

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF VISIBLE MINORITIES AT THE LOCAL LEVEL:
A CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Visible minorities – i.e., persons defined by the Government of Canada as those who are not Aboriginal, Caucasian in race, or white in color – account for roughly 22% of Canada’s population. Yet this group continues to be underrepresented as political candidates and elected officials in many municipal councils across Canada.

Assessing the state and quality of a nation’s democracy ought to consider the extent to which citizens are politically engaged. In an effort to understand the representational deficit of visible minorities at the municipal level, this study assesses the scope of visible minority representation in Winnipeg, Canada. The results demonstrate that although visible minorities are underrepresented at Winnipeg’s City Council, this group is currently better represented than at any point in council’s history. The findings are also consistent with what the literature unanimously reveals about incumbency – it continues to be a strong predictor of electoral success in local elections.

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Last but certainly not least – my beautiful soul of a mother, the rest of my family and my closest friends who I consider to be family. It would be remiss of me to not acknowledge my biggest cheerleaders. Thank you for always believing in me.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my late father Wendell Albert Edwards and my late sister Natalie Olivia Edwards. Their legacy of a hard work ethic, steadfast determination and undying love for the village lives on.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Canada is a democracy. Although at present there are hundreds of different definitions of *democracy* in use (Storm 2008), democratic countries are widely understood as employing a system of government whereby “all eligible citizens have the right to participate, either directly or indirectly, in making the decisions that affect them” (Parliament of Canada 2009, p.8).

In spite of the fact that there are various definitions and equally as many perspectives related to our understanding of the term, a key feature observed in democratic societies is that of citizen participation in government (Gidengil and Bastedo 2014). Citizen engagement in this respect can be achieved via direct participation whereby citizens decide on public policies and initiatives directly or by way of a representative government in which eligible local citizens elect officials to act on their behalf (Flora and Flora 2013) – the latter is the case in Canada and most established democracies. Since citizens only occasionally have the opportunity to make decisions on policies in representative democracies (in contrast to direct or pure democracies), the relationship between citizens and elected officials is not only of great significance and value but of increasing concern.

One of the most often-cited works contributing to the discussion on political representation stems from political theorist Hanna Pitkin’s *The Concept of Representation* (1967). Although Pitkin presents four different approaches to understanding representation, which includes “symbolic” and “formalistic” perspectives, much of the debate among other theorists, academics and scholars tends to centre around her views on “descriptive” and “symbolic” representation. *Descriptive representation* (i.e., *who* governs) is a function of the extent to which elected representatives resemble the represented whereas *symbolic representation* (i.e., *what* governments do) is more concerned with the actions of representatives

(Gidengil and Bastedo 2014). Pitkin argues that elected officials should be judged by their actions and not just their likeness in relation to their constituents (Minta 2012). She further extends her view on the subject matter by asserting that it is less important to focus on who our representatives are and more important to focus on what they do (Celis and Childs 2008).

It has been argued that a better balance between who governs and who is governed has many advantages for democracy. For example, some researchers contend that electing underrepresented groups such as women and visible minorities in Canada's House of Commons has improved governments efforts (substantive representation) on issues affecting this segment of the population (Gidengil and Bastedo 2014). That is to say that in some cases, descriptive representation can lead to substantive representation.

As cited by Myer Siemiatycki (2011) in his study on electoral underrepresentation of visible minorities in Ontario, beneficial consequences for democratic societies include:

- The assurance that lawmakers and policy-makers are attuned to a broad range of experiences and interests;
- drawing on the widest talent pool for political leadership;
- giving all Canadians a sense of belonging and access to government;
- minimizing community marginalization; and
- promoting an inclusive Canadian identity and value-system.

1.1. Statement of the Research Goal and Objectives

Due in large part to sustained flows of global migration, Canada is one of the most demographically diverse nations in the world. It is certainly a multicultural society, shaped over time by immigrants and their descendