie McPherson, Robert Leverence, Wilson Pace, Elvan Daniels, Robert L. Rhyne, and Robert L. Williams. 2009. "Combining web-based and mail surveys improves response rates: A PBRN study from PRIME Net." *Annals of Family Medicine* 7(3).

Krueger, Joachim I., Julie F. Hasman, Melissa Acevedo, and Paola Villano. 2003. "Perceptions of trait typicality in gender stereotypes: Examining the role of attribution and categorization processes." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 29(1): 108-116.

Kuhn, Raymond. 2002. "The first Blair government and political journalism." In *Political Journalism: New Challenges, New Practices*, eds. Raymond Kuhn and Erik Neveu. London: Routledge.

Kushner, Joseph, David Siegel, and Hanna Stanwick. 1997. "Ontario municipal elections: Voting trends and determinants of electoral success in a Canadian province." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 30(3): 539-553.

Kushner, Joseph, David Siegel, and Hanna Stanwick. 2001. "Canadian mayors: A profile and determinants of electoral success." *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 10(1): 5-22.

Kvale, Steinar. 2007. *Doing Interviews*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Lacy, Stephen, Steven S. Wildman, Frederick Fico, Daniel Bergan, Thomas Baldwin, and Paul Zube. 2013. "How radio news uses sources to cover local government news and factors affecting source use." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 90(3): 457-477.

Lambe, Paul and Lawrence Ware. 2004. *Gender Imbalance in Representative Democracy: Women and Local Government in London and Birmingham 1918-2003*. Belfast: Centre for Advancement of Women in Politics, School of Politics and International Studies, Queens University.

Lancendorfer, Karen M. and Byoungkwan Lee. 2010. "Who influences whom? The agenda-building relationship between political candidates and the media in the 2002 Michigan governor's race." *Journal of Political Marketing* 9(3): 186-206.

Langer, Ana Inés. 2007. "A historical exploration of the personalisation of politics in the print media: The British prime ministers (1945-1999)." *Parliamentary Affairs* 60(3): 371-387.

Langer, Ana Inés. 2010. "The politicization of private persona: Exceptional leaders or the new rule? The case of the United Kingdom and the Blair effect." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 15(1): 60-76.

Lariscy, Ruthann Weaver, Spencer F. Tinkham, Heidi Hatfield Edwards, and Karyn Ogata Jones. 2004. "The "ground war" of political campaigns: Nonpaid activities in U.S. state legislative races." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 81(3): 477-497.

Larson, Stephanie Greco. 2001. "American women and politics in the media: A review essay." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34(2): 227-230.

Lawless, Jennifer L. 2012. "Twitter and Facebook: New ways for members of Congress to send the same old messages?" In *iPolitics: Citizens, Elections, and Governing in the New Media Era*, eds. Richard L. Fox and Jennifer M. Ramos. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lawless, Jennifer L. and Richard L. Fox. 2010. *It Still Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lawrence, Regina G. 2000. "Game-framing the issues: Tracking the strategy frame in public policy news." *Political Communication* 17(2): 93-114.

Lawrence, Regina G. and Melody Rose. 2010. *Hillary Clinton's Race for the White House: Gender Politics and the Media on the Campaign Trail*. Boulder: Lynne Reinner Publishers.

Lee, Francis L.F. 2007. "Gender differences in campaign materials and politicians' professional orientation: The case of a Hong Kong election." *Sex Roles* 57(11/12) 865-878.

Lester, Libby and Brett Hutchins. 2012. "The power of the unseen: Environmental conflict, the media, and invisibility." *Media, Culture and Society* 34(7): 847-863.

Lev-On, Azi. 2011. "Campaigning online: Use of the Internet by parties, candidates and voters in national and local election campaigns in Israel." *Policy and Internet* 3(1): 1-28.

Lev-On, Azi. 2012. "YouTube usage in low-visibility political campaigns." *Journal of Information Technology and Politics* 9(2): 205-216.

Lev-On, Azi. 2013. "Another flew over the digital divide: Internet usage in the Arab-Palestinian sector in Israel during municipal election campaigns, 2008." *Israel Affairs* 19(1): 154-169.

Lewis, Paul A. 2002. "Agency, structure and causality in political science: A comment on Sibeon." *Politics* 22(1): 17-23.

Lightbody, James. 1971. "The rise of party politics in Canadian local elections." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 6(1): 39-44.

Lightbody, James. 1999. "Finding the trolls under your bridge: The new case for party politics in Canadian cities." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34(1): 172-183.

Lightbody, James. 2006. *City Politics, Canada*. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press.

Lilleker, Darren G., Mark Pack, and Nigel Jackson. 2010. "Political parties and Web 2.0: The Liberal Democrat perspective." *Politics* 30(2): 105-112.

Local Government Elections Task Force. 2010. *Campaign Financing in B.C. Local Elections*. Accessed March 24, 2014. www.localelectionstaskforce.gov.bc.ca/ library/Campaign_Finance_Overview.pdf.

Loewen, Peter John and Daniel Rubenson. 2011. "For want of a nail: Negative persuasion in a party leadership race." *Party Politics* 17(1): 45-65.

Lorber, Judith, ed. 2010. *Gender Inequality: Feminist Theories and Politic*s. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lovenduski, Joni. 2005. "Introduction: State feminism and the political representation of women." In *State Feminism and Political Representation*, ed. Joni Lovenduski. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lowndes, Vivien. 2006. "It's not what you've got, but what you do with it: Women, social capital, and political participation." In *Gender and Social Capital*, eds. Brenda O'Neill and Elisabeth Gidengil. New York: Routledge.

Mackay, Jenn Burleson. 2010. "Gadgets, gismos, and the Web 2.0 election." In *Communicator-in-Chief: How Barack Obama Used New Media Technology to Win the White House*, eds. John Allen Hendricks and Robert E. Denton, Jr. Lanham: Lexington Books.

MacManus, Susan A. 1991. "It's never too late to run — and win! The graying of women in local politics." *National Civic Review* 80(3): 294-311.

MacManus, Susan A. 1999. "Mixed election systems: The newest reform structure." In *Local Government Election Practices: A Handbook for Public Officials and Citizens*, ed. Roger Kemp. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc.

MacManus, Susan A. and Charles S. Bullock III. 1988. "Minorities and women do win at large!" *National Civic Review* 77(3): 231-244.

Madriz, Esther. 2003. "Focus groups in feminist research." In *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Magnusson, Warren. 1983. "Introduction: The development of Canadian urban government." In *City Politics in Canada*, eds. Warren Magnusson and Andrew Sancton. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Maillé, Chantal. 1997. "Gender concerns in city life." In *The Politics of the City: A Canadian Perspective*, ed. Timothy L. Thomas. Toronto: ITP Nelson.

Makse, Todd and Anand E. Sokhey. 2012. "Yard sign displays and the enthusiasm gap in the 2008 and 2010 elections." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 45(4): 694-699.

Makse, Todd and Anand E. Sokhey. 2014. "The displaying of yard signs as a form of political participation." *Political Behavior* 36(1): 189-213.

Maliniak, Daniel, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson, and Michael J. Tierney. 2008. "Women in international relations." Politics and Gender 4(1): 122-144.

Mandziuk, Roseann M. 2008. "Dressing down Hillary." *Communication and Critical/ Cultural Studies* 5(3): 312-316.

Mancini, Paolo and David L. Swanson. 1996. "Politics, media, and modern democracy: Introduction." In *Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences*, eds. David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini. Westport: Praeger.

Mansbridge, Jane. 2005. "Quota problems: Combating the dangers of essentialism." *Politics and Gender* 1(4): 622-238.

Marland, Alex, Thierry Giasson, and Jennifer Lees-Marshment, eds. 2012. *Political Marketing in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Marschall, Melissa, Paru Shah, and Anirudh Ruhil. 2011. "Editors' introduction: A looking glass into the future." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44(1): 97-100.

Masson, Jack with Edward C. LeSage Jr. 1994. *Alberta's Local Governments: Politics and Democracy*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

Matson, Marsha and Terri Susan Fine. 2006. "Gender, ethnicity, and ballot information: Ballot cues in low-information elections." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 6(1): 49-72.

McAllister, Mary Louise. 2004. *Governing Ourselves? The Politics of Canadian Communities*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

McCleneghan, J. Sean and Ruth Ann Ragland. 2002. "Municipal elections and community media." *Social Science Journal* 39(2): 203-219.

McDermott, Monika L. 1998. "Race and gender cues in low-information elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 51(4): 895-918.

McNabb, David E. 2010. *Research Methods in Political Science: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches, 2nd edition*. Armonk and London: M.E. Sharpe.

McNair, Brian. 2002. "Journalism and democracy in contemporary Britain." In *Political

Journalism: New Challenges, New Practices, eds. Raymond Kuhn and Erik Neveu. London: Routledge.

Melich, Tanya. 2005. "From the trenches: Attacking first-time women candidates for Congress." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 27(1/2): 85-107.

Mendelsohn, Matthew. 1993. "Television's frames in the 1988 Canadian election." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 18(2): 149-171.

Merritt, Sharyne. 1977. "Winners and losers: Sex differences in municipal elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 21(4): 731-743.

Michelson, Melissa R. 2003. "Getting out the Latino vote: How door-to-door canvassing influences voter turnout in rural central California." *Political Behavior* 25(3): 247-263.

Michelson, Melissa R. 2005. "Meeting the challenge of Latino voter mobilization." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 601: 85-101.

Miljan, Lydia. 2006. "Distracted voters: Media coverage of the 2000 Canadian federal election campaign." In *The Elections of 2000: Politics, Culture, and Economics in North America*, eds. Mary K. Kirtz, Mark J. Kassoff, Rick Farmer, and John C. Green. Akron: University of Akron Press.

Miller, Morgan M. and Don A. Dillman. 2011. "Improving response to web and mixed-mode surveys." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 75(2): 249-269.

Mills, Kay. 1997. "What difference do women journalists make?" In *Women, Media, and Politics*, ed. Pippa Norris. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mirandilla, Kate A. 2007. "Philippines: Poli-clicking as politicking: Online campaigning and civic action in the 2004 national election." In *The Internet and National Elections: A Comparative Study of Web Campaigning*, eds. Randolph Kluver, Nicholas W. Jankowski, Kirsten A. Foot, and Steven M. Schneider. New York: Routledge.

Moldovan, Raluca. 2009. "A tale of two Clintons: Media bias in the coverage of Hillary Clinton's 2008 presidential campaign." *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai – Studia Europaea* 2: 41-60.

Murray, Rainbow, ed. 2010. *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling: A Global Comparison of Women's Campaigns for Executive Office.* Santa Barbara, Calif.: Praeger.

Neveu, Erik. 2002. "Four generations of political journalism." In *Political Journalism: New Challenges, New Practices*, eds. Raymond Kuhn and Erik Neveu. London: Routledge.

Newman, Jacquetta and Linda A. White. 2006. *Women, Politics, and Public Policy: The Political Struggles of Canadian Women*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Newspaper Audience Databank, Inc. 2013. *2013 Study*. Accessed February 17, 2015. www.nadbank.com/en/system/files/2013ReleaseSlides.pdf

Nickerson, David W. 2009. "The impact of e-mail campaigns on voter mobilization:

Evidence from a field experiment." In *Politicking Online: The Transformation of Election Campaign Communications*, ed. Costas Panagopoulos. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Nielsen, Rasmus Kleis. 2012. *Ground Wars: Personalized Communication in Political Campaigns*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Niven, David. 2004. "The mobilization solution? Face-to-face contact and voter turnout in a municipal election." *Journal of Politics* 66(3): 868-884.

Niven, David and Jeremy Zilber. 2001. "Do women and men in Congress cultivate different images? Evidence from Congressional web sites." *Political Communication* 18(4): 395-405.

Norris, Pippa. 2000. *The Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2006. "Gendering social capital: Bowling in women's leagues?" In *Gender and Social Capital*, eds. Brenda O'Neill and Elisabeth Gidengil. New York: Routledge.

Oakley, Ann. 1998. "Gender, methodology and people's ways of knowing: Some problems with feminism and the paradigm debate in social science." *Sociology* 32(4): 707-731.

Oliver, J. Eric. 2012. *Local Elections and the Politics of Small-Scale Democracy*. Princeton: Oxford University Press.

O'Neill, Brenda. 2006. "Canadian women's religious volunteerism: Compassion, connections, and comparisons." In *Gender and Social Capital*, eds. Brenda O'Neill and Elisabeth Gidengil. New York: Routledge.

O'Neill, Deirdre and Catherine O'Connor. 2008. "The passive journalist." *Journalism Practice* 2(3): 487-500.

Orr, Shannon K. 2005. "New technology and research: An analysis of Internet survey methodology in political science." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 38(2): 263-267.

Overby, L. Marvin and Jay Barth. 2006. "Radio advertising in American political campaigns: The persistence, importance, and effects of narrowcasting." *American Politics Research* 34(4): 451-478.

Panagopoulos, Costas. 2004. "Boy talk/girl talk: Gender differences in campaign communication strategies." *Women and Politics* 26(2/3): 131-155.

Panagopoulos, Costas and Daniel Bergan. 2009. "Clicking for cash: Campaigns, donors, and the emergence of online fund-raising." In *Politicking Online: The Transformation of Election Campaign Communications*, ed. Costas Panagopoulos. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Paré, Daniel J. and Flavia Berger. 2008. "Political marketing Canadian style? The Conservative Party and the 2006 federal election." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 33(1): 39-63.

Parisi, Laura. 2009. "The numbers do(n't) always add up: Dilemmas in using quantitative research methods in feminist IR scholarship." *Politics and Gender* 5(3): 410-419.

Park, Sanghee. 2014. "The politics of redistribution in local governments: The effect of gender representation on welfare spending in California counties." *Journal of Public Policy* 34(2): 269-301.

Parry, Janine, Jay Barth, Martha Kropf, and E. Terrence Jones. 2008. "Mobilizing the seldom voter: Campaign contact and effects in high-profile elections." *Political Behavior* 30(1): 97-113.

Peek, Lori and Alice Fothergill. 2009. "Using focus groups: Lessons from studying daycare centers, 9/11, and Hurricane Katrina." *Qualitative Research* 9(1): 31-59.

Perloff, Richard M. 1998. "Introduction to political communication." *Political Communication: Politics, Press, and Public in America*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Peters, Evelyn. 2000. ""The two major living realities:" Urban services needs of First Nations women in Canadian cities." In *Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life*, eds. Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Pew Research Center. 2012. *Social Media and Political Engagement*. Washington: Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project.

Pew Research Center. 2013. *Civic Engagement in the Digital Age*. Washington: Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project.

Philips, Susan. 1996. "Discourse, identity, and voice: Feminist contributions to policy studies." In *Policy Studies in Canada: The State of the Art*, eds. Laurent Dobuzinskis, Michael Howlett, and David Laycock. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Piscopo, Jennifer M. 2010. "Primera dama, prima donna? Media constructions of Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner in Argentina." In *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling: A Global Comparison of Women's Campaigns for Executive Office,* ed. Rainbow Murray. Santa Barbara: Praeger.

Pole, Antoinette. 2010. *Blogging the Political: Politics and Participation in a Networked Society*. New York: Routledge.

Porter, Stephen R. and Michael E. Whitcomb. 2007. "Mixed-mode contacts in web surveys: Paper is not necessarily better." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71(4): 635-648.

Postelnicu, Monica, Justin D. Martin, and Kristen D. Landreville. 2006. "The role of campaign web sites in promoting candidates and attracting campaign resources." In *The Internet Election: Perspectives on the Web in Campaign 2004*, eds. Andrew Paul Williams and John C. Tedesco. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Prentice, Deborah A. and Erica Carranza. 2002. "What women and men should be,

shouldn't be, are allowed to be, and don't have to be: The contents of prescriptive gender stereotypes." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 26(4): 269-281.

Preston, Valerie and Sara McLafferty. 1993. "Gender differences in commuting at suburban and central locations." *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 16(2): 237-259.

Price, David E. and Michael Lupfer. 1973. "Volunteers for Gore: The impact of a precinct-level canvass in three Tennessee cities." *Journal of Politics* 35(2): 1973: 410-438.

Raynauld, Vincent and Josh Greenberg. 2014. "Tweet, click, vote: Twitter and the 2010 Ottawa municipal election." *Journal of Information Technology and Politics* 11(4): 412-434.

Reiser, Kim. 2009. "Crafting a feminine presidency: Elizabeth Dole's 1999 presidential campaign." In *Gender and Political Communication in America: Rhetoric, Representation, and Display*, ed. Janis L. Edwards. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Rhodes, Jane. 2001. "Journalism in the New Millennium: What's a Feminist to Do?" *Feminist Media Studies* 1(1): 49-53.

Richards, Ian. 2013. "Beyond city limits: Regional journalism and social capital." *Journalism* 14(5): 627-642.

Richardson, John E. 2007. *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

Richardson, John E. 2008. ""Our England": Discourses of "race" and class in party election leaflets." *Social Semiotics* 18(3): 321-335.

Ridout, Travis N., Michael Franz, Kenneth M. Goldstein, and William J. Feltus. 2012. "Separation by television program: Understanding the targeting of political advertising in presidential elections." *Political Communication* 29(1): 1-23.

Ritter, Gretchen. 2007. "Gender and politics over time." *Politics and Gender* 3(3): 386-397.

Ritter, Lois A. and Valerie M. Sue. 2007. *Using Online Surveys in Evaluation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Roberts, Darryl D., Laura Morgan Roberts, Regina M. O'Neill, and Stacy D. Blake-Beard. 2008. "The invisible work of managing visibility for social change: Insights from the leadership of Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr." *Business and Society* 47(4): 425-456.

Robinson, Gertrude J. 2005. *Gender, Journalism, and Equity: Canadian, U.S., and European Perspectives*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, Inc.

Rojas, Carmen. 2008. "Defying expectations." *Work of Arts* (Spring): 4-7.

Romanow, Walter I., Michel de Repentigny, Stanley B. Cunningham, Walter C. Soderlund, and Kai Hildebrandt, eds. 1999. *Television Advertising in Canadian Elections: The Attack Mode, 1993*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Rose, Jonathan. 2012. "Are negative ads positive? Political advertising and the permanent campaign." In *How Canadians Communicate IV: Media and Politics*, eds. David Taras and Christopher Waddell. Edmonton: Athabasca University Press.

Rose, Jonathan. 2014. "Taming the untameable? Constraints and limits on government advertising." In *Publicity and the Canadian State: Critical Communications Perspectives*, ed. Kirsten Kozolanka. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rose, Jonathan and Hugh Mellon. 2010. "When the message is the meaning: Government advertising and the branding of states." In *Mediating Canadian Politics*, eds. Shannon Sampert and Linda Trimble. Toronto: Pearson Canada.

Ross, Karen. 2000. "Unruly theory and difficult practice: Issues and dilemmas in work with women politicians." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 2(3): 319-336.

Ross, Karen. 2002. *Women, Politics, Media: Uneasy Relations in Comparative Perspective*. Cresskill: Hampton Press, Inc.

Ross, Karen. 2010. *Gendered Media: Women, Men, and Identity Politics*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & LIttlefield, Inc.

Ross, Karen and Tobias Burger. 2014. "Face to face(book): Social media, political campaigning and the unbearable lightness of being there." *Political Science* 66(1): 46-62.

Ross, Karen, Elizabeth Evans, Lisa Harrison, Mary Shears, and Khursheed Wadia. 2013. "The gender of news and news of gender: A study of sex, politics, and press coverage of the 2010 British general election." *International Journal of Press/ Politics* 18(3): 3-20.

Ryan, Christine, Barbara Pini, and Kerry Brown. 2005. "Beyond stereotypes: An exploratory profile of Australian women mayors." *Local Government Studies* 31(4): 433-448.

Saegert, Susan. 1988. "The androgenous city: From critique to practice." In *Women, Housing and Community*, ed. Willem Van Vliet. Aldershot: Avebury.

Saglie, Joe and Signy Irene Vabo. 2009. "Size and e-democracy: Online participation in Norwegian local politics." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 32(4): 382-401.

Sampert, Shannon, Linda Trimble, Angelia Wagner, and Bailey Gerrits. 2014. "Jumping the shark: Mediatization of Canadian party leadership contests, 1975-2012." *Journalism Practice* 8(3): 279-294.

Sanders, Arthur. 2004. "Creating effective political ads." In *Lights, Camera, Campaign! Media, Politics, and Political Advertising*, ed. David A. Schultz. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Sanders, Karen. 2009. *Communicating Politics in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sapiro, Virginia, Katherine Cramer Walsh, Patricia Strach, and Valerie Hennings. 2011.

"Gender, context, and television advertising: A comprehensive analysis of 2000 and 2002 House races." *Political Research Quarterly* 64(1): 107-119.

Sawer, Marian, Manon Tremblay, and Linda Trimble. 2006. "Introduction: Patterns and practice in the parliamentary representation of women." In *Representing Women in Parliament: A Comparative Study*, eds. Marian Sawer, Manon Tremblay, and Linda Trimble. New York: Routledge.

Scott, Jacqueline. 2010. "Quantitative methods and gender inequalities." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 13(3): 223-236.

Segaard, Signe Bock and Jeppe Agger Nielsen. 2013. "Local election blogs: Networking among the political elite." *Information Polity* 18(4): 299-313.

Seidman, Steven A. 2008. "Studying election campaign posters and propaganda: What can we learn?" *International Journal of Instructional Media* 35(4): 413-427.

Semetko, Holli A. and Hajo G. Boomgaarden. 2007. "Reporting Germany's 2005 Bundestag election campaign: Was gender an issue?" *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 12(4): 154-171.

Shaker, Lee. 2011. "Community newspapers play significant role in election." *Newspaper Research Journal* 32(1): 6-18.

Shames, Shauna. 2003. "The "Un-Candidates." *Women and Politics* 25(1-2): 115-147.

Shehata, Adam. 2010. "Pathways to politics: How media system characteristics can influence socioeconomic gaps in political participation." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 15(3): 295-318.

Siebert, Sabina. 2009. "Gender balance in Scottish local authority councils." *Public Policy and Administration* 24(2): 175-193.

Skewes, Elizabeth A. and Patrick Le Plaisance. 2005. "Who's news? A new model for media coverage of campaigns." *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 20(2/3): 139-158.

Small, Tamara A. 2004. "parties@canada: The Internet and the 2004 cyber-campaign." In *The Canadian General Election of 2004*, eds. Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan. Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Small, Tamara A. 2007. "Canadian cyberparties: Reflections on Internet-based campaigning and party systems." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 40(3): 639-657.

Small, Tamara A. 2008a. "Blogging the Hill: Garth Turner and the Canadian Parliamentary blogosphere." *Canadian Political Science Review* 2(3): 103-124.

Small, Tamara A. 2008b. "Equal access, unequal success — Major and minor Canadian parties on the Net." *Party Politics* 14(1): 51-70.

Small, Tamara A. 2010a. "Canadian politics in 140 characters: Party politics in the twitterverse." *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 33(3): 39-45.

Small, Tamara A. 2010b. "Still waiting for an Internet prime minister: Online campaigning

by Canadian political parties." In *Elections*, ed. Heather MacIvor. Toronto: Emond Montgomery Publications.

Small, Tamara A. 2011. "What the hashtag? A content analysis of Canadian politics on Twitter." *Information, Communication and Society* 14(6): 872-895.

Small, Tamara A. 2012a. "Are we friends yet? Online relationship marketing by political parties." In *Political Marketing in Canada*, eds. Alex Marland, Thierry Giasson, and Jennier Lees-Marshment. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Small, Tamara A. 2012b. "E-ttack politics: Negativity, the Internet, and Canadian political parties." In *How Canadians Communicate IV: Media and Politics*, eds. David Taras and Christopher Waddell. Edmonton: Athabasca University Press.

Smith, Melissa S. 2010. "Political campaigns in the twenty-first century: Implications of new media technology." In *Communicator-in-Chief: How Barack Obama Used New Media Technology to Win the White House*, eds. John Allen Hendricks and Robert E. Denton, Jr. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Smith, Adrienne R. 2014. "Cities where women rule: Female political incorporation and the allocation of Community Development Block Grant funding." *Politics and Gender* 10(3): 313-340.

Southern, Rosalynd and Stephen Ward. 2011. "Below the radar? Online campaigning at the local level in the 2010 election." In *Political Communication in Britain: The Leader Debates, the Campaign and the Media in the 2010 General Election*, eds. Dominic Wring, Roger Mortimore, and Simon Atkinson. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sproule-Jones, Mark. 2007. "Political parties at the local level of government." In *Canadian Parties in Transition, Third Edition*, eds. Alain-G. Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle and Karen Ross. 1996. "Women MPs and the media: Representing the body politic." *Parliamentary Affairs* 49(1): 103-115.

Stanley, Jason. 2012. "Women's absence from news photos: The role of tabloid strategies at elite and non-elite newspapers." *Media, Culture & Society* 34(8): 979-998.

Stanwick, Hannah. 2000. "A megamayor for all people? Voting behaviour and electoral success in the 1997 Toronto municipal election." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 33(3): 549-568.

Statistics Canada. 2008. *How Canadians' Use of the Internet Affects Social Life and Civic Participation*. Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Statistics Canada. 2010. *Women in Canada: A Gender-Based Statistical Report: Paid Work*. Catalogue no. 89-503-X. Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Statistics Canada. 2011a. *Women in Canada: A Gender-Based Statistical Report*. Catalogue No. 89-503-x2010001-eng. Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Statistics Canada. 2011b. *National Occupational Classification (NOC)*. Catalogue No. 12-

583-X. Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Statistics Canada. 2013. *Canadian Internet Use Survey, 2012*. Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Stein, Karen F. 2009. "The cleavage commotion: How the press covered Senator Clinton's campaign." In *Cracked But Not Shattered: Hillary Rodham Clinton's Unsuccessful Campaign for the Presidency*, ed. Theodore F. Sheckels. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Steiner, Linda. 1998. "Newsroom Accounts of Power at Work." In *News, Gender and Power*, eds. Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston and Stuart Allen. London: Routledge.

Stevens, Daniel, Dean Alger, Barbara Allen, and John L. Sullivan. 2006. "Local news coverage in a social capital capital: Election 2000 on Minnesota's local news stations." *Political Communication* 23(1): 61-83.

Still, Edward and Robert Richie. 1999. "Alternative election systems as voting rights remedies." In *Local Government Election Practices: A Handbook for Public Officials and Citizens*, ed. Roger Kemp Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc.

Strabac, Zan, Kjersti Thorbjornsrud, and Anders Todal Jenssen. 2012. "News consumption and public opposition to immigration across countries." In *How Media Inform Democracy: A Comparative Approach*, eds. Toril Aalberg and James Curran. New York: Routledge.

Strachan, J. Cherie. 2003. *High-Tech Grass Roots: The Professionalization of Local Elections*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Stromback, Jesper. 2008. "Four phases of mediatization: An analysis of the mediatization of politics." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 13(3): 228-246.

Stromback, Jesper. 2011. "Mediatization and perceptions of the media's political influence." *Journalism Studies* 12(4): 423-439.

Stromer-Galley, Jennifer and Andrea B. Baker. 2006. "Joy and sorrow of interactivity on the campaign trail: Blogs in the primary campaign of Howard Dean." In *The Internet Election: Perspectives on the Web in Campaign 2004*, eds. Andrew Paul Williams and John C. Tedesco. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Sumser, John. 2001. "Content Analysis." *A Guide to Empirical Research in Communication: Rules for Looking*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Svaleryd, Helena. 2009. "Women's representation and public spending." *European Journal of Political Economy* 25(2): 186-198.

Swanson, David L. and Paolo Mancini. 1996. "Patterns of modern electoral campaigning and their consequences." In *Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences*, eds. David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini. Westport: Praeger.

Takens, Janet, Wouter van Atteveldt, Anita van Hoof, and Jan Kleinnijenhuis. 2013. "Media logic in election campaign coverage." *European Journal of Communication* 28(3): 277-293.

Tanner, Adrienne. 1995. "Stickmen try to prod Reimer into declaring her mayoral plans." *Edmonton Journal.* 28 July 1995: B3.

Taras, David. 2012. "The past and future of political communication in Canada: An introduction." In *How Canadians Communicate IV: Media and Politics*, eds. David Taras and Christopher Waddell. Edmonton: Athabasca University Press.

Thomas, Melanee. 2012. "The complexity conundrum: Why hasn't the gender gap in subjective political competence closed?" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45(2): 337-358.

Thomas, Melanee and Marc André Bodet. 2013. "Sacrificial lambs, women candidates, and district competitiveness in Canada." *Electoral Studies* 32(1): 153-166.

Thompson, John B. 2005. "The new visibility." *Theory, Culture and Society* 22(6): 31-51.

Thurber, James A. 1995. "The transformations of American campaigns." In *Campaigns and Elections American Style*, eds. James A. Thurber and Candice J. Nelson. Boulder: Westview Press.

Tickner, J. Ann. 1997. "You just don't understand: Troubled engagements between feminists and IR theorists." *International Studies Quarterly* 41(4): 611-632.

Tickner, J. Ann. 1999. "Why women can't run the world: International politics according to Francis Fukuyama." *International Studies Review* 1(3): 3-11.

Tickner, J. Ann. 2004. "Feminist responses to international security studies." *Peace Review* 16(1): 43-48.

Tickner, J. Ann. 2005a. "Gendering a discipline: Some feminist methodological contributions to international relations." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30(4): 2173-2188.

Tickner, J. Ann. 2005b. "What is your research program? Some feminist answers to international relations methodological questions." *International Studies Quarterly* 49(1): 1-21.

Tindal, C. Richard and Susan Nobes Tindal. 1995. *Local Government in Canada, Fourth Edition*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.

Trent, Judith S., Robert V. Friedenberg, and Robert E. Denton, Jr. 2011. *Political Campaign Communication: Principles and Practices, Seventh Edition*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Trimble, Linda. 1995a. "Becoming full citizens: Women and politics in Canada." In *Canadian Government and Politics, Second Edition*, eds. Robert M. Krause and R.H. Wagenberg. Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd.

Trimble, Linda. 1995b. "Politics where we live: Women and cities." In *Canadian Metropolitics: Governing Our Cities*, ed. James Lightbody. Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd.

Trimble, Linda. 2006. "When do women count? Substantive representation of women in

Canadian legislatures." In *Representing Women in Parliament: A Comparative Study*, eds. Marian Sawer, Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble. London: Routledge.

Trimble, Linda, Jane Arscott, and Manon Tremblay, eds. 2013. *Stalled: The Representation of Women in Canadian Governments*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Trimble, Linda and Joanna Everitt. 2010. "Belinda Stronach and the gender politics of celebrity." In *Mediating Canadian Politics*, eds. Shannon Sampert and Linda Trimble. Toronto: Pearson Education Canada.

Trimble, Linda and Manon Tremblay. 2003. "Women politicians in Canada's parliament and legislatures, 1917-2000: A socio-demographic profile." In *Women and Electoral Politics in Canada*, eds. Manon Tremblay and Linda Trimble. Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Trimble, Linda, Angelia Wagner, Shannon Sampert, Daisy Raphael, and Bailey Gerrits. 2013. "Is It Personal? Gendered Mediation in Newspaper Coverage of Canadian National Party Leadership Contests, 1975-2012." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 18(4): 462-481.

Trounstine, Jessica and Melody E. Valdini. 2008. "The context matters: The effects of single-member versus at-large districts on city council diversity." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(3): 554-569.

Tuchman, Gaye. 1978. "Introduction: The symbolic annihilation of women by the mass media." In *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*, eds. Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benet. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tuman, Joseph S. 2008. "Introduction to political communication." *Political Communication in American Campaigns*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.

Vaccari, Cristian. 2013. "A tale of two e-parties: Candidate websites in the 2008 US presidential primaries." *Party Politics* 19(1): 19-40.

Vanderleeuw, James M., Maria E. Sandovici, and Christopher A. Jarmon. 2011. "Women city leaders and postmaterialist values: Gender differences in economic development priorities." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 32(3): 211-236.

Vavrus, Mary Douglas. 2002. *Postfeminist News: Political Women in Media Culture*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Vickers, Jill McCalla. 1978. "Where are the women in Canadian politics?" *Atlantis* 3(2): 40-51.

Vliegenthart, Rens, Hajo G. Boomgaarden, and Jelle W. Boumans. 2011. "Changes in political news coverage: Personalization, conflict and negativity in British and Dutch newspapers. In *Political Communication in Postmodern Democracy: Challenging the Primacy of Politics*, eds. Kees Brants and Katrin Voltmer. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Waddell, Christopher. 2012. "Berry'd alive: The media, technology, and the death of political coverage." In *How Canadians Communicate IV: Media and Politics*, eds.

David Taras and Christopher Waddell. Edmonton: Athabasca University Press.

Wagenberg, R.H. 1995. "Issues in municipal government." In *Introductory Readings in Canadian Government and Politics*, eds. Robert M. Krause and R.H. Wagenberg. Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd.

Wagner, Angelia. 2010a. *"Just the Facts, Ma'am": Newspaper Depictions of Women Council Candidates During the 2007 Alberta Municipal Election*. Unpublished MA thesis. Edmonton: University of Alberta.

Wagner, Angelia. 2010b. "On their best behaviour? Newspaper journalists' coverage of women municipal candidates in Alberta." *Canadian Political Science Review* 5(1): 38-54.

Wagner, Angelia. 2014. "Women Municipal Politicians in Election News." *Communication Papers: Media Literacy and Gender Studies* 3(5): 35-48.

Waite, Brandon C. 2010. "E-mail and electoral fortunes: Obama's campaign Internet insurgency." In *Communicator-in-Chief: How Barack Obama Used New Media Technology to Win the White House*, eds. John Allen Hendricks and Robert E. Denton, Jr. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Wangnerud, Lena and Anders Sundell. 2012. "Do politics matter? Women in Swedish local elected assemblies 1970-2010 and gender equality in outcomes." *European Political Science Review* 4(1): 97-120:

Ward, Stephen. 2008. "Parties and election campaigning online: a new era?" In *Making a Difference: A Comparative View of the Role of the Internet in Election Politics*, eds. Stephen Ward, Diana Owen, Richard Davis, and David Taras. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Ward, Stephen and Rachel Gibson. 2003. "On-line and on message? Candidate websites in the 2001 general election." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5(2): 188-205.

Ward, Stephen, Diana Owen, Richard Davis, and David Taras, eds. 2008. *Making a Difference: A Comparative View of the Role of the Internet in Election Politics*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Weikart, Lynne A., Greg Chen, Daniel W. Williams, and Haris Hromic. 2006. "The democratic sex: Gender differences and the exercise of power." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 28(1): 119-139.

Welch, Susan and Albert K. Karnig. 1979. "Correlates of female office holding in city politics." *Journal of Politics* 41(2): 478-491.

Welch, Susan and Donley T. Studlar. 1990. "Multi-member districts and the representation of women: Evidence from Britain and the United States." *Journal of Politics* 52(2): 391-412.

Weldon, Michele. 2008. *Everyman News: The Changing American Front Page*. Columbia: The University of Missouri.

Whip, Rosemary and Don Fletcher. 1999. "Changing characteristics of women on local

government councils in Australia: 1982-1993." *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 34(1): 59-77.

White, Graham. 2008. "Evaluating provincial and territorial legislatures." In *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics, Second Edition*, ed. Christopher Dunn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Williams, Andrew Paul and John C. Tedesco, eds. 2006. *The Internet Election: Perspectives on the Web in Campaign 2004*, eds. Andrew Paul Williams and John C. Tedesco. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Williams, Darrell. 1999. "At-large vs. district election systems." In *Local Government Election Practices: A Handbook for Public Officials and Citizens*, ed. Roger Kemp Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc.

Wilson, R. Jeremy. 1980-81. "Horserace journalism: The media in elections." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 15(4): 56-68.

Winckler, Victoria. 1988. "Women and local economic development." In *Women, Housing and Community*, ed. Willem Van Vliet. Aldershot: Avebury.

Windett, Jason Harold. 2014. "Gendered campaign strategies in U.S. elections." *American Politics Research* 42(4): 628-655.

Wingrove, Josh. 2012a. "Smith seeks to dampen outcry over Wildrose candidate's anti-gay blog." *Globe and Mail.* 16 April 2012. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/smith-seeks-to-dampen-outcry-over-wildrose-candidates-anti-gay-blog/article4100679/

Wingrove, Josh. 2012b. "Wildrose knocked off its agenda as final week kicks off." *Globe and Mail.* 17 April 2012. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/wildrose-knocked-off-its-agenda-as-final-week-kicks-off/article4100678/

Wright, Scott. 2008. "Read My Day? Communication, campaigning and councillors' blogs." *Information Polity* 13(1/2): 81-95.

Wright, Scott. 2009. "Political blogs, representation and the public sphere." *Aslib Proceedings: New Information Perspectives* 61(2): 155-169.

Yannas, Prodromos and Georgios Lappas. 2005. "Web campaign in the 2002 Greek municipal elections." *Journal of Political Marketing* 4(1): 33-50.

Yannas, Prodromos and Georgios Lappas. 2006. "Web candidates in the 2002 Greek prefecture elections." *Journal of E-Government* 3(1): 53-67.

Young, Iris Marion. 2000. *Inclusion and Democracy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, Lisa and Sam Austin. 2008. "Political finance in city elections: Toronto and Calgary compared." *Canadian Political Science Review* 2(3): 88-102.

Zalewski, Marysia. 2006. "Distracted reflections on the production, narration, and refusal of feminist knowledge in international relations." In *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, eds. Brooke Ackerly, Maria Stern, and Jacqui True. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zimmerman, Joseph F. 1999. "Alternative local election systems." In *Local Government Election Practices: A Handbook for Public Officials and Citizens*, ed. Roger Kemp Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc.

TABLE A.5.1: Candidates who reported having a specific plan on how to deal with journalists during their most recent campaign for municipal office, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women	Men	City	Non-city	All
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Gender					
Women	.36 (.485)	------	.40 (.510)	.35 (.483)	.36 (.485)
Men	------	.38 (.486)	.41 (.496)	.36 (.481)	.38 (.486)
Municipality type					
City	.40 (.510)	.41 (.496)	.41 (.495)	------	.41 (.495)
Non-city	.35 (.483)	.36 (.481)	------	.36 (.480)	.36 (.480)
Incumbency status					
Incumbents	.40 (.504)	.33 (.472)	.28 (.457)	.38 (.490)	.34 (.478)
Challengers	.35 (.482)	.41 (.492)	.48 (.504)	.35 (.479)	.39 (.490)
Success					
Winners	.38 (.491)	.38 (.486)	.54 (.506) *	.32 (.468)	.38 (.486)
Losers	.35 (.488)	.38 (.489)	.32 (.472)	.43 (.499)	.38 (.487)
Type of Office					
Mayoral candidates	.43 (.532)	.35 (.483)	.57 (.515)	.29 (.461)	.36 (.486)
Other candidates	.36 (.484)	.39 (.489)	.38 (.490)	.37 (.485)	.38 (.487)
Age					
Younger than 45	.29 (.478)	.46 (.505)	.51 (.513)	.32 (.476)	.43 (.499)
Candidates 45+	.37 (.489)	.35 (.478)	.35 (.480)	.36 (.482)	.35 (.479)

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 286. Weighted data.

TABLE A.5.2: Responses of candidates to a question asking them to rate the success of their news media plan, in percentages

	Very Unsuccessful		Unsuccessful		Undecided/ Neutral		Successful		Very Successful	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Overall	2.0	(2)	3.7	(4)	34.6	(35)	54.0	(55)	5.6	(6)
Gender										
Women	4.8	(1)	4.8	(1)	38.1	(8)	47.6	(10)	4.8	(1)
Men	1.3	(1)	3.8	(3)	33.8	(27)	56.3	(45)	5.0	(4)
Municipality type										
City	2.9	(1)	0.0	(0)	34.3	(12)	62.9	(22)	0.0	(0)
Non-city	1.6	(1)	6.3	(4)	35.9	(23)	51.6	(33)	4.7	(3)
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	0.0	(0)	0.0	(0)	36.4	(8)	59.1	(13)	4.5	(1)
Challengers	2.6	(2)	5.1	(4)	34.6	(27)	52.6	(41)	5.1	(4)
Success										
Winners	1.6	(1)	0.0	(0)	21.3	(13)	68.9	(42)	8.2	(5)
Losers	2.4	(1)	9.8	(4)	53.7	(22)	31.7	(13)	2.4	(1)
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	5.6	(1)	0.0	(0)	33.3	(6)	55.6	(10)	5.6	(1)
Other candidates	1.2	(1)	4.8	(4)	33.7	(28)	54.2	(45)	6.0	(5)
Age										
Younger than 45	0.0	(0)	0.0	(0)	39.1	(9)	47.8	(11)	13.0	(3)
Candidates 45 and up	2.7	(2)	5.3	(4)	29.3	(22)	58.7	(44)	4.0	(3)

Note: Overall N = 102. Weighted data.

TABLE A.5.3: Candidates who report being in contact with journalists during their most recent campaign for municipal office, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women	Men	City	Non-city	All
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Gender					
Women	.75 (439)	-------	.88 (.343)	.71 (.460)	.75 (439)
Men	-------	.77 (421)	.92 (.277) ***	.70 (.460)	.77 (421)
Municipality type					
City	.88 (.343)	.92 (.277)	.91 (.286)	-------	.91 (.286)
Non-city	.71 (.460)	.70 (.460)	-------	.70 (.459)	.70 (.459) ***
Incumbency status					
Incumbents	.78 (.425)	.81 (.398)	.89 (.321)	.75 (.435)	.80 (.402)
Challengers	.73 (.448)	.75 (.432)	.92 (.267) ***	.68 (.469)	.75 (.434)
Success					
Winners	.68 (.473)	.72 (.449)	.90 (.305) ***	.66 (.477)	.71 (.454)
Losers	.86 (.354)	.85 (.361)	.92 (.272)	.80 (.406)	.85 (.358) **
Type of Office					
Mayoral candidates	.92 (.291)	.87 (.341)	1.00 (.000) *	.84 (.376)	.88 (.332)
Other candidates	.72 (.453)	.75 (.436)	.90 (.309) ***	.67 (.472)	.74 (.439) *
Age					
Younger than 45	.75 (.455)	.84 (.370)	1.00 (.000) ***	.68 (.473)	.82 (.388)
Candidates 45+	.74 (.442)	.75 (.433)	.88 (.331) **	.70 (.458)	.75 (.434)

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 285. Weighted data.

TABLE A.5.4: Responses of candidates regarding how frequently they contacted different types of journalists during their recent municipal campaign, in percentages

	Daily		Weekly		Occasionally		Once		Never	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
Type of journalist										
Newspaper journalist	0.2	(0) •	14.9	(32)	40.7	(87)	17.1	(37)	27.1	(58)
Television journalist	0.2	(0) •	2.0	(4)	12.5	(22)	15.6	(28)	69.7	(177)
Radio journalist	0.6	(1)	6.4	(12)	19.5	(35)	13.8	(25)	59.8	(108)
Magazine journalist	0.0	(0) •	0.5	(1)	7.7	(13)	6.1	(10)	85.7	(146)

Note: The N ranges from 170 for magazine journalist to 214 for newspaper journalist. • Weighted data.

TABLE A.5.5: Candidates who report receiving news coverage from each type of news organization during their most recent campaign for municipal office

	Daily	Weekly	Magazine	Television	Radio
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Gender					
Women	.57 (.502)	.78 (.418)	.06 (.248)	.35 (.485)	.53 (.506)
Men	.56 (.498)	.83 (.373)	.18 (.388)	.39 (.491)	.54 (.500)
Municipality type					
City	.85 (.362)	.90 (.296)	.42 (.500)	.73 (.448)	.65 (.480)
Non-city	.38 (.488)***	.79 (.409)*	.06 (.236)***	.18 (.382)***	.45 (.500)**
Incumbency status					
Incumbents	.61 (.491)	.80 (.401)	.20 (.405)	.46 (.504)	.62 (.490)
Challengers	.53 (.501)	.83 (.378)	.15 (.355)	.34 (.477)	.51 (.502)
Success					
Winners	.49 (.502)	.79 (.411)	.13 (.343)	.27 (.449)	.55 (.499)
Losers	.68 (.469)*	.89 (.321)*	.23 (.427)	.61 (.493)***	.51 (.504)
Type of Office					
Mayoral candidates	.64 (.487)	.91 (.285)	.16 (.373)	.53 (.509)	.84 (.367)
Other candidates	.56 (.498)	.90 (.402)*	.16 (.365)	.36 (.483)	.47 (.501)***
Age					
Younger than 45	.52 (.507)	.88 (.329)	.21 (.417)	.35 (.484)	.59 (.498)
Candidates 45 and up	.58 (.495)	.80 (.400)	.15 (.358)	.40 (.493)	.53 (.501)

Independent single sample t-tests were used to determine the level of significance for differences in means between women and men within each additional variable; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001.
Note: The N ranged from 154 for television to 251 for weekly newspapers. Weighted data.

TABLE A.5.6: Women and men candidates who report receiving news coverage from each type of news organization during their most recent campaign for municipal office

	DAILY		WEEKLY		MAGAZINE		TELEVISION		RADIO	
	Women Mean (SD)	**Men** Mean (SD)	**Women** Mean (SD)	**Men** Mean (SD)	**Women** Mean (SD)	**Men** Mean (SD)	**Women** Mean (SD)	**Men** Mean (SD)	**Women** Mean (SD)	**Men** Mean (SD)
Municipality type										
City	.81 (.413)	.85 (.356)	.85 (.374)	.92 (.279)	.15 (.398)	.46 (.507)	.70 (.486)	.74 (.445)	.65 (.504)	.65 (.480)
Non-city	.47 (.509)	.35 (.480)	.76 (.434)	.80 (.401)	.04 (.202)	.06 (.246)	.21 (.417)	.16 (.373)	.47 (.508)	.45 (.500)
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	.60 (.509)	.62 (.492)	.69 (.477)	.84 (.372)	.00 (.000)**	.25 (.442)	.32 (.494)	.50 (.507)	.57 (.513)	.63 (.488)
Challengers	.56 (.507)	.53 (.502)	.82 (.387)	.83 (.377)	.09 (.299)	.16 (.368)	.37 (.494)	.34 (.475)	.51 (.510)	.51 (.502)
Success										
Winners	.50 (.511)	.49 (.503)	.76 (.432)	.79 (.407)	.02 (.153)*	.16 (.368)	.19 (.405)	.29 (.458)	.47 (.510)	.57 (.497)
Losers	.66 (.491)	.69 (.467)	.81 (.404)	.91 (.289)	.15 (.385)	.25 (.444)	.57 (.514)	.62 (.491)	.62 (.502)	.48 (.505)
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	.87 (.377)	.61 (.497)	.83 (.411)	.93 (.263)	.00 (.000)	.17 (.387)	.25 (.558)	.56 (.507)	.76 (.470)	.86 (.351)
Other candidates	.54 (.506)	.56 (.498)	.78 (.419)	.81 (.397)	.07 (.263)	.18 (.387)	.37 (.492)	.36 (.483)	.48 (.508)	.46 (.501)
Age										
Younger than 45	.59 (.530)	.50 (.509)	.70 (.482)	.93 (.257)	.11 (.341)	.24 (.436)	.48 (.538)	.31 (.472)	.62 (.522)	.59 (.502)
Candidates 45 and up	.56 (.505)	.59 (.494)	.79 (.414)	.80 (.398)	.05 (.231)	.17 (.380)	.30 (.470)	.43 (.498)	.48 (.508)	.54 (.500)

Independent single sample t-tests were used to determine the level of significance for differences in means between women and men within each additional variable; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
Note: The Overall N ranged from 126 for Magazine to 252 for Weekly. Weighted data.

TABLE A.5.7: City and non-city candidates who report receiving news coverage from each type of news organization during their most recent campaign for municipal office

	DAILY		WEEKLY		MAGAZINE		TELEVISION		RADIO	
	City Mean (SD)	Non-city Mean (SD)	City Mean (SD)	Non-city Mean (SD)	City Mean (SD)	Non-city Mean (SD)	City Mean (SD)	Non-city Mean (SD)	City Mean (SD)	Non-city Mean (SD)
Gender										
Women	.81 (.413)	.47 (.509)	.85 (.374)	.76 (.434)	.15 (.398)	.04 (.202)	.70 (.486) *	.21 (.417)	.65 (.504)	.47 (.508)
Men	.85 (.356) ***	.35 (.480)	.92 (.279) *	.80 (.401)	.46 (.507) ***	.06 (.246)	.74 (.445) ***	.16 (.373)	.65 (.480) *	.45 (.500)
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	.86 (.354) ***	.44 (.504)	.77 (.427)	.83 (.380)	.40 (.509) *	.08 (.274)	.73 (.457) ***	.23 (.432)	.70 (.467)	.54 (.505)
Challengers	.84 (.370) ***	.34 (.478)	.98 (.136) ***	.77 (.420)	.43 (.506) *	.05 (.228)	.73 (.449) ***	.14 (.346)	.62 (.491) *	.43 (.498)
Success										
Winners	.85 (.365) ***	.35 (.480)	.88 (.332)	.76 (.427)	.50 (.514) ***	.04 (.199)	.69 (.474) ***	.15 (.360)	.80 (.406) ***	.44 (.499)
Losers	.85 (.365) ***	.47 (.508)	.93 (.263)	.85 (.358)	.32 (.481)	.14 (.354)	.77 (.431) ***	.28 (.463)	.51 (.508)	.48 (.508)
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	1.00 (.000) ***	.49 (.511)	1.00 (.000) *	.88 (.328)	.52 (.543)	.00 (.000)	.96 (.211) ***	.31 (.477)	.97 (.179)	.79 (.419)
Other candidates	.82 (.387) ***	.37 (.485)	.88 (.323) *	.77 (.424)	.39 (.497) **	.06 (.244)	.69 (.469) ***	.15 (.357)	.58 (.499) *	.37 (.485)
Age										
Younger than 45	.85 (.375) ***	.21 (.417)	.97 (.171)	.81 (.402)	.65 (.509) *	.05 (.218)	.82 (.401) ***	.10 (.308)	.82 (.398) **	.38 (.498)
Candidates 45+	.90 (.308) ***	.42 (.496)	.87 (.343)	.78 (.413)	.39 (.498) **	.06 (.243)	.75 (.438) ***	.19 (.397)	.65 (.483) *	.46 (.501)

Independent single sample t-tests were used to determine the level of significance for differences in means between women and men within each additional variable; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
Note: The Overall N ranged from 126 for Magazine to 252 for Weekly. Weighted data.

Page 275

TABLE A.5.8: Candidate responses to the question: *Would you agree that journalists were fair in their news stories about your campaign?*, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men		City		Non-city		All	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
									.51	(.875)
Gender										
Women	.54	(1.063)	-----	--------	.35	(1.312)	.60	(.996)	.54	(1.063)
Men	-----	--------	.50	(.819)	.55	(.845)	.43	(.777)	.50	(.819)
Municipality type										
City	.35	(1.312)	.55	(.845)	.52	(.925)	-----	--------	.52	(.925)
Non-city	.60	(.996)	.43	(.777)	-----	--------	.47	(.836)	.47	(.836)
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	.58	(.927)	.35	(.826)	.34	(.938)	.44	(.811)	.40	(.848)
Challengers	.54	(1.113)	.56	(.814)	.61	(.912)	.48	(.844)	.56	(.881)
Success										
Winners	.74	(.758)	.66	(.592)	.68	(.586)	.65	(.623)	.68	(.630)
Losers	.23	(1.380)	.27	(1.029)	.41	(1.101)	.10	(1.069)	.26	(1.103)***
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	.57	(1.126)	.52	(.681)	.60	(.795)	.51	(.734)	.53	(.743)
Other candidates	.55	(1.054)	.49	(.857)	.51	(.950)	.46	(.858)	.50	(.904)
Age										
Younger than 45	.53	(1.266)	.74	(.681)	.70	(.636)	.57	(.888)	.70	(.831)
Candidates 45 and up	.55	(1.046)	.46	(.844)	.48	(1.014)	.45	(.829)	.48	(.887)

The fairness index ranges from -2 for strongly disagree to +2 for strongly agree with 0 (undecided/neutral) the mid-point. Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 272. Weighted data.

TABLE A.5.9: Candidates who reported receiving the amount of news coverage they had hoped for during their most recent campaign for municipal office, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women	Men	City	Non-city	All
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Gender					.72 (.453)
Women	.69 (.467)	------	.53 (.557)	.77 (.435)	.69 (.467)
Men	------	.71 (.453)	.75 (.441)	.68 (.473)	.71 (.453)
Municipality type					
City	.53 (.557)	.75 (.441)	.67 (.475)	------	.67 (.475)
Non-city	.77 (.435)	.68 (.473)	------	.73 (.447)	.73 (.447)
Incumbency status					
Incumbents	.91 (.301)	.71 (.464)	1.00 (.000) **	.67 (.482)	.73 (.447)
Challengers	.61 (.505)	.72 (.455)	.63 (.491)	.71 (.460)	.70 (.461)
Success					
Winners	.85 (.369)	.93 (.255)	.89 (.326)	.92 (.276)	.87 (.338)
Losers	.51 (.533)	.40 (.498)	.51 (.517)	.37 (.493)	.49 (.502) ***
Type of Office					
Mayoral candidates	.71 (.548)	.81 (.403)	.56 (.534)	.95 (.231)	.70 (.464)
Other candidates	.74 (.452)	.69 (.465)	.76 (.435)	.65 (.480)	.71 (.456)
Age					
Younger than 45	1.00 (.000)	1.00 (.000)	1.00 (.000)	1.00 (.000)	.82 (.386)
Candidates 45 and up	.70 (.470)	.65 (.479)	.69 (.474)	.65 (.482)	.69 (.463) *

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 106. Weighted data.

TABLE A.6.1: Candidates who reported using different types of information and communication technologies in their most recent municipal campaign

	Website	Blog	Email	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	Flickr
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
All	.77 (.423)	.32 (.470)	.86 (.348)	.76 (.429)	.42 (.495)	.14 (.348)	.01 (.107)
Gender							
Women	.65 (.486)	.12 (.335)	.83 (.382)	.83 (.386)	.31 (.473)	.08 (.283)	.02 (.125)
Men	.81 (.395)	.39 (.490) **	.87 (.338)	.74 (.441)	.45 (.500)	.16 (.366)	.01 (.101)
Municipality type							
City	.95 (.212) ***	.41 (.496) *	.95 (.219) **	.78 (.416)	.60 (.495) ***	.16 (.368)	.02 (.156)
Non-city	.60 (.493)	.19 (.397)	.75 (.436)	.71 (.456)	.23 (.425)	.08 (.280)	.00 (.000)
Incumbency status							
Incumbents	.78 (.419)	.22 (.421)	.80 (.403)	.60 (.497)	.34 (.483)	.13 (.343)	.03 (.174)
Challengers	.76 (.427)	.36 (.484)	.89 (.319)	.82 (.385) *	.45 (.501)	.14 (.353)	.00 (.071)
Success							
Winners	.68 (.470)	.28 (.451)	.80 (.401)	.77 (.421)	.38 (.489)	.16 (.368)	.02 (.123)
Losers	.85 (.358) *	.37 (.488)	.91 (.281)	.74 (.440)	.46 (.503)	.12 (.328)	.01 (.087)
Type of office							
Mayoral candidates	.80 (.410)	.23 (.431)	.74 (.449)	.62 (.497)	.18 (.398)	.34 (.488)	.05 (.214)
Other candidates	.76 (.428)	.34 (.478)	.89 (.320)	.79 (.412)	.46 (.501) *	.10 (.300)	.00 (.067)
Age							
Younger than 45	.70 (.467)	.35 (.485)	.77 (.427)	.95 (.226) ***	.59 (.502)	.32 (.477)	.00 (.000)
Candidates 45 and up	.79 (.412)	.30 (.460)	.88 (.325)	.69 (.466)	.35 (.480) *	.08 (.275) *	.02 (.126)

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. Results of *t*-test comparisons within each candidate category are presented vertically. Note: Overall N = 142. Weighted data.

TABLE A.7.1: Candidates who reported using different direct advertising techinques during their recent municipal campaign

	News Media Ads		Pamphlets		Lawn Signs		Billboards	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Overall	**.74**	**(.440)**	**.93**	**(.258)**	**.82**	**(.388)**	**.26**	**(.440)**
Gender								
Women	.61	(.493)	.93	(.264)	.71	(.456)	.21	(.415)
Men	.77	(.419) *	.93	(.257)	.84	(.365)	.27	(.447)
Municipality type								
City	.90	(.308)	.99	(.104)	.82	(.390)	.42	(.498)
Non-city	.65	(.479) ***	.90	(.295) **	.81	(.396)	.16	(.364) ***
Incumbency status								
Incumbents	.69	(.467)	.90	(.298)	.77	(.422)	.27	(.446)
Challengers	.77	(.421)	.94	(.241)	.83	(.374)	.26	(.439)
Success								
Winners	.73	(.443)	.95	(.218)	.82	(.383)	.28	(.450)
Losers	.75	(.438)	.90	(.298)	.81	(.396)	.24	(.429)
Type of Office								
Mayoral candidates	.82	(.386)	.92	(.273)	.84	(.372)	.23	(.427)
Other candidates	.72	(.451)	.94	(.236)	.82	(.387)	.28	(.449)
Age								
Younger than 45	.82	(.388)	.91	(.283)	.78	(.419)	.33	(.478)
Candidates 45 and up	.72	(.452)	.93	(.257)	.82	(.382)	.24	(.429)

Independent single sample t-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. T-test results are presented vertically. Note: The N ranges from 182 for Billboards and 232 for News Media Ads. Weighted data.

TABLE A.7.2: Candidates who reported that their paid advertising was successful in drawing attention to their municipal campaign, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men		City		Non-city		All	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Gender									.71	(.456)
Women	.70	(.465)	----	-------	.63	(.504)	.71	(.461)	.70	(.465)
Men	----	-------	.71	(.454)	.74	(.442)	.67	(.471)	.71	(.454)
Municipality type										
City	.63	(.504)	.74	(.442)	.72	(.450)	----	-------	.72	(.450)
Non-city	.71	(.461)	.67	(.471)	----	-------	.69	(.467)	.69	(.467)
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	.69	(.482)	.62	(.489)	.68	(.476)	.60	(.496)	.64	(.485)
Challengers	.70	(.466)	.75	(.435)	.75	(.439)	.71	(.454)	.74	(.441)
Success										
Winners	.76	(.438)	.74	(.439)	.82	(.391)	.70	(.461)	.75	(.437)
Losers	.62	(.496)	.67	(.473)	.65	(.483)	.66	(.478)	.66	(.476)
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	.66	(.519)	.78	(.419)	.86	(.362)	.72	(.455)	.76	(.430)
Other candidates	.69	(.467)	.68	(.466)	.70	(.463)	.66	(.475)	.69	(.465)
Age										
Younger than 45	.84	(.387)	.76	(.436)	.68	(.480)	.84	(.379)	.78	(.421)
Candidates 45 and up	.64	(.486)	.70	(.461)	.73	(.449)	.65	(.478)	.69	(.465)

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 229. Weighted data.

TABLE 7.3: Candidates who reported forming a specific plan on how to use paid advertising in their recent municipal campaign, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men		City			Non-city		All	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)		Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Gender										.71	(.454)
Women	.67	(.475)	----	(-------)	.63	(.505)		.68	(.475)	.67	(.475)
Men	----	(-------)	.72	(.449)	.86	(.350)	***	.64	(.482)	.72	(.449)
Municipality type											
City	.63	(.505)	.86	(.350)	.82	(.384)		----	(-------)	.82	(.384)
Non-city	.68	(.475)	.64	(.482)	----	(-------)		.65	(.479)	.65 **	(.479)
Incumbency status											
Incumbents	.75	(.452)	.74	(.445)	.88	(.331)	*	.65	(.483)	.74	(.443)
Challengers	.65	(.485)	.73	(.447)	.79	(.408)		.67	(.474)	.71	(.455)
Success											
Winners	.66	(.482)	.73	(.448)	.96	(.192)	***	.62	(.488)	.71	(.454)
Losers	.68	(.479)	.72	(.452)	.72	(.455)		.69	(.465)	.71	(.456)
Type of Office											
Mayoral candidates	.78	(.451)	.76	(.433)	.94	(.256)	*	.69	(.470)	.76	(.430)
Other candidates	.64	(.485)	.72	(.452)	.80	(.403)	*	.63	(.485)	.70	(.459)
Age											
Younger than 45	.61	(.512)	.57	(.503)	.81	(.408)	**	.34	(.486)	.58	(.499)
Candidates 45 and up	.68	(.474)	.77	(.424)	.87	(.340)		.70	(.459)	.75	(.434)

Independent single sample t-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 228. Weighted data.

TABLE A.7.4: Candidate evaluations of their plan to use paid advertising during their recent municipal campaign, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men		City		Non-city		All	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
									.61	**(1.098)**
Gender										
Women	.51	(1.120)	----	-------	.38	(1.199)	.59	(1.092)	.51	(1.120)
Men	----	-------	.63	(1.095)	.40	(1.255)	.74	(.942)	.63	(1.095)
Municipality type										
City	.38	(1.199)	.40	(1.255)	.40	(1.239)	----	-------	.40	(1.239)
Non-city	.59	(1.092)	.74	(.942)	----	-------	.70	(.977)	.70	(.977)
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	.81	(.875)	.51	(1.095)	.30	(1.293)	.77	(.817)	.57	(1.054)
Challengers	.37	(1.211)	.68	(1.097)	.45	(1.222)	.67	(1.043)	.62	(1.121)
Success										
Winners	.74	(1.216)	.91	(1.200)	.70	(1.401)	.94	(1.062)	.88	(1.198)
Losers	.27	(.988)	.28	(.839)	.10	(.988)	.38	(.751)	.28	(.864) ***
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	.49	(1.138)	.90	(.787)	.72	(.816)	.90	(.864)	.84	(.838)
Other candidates	.55	(1.119)	.55	(1.169)	.32	(1.313)	.64	(1.008)	.55	(1.155)
Age										
Younger than 45	.47	(1.151)	1.45	(.687)	1.14	(.859)	.97	(1.112)	1.19	(.919)
Candidates 45 and up	.52	(1.178)	.50	(1.093)	.17	(1.260) *	.68	(.976)	.50	(1.104) **

The Index ranges from –2 for "very unsuccessful" to +2 for "very successful." Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 162. Weighted data.

TABLE A.8.1: Candidates who reported attending an all-candidates forum during their most recent municipal campaign, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men		City			Non-city		All	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)		Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Gender										**.77**	**(.421)**
Women	.71	(.459)	----	(-------)	.97	(.177)	***	.63	(.487)	.71	(.459)
Men	----	(-------)	.79	(.408)	.92	(.280)	***	.73	(.447)	.79	(.408)
Municipality type											
City	.97	(.177)	.92	(.280)	.92	(.265)		----	(-------)	.92	(.265)
Non-city	.63	(.487)	.73	(.447)	----	(-------)		.70	(.458)	.70	(.458) ***
Incumbency status											
Incumbents	.72	(.464)	.77	(.426)	1.00	(.000)	***	.65	(.482)	.75	(.433)
Challengers	.71	(.460)	.81	(.396)	.89	(.313)	**	.74	(.442)	.79	(.411)
Success											
Winners	.60	(.496)	.75	(.437)	.96	(.193)	***	.64	(.481)	.71	(.454) **
Losers	.88	(.338)	.86	(.352)	.90	(.306)		.83	(.379)	.86	(.348)
Type of Office											
Mayoral candidates	.66	(.509)	.84	(.374)	1.00	(.000)	***	.75	(.441)	.81	(.396)
Other candidates	.72	(.455)	.77	(.419)	.91	(.288)	***	.69	(.463)	.76	(.427)
Age											
Younger than 45	.80	(.424)	.69	(.470)	.90	(.308)	**	.56	(.505)	.71	(.459)
Candidates 45 and up	.68	(.471)	.81	(.393)	.93	(.260)	***	.73	(.446)	.78	(.414)

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 275. Weighted data.

TABLE A.8.2: Candidates who reported going door knocking during their most recent municipal campaign, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women Mean	(SD)	Men Mean	(SD)	City Mean	(SD)	Non-city Mean	(SD)	All Mean	(SD)
Gender									**.72**	**(.448)**
Women	.71	(.460)	----	--------	.73	(.462)	.69	(.465)	.71	(.460)
Men	----	--------	.73	(.445)	.88	(.330) ***	.68	(.469)	.73	(.445)
Municipality type										
City	.73	(.462)	.88	(.330)	.85	(.355)	----	--------	.85	(.355)
Non-city	.69	(.465)	.68	(.469)	----	--------	.68	(.467)	.68	(.467) ***
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	.66	(.487)	.64	(.484)	.85	(.360)	.55	(.502) **	.64	(.482)
Challengers	.74	(.446)	.77	(.421)	.85	(.357)	.75	(.435)	.76	(.425)
Success										
Winners	.66	(.480)	.67	(.470)	.85	(.358)	.63	(.484) **	.67	(.471)
Losers	.78	(.425)	.81	(.396)	.85	(.358)	.79	(.413)	.80	(.400) *
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	.52	(.537)	.63	(.488)	.78	(.433)	.56	(.503)	.62	(.491)
Other candidates	.73	(.446)	.75	(.436)	.87	(.341)	.71	(.456) **	.74	(.438) *
Age										
Younger than 45	.70	(.482)	.73	(.448)	.89	(.317)	.68	(.473)	.73	(.451)
Candidates 45 and up	.69	(.468)	.72	(.449)	.83	(.377) *	.68	(.469)	.72	(.452)

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 280. Weighted data.

TABLE A.8.3: Average number of hours candidates spent door knocking each week **before** their recent municipal campaign, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men		City		Non-city		All	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Gender									**7.03**	**(10.486)**
Women	6.00	(9.999)	-----	----------	3.90	(8.368)	6.79	(10.696)	6.00	(9.999)
Men	-----	----------	7.26	(10.618)	10.23	(11.901) *	5.25	(9.082)	7.26	(10.618)
Municipality type										
City	3.90	(8.368)	10.23	(11.901)	9.34	(11.621)	-----	----------	9.34	(11.621)
Non-city	6.79	(10.696)	5.25	(9.082)	-----	----------	5.58	(9.400)	5.58	(9.400) *
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	4.35	(8.750)	7.57	(11.305)	5.92	(7.651)	8.14	(13.049)	6.98	(10.857)
Challengers	6.65	(10.598)	7.14	(10.404)	10.92	(12.836) **	4.69	(7.678)	7.05	(10.390)
Success										
Winners	2.84	(5.015)	4.83	(7.634)	6.32	(7.521)	3.57	(6.629)	4.49	(7.264)
Losers	9.38	(12.834)	10.26	(12.878)	11.67	(13.654)	8.60	(11.956)	10.09	(12.776)
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	3.38	(10.518)	2.43	(4.495)	3.85	(6.465)	1.85	(4.361)	2.54	(5.124)
Other candidates	6.40	(10.184)	7.91	(10.557)	10.27	(12.082) *	5.63	(8.584)	7.61	(10.458)
Age										
Younger than 45	8.20	(11.669)	7.93	(9.357)	7.88	(9.713)	8.07	(9.758)	7.98	(9.528)
Candidates 45 and up	5.36	(10.104)	6.32	(9.944)	7.96	(10.553)	5.14	(9.395)	6.15	(9.935)

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 146. Weighted data.

TABLE A.8.4: Average hours that women and men candidates spent door knocking each week **during** their recent municipal campaign

	Women Mean	(SD)	Men Mean	(SD)	City Mean	(SD)	Non-city Mean	(SD)	All Mean	(SD)
									21.90	**(16.426)**
Gender										
Women	18.31	(14.196)	-------	(----------)	22.23	(18.199)	16.99	(13.041)	18.31	(14.196)
Men	-------	(----------)	22.92	(16.910)	22.60	(17.884)	22.88	(16.496)	22.92	(16.910)
Municipality type										
City	22.23	(18.199)	22.60	(17.884)	22.54	(17.779)	-------	(----------)	22.54	(17.779)
Non-city	16.99	(13.041) *	22.88	(16.496) *	-------	(----------)	21.33	(15.824)	21.33	(15.824)
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	19.94	(15.498)	17.69	(13.525)	15.10	(11.617)	19.36	(14.426)	18.28	(13.933)
Challengers	17.73	(13.977) *	24.56	(17.571) *	25.96	(19.142)	21.93	(16.227)	23.16	(17.061)
Success										
Winners	16.61	(13.942)	20.49	(13.347)	21.89	(17.947)	18.42	(11.488)	19.64	(13.511)
Losers	20.30	(14.533)	26.17	(20.415)	23.04	(17.892)	26.39	(20.569)	24.89	(19.353) *
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	15.44	(11.004)	21.13	(13.289)	17.66	(11.825)	21.69	(13.594)	20.42	(13.000)
Other candidates	18.45	(14.590)	23.39	(17.829)	23.45	(18.622)	21.27	(16.405)	22.21	(17.193)
Age										
Younger than 45	16.14	(12.826)	18.51	(13.438)	19.15	(15.871)	17.22	(11.378)	17.99	(13.151)
Candidates 45 and up	18.80	(14.847)	23.04	(16.766)	21.26	(16.466)	22.30	(16.568)	22.14	(16.424)

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 189. Weighted data.

Page 286

TABLE A.8.5: Candidates who reported forming a specific plan on how to directly engage voters during their recent municipal campaign, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men		City		Non-city		All	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Gender									**.73**	**(.443)**
Women	.69	(.467)	----	(------)	.79	(.423)	.66	(.479)	.69	(.467)
Men	----	(------)	.75	(.437)	.82	(.388)	.71	(.455)	.75	(.437)
Municipality type										
City	.79	(.423)	.82	(.388)	.81	(.391)	----	(------)	.81	(.391)
Non-city	.66	(.479)	.71	(.455)	----	(------)	.70	(.460)	.70	(.460)*
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	.71	(.467)	.69	(.467)	.88	(.333)**	.61	(.492)	.69	(.464)
Challengers	.69	(.470)	.78	(.418)	.79	(.413)	.75	(.437)	.76	(.430)
Success										
Winners	.64	(.485)	.75	(.434)	.90	(.304)**	.68	(.467)	.73	(.447)
Losers	.76	(.439)	.74	(.443)	.76	(.435)	.73	(.449)	.74	(.440)
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	.75	(.467)	.70	(.462)	.78	(.433)	.69	(.470)	.71	(.458)
Other candidates	.67	(.474)	.76	(.429)	.82	(.386)*	.69	(.463)	.74	(.440)
Age										
Younger than 45	.66	(.497)	.72	(.457)	.74	(.449)	.65	(.486)	.70	(.462)
Candidates 45 and up	.68	(.472)	.75	(.435)	.83	(.380)	.70	(.458)	.73	(.443)

Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 278. Weighted data.

TABLE A.8.6: Candidate evaluations of their plan to personally contact voters during their recent municipal campaign, overall, by gender and by municipality type

	Women		Men		City		Non-city		All	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Gender									**.63**	**(1.209)**
Women	.56	(1.167)	-----	--------	.46	(1.223)	.58	(1.181)	.56	(1.167)
Men	-----	--------	.65	(1.222)	.40	(1.401)	.78	(1.139)	.65	(1.222)
Municipality type										
City	.46	(1.223)	.40	(1.401)	.41	(1.364)	-----	-----	.41	(1.364)
Non-city	.58	(1.181)	.78	(1.139)	-----	--------	.73	(1.147)	.73	(1.147)
Incumbency status										
Incumbents	.76	(1.125)	.41	(1.432)	.50	(1.455)	.48	(1.348)	.50	(1.361)
Challengers	.44	(1.189)	.73	(1.133)	.36	(1.334)	.82	(1.062)	.68	(1.145)
Success										
Winners	.89	(1.138)	.93	(1.338)	.83	(1.572)	.95	(1.239)	.92***	(1.297)
Losers	.14	(1.099)	.23	(.881)	.05	(1.054)	.34	(0.834)	.21	(0.927)
Type of Office										
Mayoral candidates	.14	(1.435)	.67	(1.176)	-.15*	(1.241)	.87	(1.099)	.59	(1.213)
Other candidates	.65	(1.105)	.63	(1.244)	.51	(1.372)	.69	(1.160)	.64	(1.212)
Age										
Younger than 45	.64	(1.127)	1.43	(0.777)	1.38	(0.920)	1.22	(0.978)	1.26	(0.906)
Candidates 45 and up	.52	(1.188)	.48	(1.248)	.12*	(1.371)	.64	(1.163)	.49***	(1.233)

The Index ranges from −2 for "very unsuccessful" to +2 for "very successful." Independent single sample *t*-tests were used to determine the level of significance in differences in means; * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001. T-test results are presented horizontally in the Gender and Municipality Type columns and vertically in the All column. Note: Overall N = 199. Weighted data.

APPENDIX B: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS

You are under no obligation to participate in this survey, but I sincerely hope you will, since your input will be valuable. If you do decide to fill out the questionnaire, you can choose not to answer any question that you wish. You can also stop answering the questions at any time and return the survey as is. Filling out the survey questionnaire and returning it indicates that you consent to participate in this research.

MUNICIPAL POLITICS
This section seeks information about your political career and your most recent campaign for municipal office. Write in your answer and/or circle the number next to the best answer.

1. Over the course of your political career, how many years have you held *municipal* office?

2. What was your job just before you ran in the recent municipal election?

3. At the time, did you work in your job…

Full-time	1
Part-time	2
Casual	3
N/A (did not have a paid job)	9

4. How many years had you lived in the community before your most recent run for municipal office?

5. Were you involved in any community groups before your most recent run for municipal office?

Yes	1	
No	2	Proceed to Question 10

6. What was the focus of the group(s) you were involved in? You can select more than one answer.

Business	1
Service club	2
Sports/recreation	3
Arts	4
Education/school	5
Social welfare	6
Government organizations/committees	7
Religious	8
Ethnic	9
Women's organization	10
Men's organization	11
Other (specify): _____	12

7. Overall, how many *years* have you volunteered with community groups in the municipality?

8. On average, how many *hours a week* did you volunteer for community groups in the year before the recent municipal election?

9. How would you describe your typical involvement with these community groups in that year?

      President   1
      Member of the executive   2
      Organizer   3
      Regular volunteer   4
      Other   5

10. In what type of community did you most recently seek election?

      City   1
      Town   2
      Village   3
      Rural municipality   4
      Other   5   Please specify: _____

11. In what year was the municipal election held?

12. In what province or territory was the municipal election held?

13. Which office did you campaign for?

      Mayor/reeve   1
      Councillor/alderman   2
      Regional councillor   3
      Deputy mayor   4
      Other   5   Please specify: _____

14. What type of electoral system did the municipality use for the office you sought?

      At-large (All voters can vote for this position)   1
      Ward (Only some voters can vote for this position)   2

15. Were you the incumbent in that position?

      Yes   1
      No   2

16. Were you successful in securing that position?

      Yes   1
      No   2   Proceed to Question 18

17. If yes, did you gain that position by acclamation?

      Yes   1
      No   2   Proceed to Question 25

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION
This section asks about the strategies you used to communicate with voters during the most recent municipal election you contested.

18. In your recent campaign for municipal office, did you have an overall communication plan for getting information to voters?

       Yes   1
       No   2   Proceed to Question 23

19. Who developed this communication plan?

20. When did you develop this communication plan?

Before you announced your candidacy	1
Before the official start of the campaign	2
During the campaign itself	3
Other (specify): _____	4

21. How do you rate the success of your overall communications plan during the recent municipal election?

Very unsuccessful	Unsuccessful	Undecided/ Neutral	Successful	Very successful
1	2	3	4	5

22. Please elaborate on the reasons behind how you rated the success of your communications plan.

23. Giving a brief description, what policy issues did you highlight in your most recent municipal campaign? Please list them in order of importance.

       Issue No. 1:
       Issue No. 2:
       Issue No. 3:
       Issue No. 4:
       Issue No. 5:

24. Most candidates for public office try to highlight some things and avoid mentioning others when dealing with the public and press. For each of the following, did you try to highlight or avoid them?

	Highlight	Avoid	Neither highlight/avoid
Policy ideas	1	2	3
Professional qualifications	1	2	3
Volunteer experience	1	2	3
Education	1	2	3
Character	1	2	3
Reputation in the community	1	2	3
Gender	1	2	3
Appearance	1	2	3
Age	1	2	3
Family life	1	2	3
Ties to ethnic community	1	2	3
Ties to religious community	1	2	3

NEWS MEDIA
This section asks how you dealt with journalists during the most recent municipal election you contested.

25. Are any of the following news organizations located in your municipality? You can select more than one.

Daily newspaper	1
Weekly newspaper	2
Magazine	3
Television station	4
Radio station	5

26. Did any news organizations, including those located outside the community, cover the municipal election in your municipality?

Yes	1	
No	2	
No election held	3	Proceed to Question 76 (the Personal Profile section)

27. If you can recall, did any of the following news outlets cover your campaign for municipal office?

	Yes	No
Daily newspaper	1	2
Weekly newspaper	1	2
Magazine	1	2
Television station	1	2
Radio station	1	2

28. Did you deal with any journalists during the campaign, either contacting them or being contacted by them?

Yes	1	
No	2	Proceed to Question 31

29. How often did you or your staff use the following techniques to seek news coverage for your campaign during the election?

	Daily	Weekly	Occasionally	Once	Never
Direct contact with journalists	1	2	3	4	5
Press release	1	2	3	4	5
Press conference	1	2	3	4	5
Photo opportunities	1	2	3	4	5
Letter to the editor	1	2	3	4	5
Opinion piece in newspaper	1	2	3	4	5

30. How often did you or your staff contact the following types of journalists during the election?

	Daily	Weekly	Occasionally	Once	Never
Newspaper journalist	1	2	3	4	5
Television journalist	1	2	3	4	5
Radio journalist	1	2	3	4	5
Magazine journalist	1	2	3	4	5

31. If you can recall, what is the total number of stories that each type of news organization ran on your campaign during the election?

Daily newspaper   _____
Weekly newspaper   _____
Magazine   _____
Television station   _____
Radio station   _____

32. Did you receive the amount of news coverage you hoped to get during the election?

Yes   1
No   2

33. Would you agree that journalists were fair in their news stories about your campaign?

Strongly disagree   1
Disagree   2
Undecided/Neutral   3
Agree   4
Strongly agree   5

34. Did you have a specific plan on how to deal with journalists during the election?

Yes   1
No   2

35. How do you rate the success of your plan to deal with journalists so as to encourage news coverage of your campaign during the election?

Very unsuccessful	Unsuccessful	Undecided/ Neutral	Successful	Very successful
1	2	3	4	5

36. Please elaborate on the reasons behind how you rated the success of your news media plan.

SOCIAL MEDIA
This section asks about the social media platforms you used in the most recent municipal election you contested.

37. Did you use any social media in your campaign, such as a website or Facebook page?

Yes   1
No   2   Proceed to Question 48

38. Did you use any of the following online or social media platforms during the campaign?

	Yes	No
Website	1	2
Blog	1	2
Email	1	2
Facebook	1	2
Twitter	1	2
YouTube	1	2
Flickr	1	2

39. Please rate the importance of the following reasons why you used, or didn't use, social media during your campaign.

	Very Important	Important	Undecided/ Neutral	Not Important	Not very Important
Reaching as many voters as possible	1	2	3	4	5
Making yourself more visible	1	2	3	4	5
Making your views more visible	1	2	3	4	5
Organizing your campaign	1	2	3	4	5
Gaining visibility in traditional media	1	2	3	4	5
Appearing modern	1	2	3	4	5
Counteracting rumours/falsehoods	1	2	3	4	5
Critiquing other candidates	1	2	3	4	5

40. What topics did you discuss on the following online and social media platforms? Only provide answers for the application(s) you used during the campaign.

	Website	Blog	Email	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	Flickr
Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Position sought	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ward/municipality name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Policy platform	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Character	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Professional qualifications	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Leadership skills	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Volunteer experience	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Educational attainment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Campaign events	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Press releases	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Speeches	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Links to media coverage	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

41. Who took primary responsibility for writing, producing, and/or posting the content that you presented on social media sites?

42. How frequently did you or your staff update the following online and social media platforms?

	Several times a day	Daily	Weekly	Occasionally	Once	Never
Website	1	2	3	4	5	6
Blog	1	2	3	4	5	6
Email	1	2	3	4	5	6
Facebook	1	2	3	4	5	6
Twitter	1	2	3	4	5	6
YouTube	1	2	3	4	5	6
Flickr	1	2	3	4	5	6

43. If you can, please estimate the total number of visits each of your social media platforms had *by the end of the campaign*. Only provide answers for the ones you used during the campaign.

Website	_____
Blog	_____
Facebook	_____
Twitter	_____
YouTube	_____
Flickr	_____

44. Did you receive the numbers of visits to your social media platforms that you hoped to get?

Yes 1
No 2

45. Did you have a specific plan on how to use social media during the election?

Yes 1
No 2 Proceed to Question 48

46. How do you rate the success of your social media plan?

Very unsuccessful	Unsuccessful	Undecided/ Neutral	Successful	Very successful
1	2	3	4	5

47. Please elaborate on the reasons behind how you rated the success of your social media plan.

48. What was the main reason for *not using* these social media platforms during your campaign?

	Too costly	Time consuming	Ineffective	Unnecessary	Not familiar with it
Website	1	2	3	4	5
Blog	1	2	3	4	5
Facebook	1	2	3	4	5
Twitter	1	2	3	4	5
YouTube	1	2	3	4	5
Flickr	1	2	3	4	5

PAID ADVERTISING
This section asks about paid advertising you did during the most recent municipal election you contested.

49. Did you do any paid advertising during the election (including but not limited to the use of lawn signs and pamphlets)?

Yes   1
No   2   Proceed to Question 58

50. Did you run paid advertisements with any of the following during the campaign?

	Yes	No
Daily newspaper	1	2
Weekly newspaper	1	2
Television	1	2
Radio	1	2
Magazine	1	2
Website(s) of above news outlets	1	2
Other website(s)	1	2

51. How frequently did your campaign do the following?

	Daily	Weekly	Occasionally	Once	Never
Run newspaper ads	1	2	3	4	5
Run television ads	1	2	3	4	5
Run radio ads	1	2	3	4	5

52. Did you use any of the following direct advertising techniques during the campaign?

	Yes	No
Pamphlets	1	2
Lawn signs	1	2
Billboards	1	2
Phone calls	1	2

53. What type of information did you include in the following campaign materials? Select all that apply.

	Media ads	**Pamphlets**	**Lawn signs**	**Billboards**	**Phone calls**
Name	1	2	3	4	5
Position sought	1	2	3	4	5
Ward/municipality name	1	2	3	4	5
Biographical details	1	2	3	4	5
Website address	1	2	3	4	5
Policy ideas	1	2	3	4	5
Character	1	2	3	4	5
Reputation in community	1	2	3	4	5
Family Life	1	2	3	4	5
Volunteer work	1	2	3	4	5
Professional qualifications	1	2	3	4	5

54. Were your paid advertising efforts successful in drawing public attention to your campaign?

Yes 1
No 2
Don't know 3

55. Did you have a specific plan on how to use paid advertising during the election?

Yes 1
No 2 Proceed to Question 58

56. How do you rate the success of your advertising plan?

Very unsuccessful	Unsuccessful	Undecided/ Neutral	Successful	Very successful
1	2	3	4	5

57. Please elaborate on the reasons behind how you rated the success of your advertising plan.

58. What was the main reason for *not using* the following advertising during your campaign?

	Too costly	**Time consuming**	**Ineffective**	**Unnecessary**
Lawn signs	1	2	3	4
Billboards	1	2	3	4
Newspaper ads	1	2	3	4
Television ads	1	2	3	4
Radio ads	1	2	3	4
Pamphlets	1	2	3	4
Phone calls	1	2	3	4

DIRECT CAMPAIGNING
This section asks about the face-to-face contact you had with voters during the most recent municipal election you contested.

59. Did you engage in any face-to-face contact with voters during the election?

       Yes   1
       No   2   Proceed to Question 68

60. Did you participate in any all-candidates forums during the election?

       Yes   1
       No   2   Proceed to Question 62

61. How many all-candidates forums did you participate in during the election?

62. Did you go door knocking to reach voters in person?

       Yes   1
       No   2   Proceed to Question 64

63. How many hours a week on average did you go door knocking?

    Before the campaign: _____
    During the campaign: _____

64. How many weeks of pre-election campaigning did you engage in?

65. Did you have a specific plan on how to engage in face-to-face contact with voters during the recent election?

       Yes   1
       No   2   Proceed to Question 68

66. How do you rate the success of your plan to directly engage voters during the recent election?

Very unsuccessful	Unsuccessful	Undecided/ Neutral	Successful	Very successful
1	2	3	4	5

67. Please elaborate on the reasons behind how you rated the success of your direct campaigning plan.

CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION
This section seeks details about your campaign organization and financing in the most recent municipal election you contested. Remember, the information you provide here is anonymous.

68. How much money did your campaign raise?

69. How much did your campaign spend?

70. Please rank the top three sources of funding for your campaign.

Yourself	_____
Family	_____
Friends	_____
Businesses	_____
Unions	_____
Other individuals/groups	_____
N/A: didn't fundraise	_____

71. When did you *begin* fundraising for your campaign?

Before you announced your candidacy	1
Before the official start of the campaign	2
During the campaign itself	3
N/A: didn't fundraise	4

72. How much money did your campaign spend on communications, such as websites, pamphlets, and advertisements?

73. How many paid campaign staff did you have?

74. How many volunteers did you have?

75. How many members of your campaign staff, paid or volunteer, were responsible for your communication activities, such as maintaining
the campaign website?

PERSONAL PROFILE OF MUNICIPAL POLITICIANS
This section asks questions of a personal nature. Remember, your participation in this survey is voluntary and you can choose not to answer any question you wish.

76. What is your sex?

Female	1
Male	2

77. What was your age at the start of the most recent municipal election you contested?

78. What was your marital status at the time of that election?

Single	1
Married	2
Common-law	3
Separated	4
Divorced	5
Widowed	6

79. Do you have any children?

Yes	1	
No	2	Proceed to Question 81

80. Describe your children's living arrangements at the time of the last municipal election. Please select all that apply.

Preschool children living with you	1
Preschool children living elsewhere	2
School-aged children living with you	3
School-aged children living elsewhere	4
Adult children living at your home	5
Adult children living somewhere else	6

81. Please indicate the highest level of education you have completed and any level of education you are currently pursuing.

	Completed	Currently enrolled
High school	1	2
Certificate/diploma program	1	2
College	1	2
Bachelor degree	1	2
Master's degree	1	2
Professional degree (i.e. ID/LLB/MD)	1	2
Doctorate (PhD)	1	2

82. Would you say you are a…

Very religious person	1
Somewhat religious person	2
Spiritual person but not a member of an organized religion	3
Not a religious person	4

83. Do you identify with any particular religious faith? If so, which one?

84. Which of the following do you believe *best describes* your primary ethnicity?

Caucasian (*white European origin*)	1
Aboriginal (*Inuit, First Nations, Métis*)	2
East Asian (*Chinese, Japanese, etc.*)	3
South Asian (*East Indian, Pakistani, etc.*)	4
Arab/West Asian (*Armenian, Jordanian, etc.*)	5
Black (*African Blacks, West Indian Blacks, etc.*)	6
Hispanic (*Mexican, Cuban, Chilean, etc.*)	7
Other: _____	8

85. What was *your family's total annual income* (before taxes) *before* the most recent municipal election you contested?

Less than $20,000	1
$20,000 to $39,000	2
$40,000 to $59,999	3
$60,000 to $79,999	4
$80,000 to $99,999	5
$100,000 to $119,999	6
$120,000 to $139,999	7
$140,000 to $159,999	8
$160,000 to $179,999	9
More than $180,000	10

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your input will be invaluable.

If you have any questions about this study, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher, PhD candidate Angelia Wagner, at angelia@ualberta.ca or her supervisor, Dr. Linda Trimble, at ltrimble@ualberta.ca.

Appendix C: Interview Schedule

While I tried to follow the script below while interviewing candidates about municipal political communication, the phrasing and order of questions varied according to the circumstances of each interview.

INTRODUCTION

I'd like to thank you for taking the time today to speak with me about how you campaigned for municipal office. Your insights will make an important contribution to my study on the role of communication in municipal elections.

The purpose of this interview is twofold: first, to learn about the motivations behind the messages you did, and did not, wish to convey to voters during an election and second, to get your insight into the role of different types of communication techniques in municipal elections. I would appreciate it if you could use examples from your own experiences with campaigning in municipal elections to illustrate your points.

MESSAGES

Thinking back to your last campaign, what did you want voters to learn about you before making their decision? Why these points?

Were there any topics or issues you wanted to avoid discussing during the campaign, either with voters or journalists? Why these topics?

Since my project looks at the role of gender, I'd like to ask specifically about how you handled the topic of your family or personal life.

Did you ever publicly talk about your family during the campaign (such as in brochures or on website)? Was this a deliberate choice and, if so, why?

Did journalists ever ask you about your family or other aspects of your personal life? Did you feel they focused too much on these issues? Were you ever worried the media would talk about your private life (too much)?

COMMUNICATION TECHNIQUES

What role did the news media play in your campaign? Do you think the news media treated you and your campaign fairly?

In comparison to other forms of communication, how important are the news media for municipal candidates in trying to reach voters?

What role do you think the news media should play in municipal campaigns, now and in the future?

What role did social media have in your campaign? Why did you decide (not) to use them?

In your view, what are the drawbacks of using social media for municipal candidates? What about their strengths?

What role do you think social media will play in the future in municipal campaigns in your community?

What role did traditional advertising techniques such as lawn signs and brochures play in your campaign?

What do you think their strengths and weaknesses are in terms of municipal campaigns?

Do you see their importance changing in light of new techniques such as social media?

What role did face-to-face campaigning have in your campaign? What are its strengths and weaknesses?

Do you think the communication strategies of municipal candidates are changing? If so, why?

RESOURCES

In my project, I would also like to know what influence a person's volunteer history and financial resources played in their communication plans.

Do you think it is helpful for a municipal candidate to have a lot of involvement in community organizations before seeking office for the first time? Why (not)?

What role do you believe money plays in municipal campaigns today? What kind of resources did you have and how did that affect your ability to communicate with voters?

Do you have any final comments on any of the topics we have discussed today?

Appendix D: Messages and Forms

RECRUITMENT LETTER FOR CANDIDATE SURVEY:

Study title: Gender and the political communication strategies of Canadian municipal politicians

Research Investigator:	**Supervisor:**
Angelia Wagner	Dr. Linda Trimble
10-16 Henry Marshall Tory Building	12-26 Henry Marshall Tory Building
University of Alberta	University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta	Edmonton, Alberta
angelia@ualberta.ca	ltrimble@ualberta.ca
780-756-6273	780-492-0957

Dear [Name],

I am doing a survey to learn more about how individuals campaign for municipal office in Canada, and would very much appreciate your participation given your recent experience as a candidate. I have randomly selected your name from among the thousands of candidates who ran in their community's most recent municipal election. I obtained contact information for candidates from municipal websites, candidate financial statements, online phone books, other Internet sources, and sometimes from candidates themselves. Your insights will be invaluable for my study.

The purpose of my research project is to find out how women and men candidates try to reach voters during a municipal campaign. In the next few days you will receive either a follow-up email or letter asking you to take part in an online survey. The questionnaire will ask you if — and how — you dealt with journalists and used social media (such as websites), paid advertising (such as lawn signs), and face-to-face contact (such as door knocking) during your campaign.

This research will benefit scholarship by highlighting the important role of the media in municipal elections and by being the first in Canada to look at how women and men municipal politicians try to shape their public image. This study will benefit society by helping to identify the communication practices of successful municipal candidates.

The survey should take about 20 minutes of your time. In a sheet accompanying this letter and in subsequent contacts, I will provide you with a link and password so you can access the questionnaire on SurveyMonkey. The online survey will indicate how to send the responses to the secure server. You are under no obligation to participate in this survey. If you do decide to fill out the questionnaire, you are free to not answer any question you wish. You can also stop answering the questions at any time and return the survey as is. Filling out the survey and returning it indicates you consent to participate in this research.

The main benefit that you will get from being in this study is the potential satisfaction of helping to push forward research on the little-studied subject of municipal elections. I hope that the information I get from doing this study will help us better understand differences — if any — in how women and men run for municipal office and how candidates try to deal

with public attitudes toward women and men in their campaign communications. The only cost to you is in the time it takes to do the survey. I will bear all of the material costs for the survey. You face no risks from filling out the questionnaire as the survey is anonymous.

The results from this survey will form the basis of my PhD thesis, and could also appear in a book, academic journals, book chapters, and conference presentations. I might also present the results to community groups and the news media. Feel free to contact me by email if you wish to learn how to obtain a copy of any of these publications. You will not be personally identified in any of these reports.

Your answers will be kept confidential. Only I will have access to the raw survey data. Electronic information will be kept in a password-protected computer that will be kept in a secure place for at least five years after this project is done. I might use the data I get from this study in future resarch, but if I do this it will have to be approved by a Research Ethics Board. If I do not get that approval, the information will be destroyed in such a way that protects your anonymity and confidentiality.

If you have any questions regarding this study, do not hesitate to contact me at angelia@ ualberta.ca or at 780-756-6273. You can contact my supervisor Dr. Linda Trimble at ltrimble@ualberta.ca or at 780-492-0957.

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615.

I hope that you will consider participating in this study. Your input is very valuable to my efforts.

Sincerely,

Angelia Wagner

FIRST EMAIL CONTACT FOR CANDIDATE SURVEY:

Dear [Name],

Several days ago I sent a message asking you to take part in an online survey about the communication strategies of municipal candidates. My records indicate that, as of today, you have not yet completed this survey. I hope you will do so at your earliest convenience. As one of a small group of municipal politicians selected to take part in this survey, your input is very valuable. (If my records are incorrect and you have filled out the survey, or you do not wish to, please notify me and I will remove you from my contact list.)

You can access the online survey using the link and password below:

Survey link:

Password:

The survey will take about 20 minutes or more to complete. For some candidates the survey will take less than 20 minutes because the online questionnaire has been designed to skip respondents past questions that are not relevant to them. For the same reason, candidates who were acclaimed to office can expect to spend just 5 to 10 minutes filling out the questionnaire.

Your participation is voluntary. Filling out the survey indicates you consent to participate in this research. Your answers will be strictly confidential.

If you should have any problems with the survey or have any questions, please contact me at angelia@ualberta.ca or at 780-756-6273, or my project supervisor, Dr. Linda Trimble, at ltrimble@ualberta.ca or at 780-492-0957.

Thanks for your participation!

Sincerely,

Angelia Wagner
PhD candidate
Department of Political Science
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB

RECRUITMENT LETTER FOR CANDIDATE INTERVIEWS:

Study title: Gender and the political communication strategies of Canadian municipal politicians

Research Investigator:	**Supervisor:**
Angelia Wagner	Dr. Linda Trimble
10-16 Henry Marshall Tory Building	12-26 Henry Marshall Tory Building
University of Alberta	University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta	Edmonton, Alberta
angelia@ualberta.ca	ltrimble@ualberta.ca
780-756-6273	780-492-0957

Dear [Name],

Thank you for volunteering to do a personal interview about your experiences campaigning for municipal office in Canada. Your insights on if — and how — you dealt with journalists and used social media, paid advertising, and face-to-face contact to reach voters during your campaign will help us to learn how municipal candidates use various communication techniques in their bid for elected office.

This research will benefit scholarship by highlighting the important role of the media in municipal elections and by being the first in Canada to look at how municipal politicians try to shape their public image. The main benefit that you will get from being in this study is the potential satisfaction of helping to push forward research on the little-studied subject of municipal elections. The only cost to you in participating in my research is the time it takes to do the interview. I will bear all of the material costs for the interview.

The interview should take about an hour of your time. I will contact you [by phone or email] over the next few days to set up a date and time for the interview that works best for your schedule. You can choose whether we talk by telephone or by Skype. I will tape record the interview for record-keeping purposes only. Only I will have access to the recording. Please find enclosed a consent form for you to sign and return to me indicating that you agree to do the personal interview. Your identity will be kept confidential.

You are under no obligation to do the interview. Your participation is completely voluntary. If you do decide to go ahead with the interview, you are free to not answer any question you wish and you can stop the interview at any time. Even if you agree to do the interview you can change your mind and withdraw at any time. You can also decide to withdraw your data after the interview has been done. If you do withdraw, I can remove your information from my thesis or report up to a month before it submitted for review.

I do not expect any risks to you from doing the interviews, but there might be risks that are not yet known. If I learn anything during the research that might affect your willingness to continue being in the study, I will tell you right away.

Your answers will be kept confidential. Only I will have access to the raw interview data, including the interview recording. Electronic information will be kept in a password-protected computer that will be kept in a secure place for at least five years after this project is done. I might use the data I get from this study in future research, but if I do this it will have to be approved by a Research Ethics Board. If I do not get that approval, the information will be destroyed in such a way that protects your anonymity and confidentiality.

The results from this survey will form the basis of my PhD thesis and a book, and will also appear in academic journals, book chapters, and conference presentations. I also expect to present the results to community groups and the news media. You will not be personally identified in any of these reports. Feel free to contact me by email if you wish to learn how to obtain a copy of any of these publications.

If you have any questions regarding this study, do not hesitate to contact me at angelia@ ualberta.ca or at 780-756-6273. You can contact my supervisor Dr. Linda Trimble at ltrimble@ualberta.ca or at 780-492-0957.

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615.

I hope that you will consider participating in this study. Your input is very valuable to my efforts.

Sincerely,

Angelia Wagner

CONSENT FORM FOR CANDIDATE INTERVIEWS

Consent Form

Study title: Gender and the political communication strategies of Canadian municipal politicians

Principal investigator: Angelia Wagner

You are being asked to join a study because of your experiences campaigning for municipal office. I seek your insights on how you chose to deal with journalists and use social media, paid advertising, and face-to-face contact to reach voters during the campaign. The purpose of the study is to understand the role of the media in municipal elections and how municipal candidates try to shape their public image.

If you agree to join this study, you will be asked to give me about an hour of your time to answer a serious of questions about your communication techniques during your campaign. You can choose to do the interview with me over the telephone or by Skype.

I do not expect any risks to you from doing the interviews, but there might be risks that are not yet known. If I learn anything during the research that might affect your willingness to continue being in the study, I will tell you right away.

You do not have to join this study. It is up to you. You can agree to do the interview now and change your mind later. You can also do the interview and later decide to withdraw your information from the study. I can remove your data until about a month before I submit my thesis or any reports for review. All you have to do is tell me about your decision.

If you have any questions about this study please feel free to contact researcher Angelia Wagner at angelia@ualberta.ca or 780-756-6273 or her supervisor, Dr. Linda Trimble, at ltrimble@ualberta.ca or 780-492-0957.

❏ Yes, I will be in this research study   ❏ No, I don't want to be in this study

_____   _____   _____

         (Print Name)   (Signature)   (Date)

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by Research Ethics Board (specify which board) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.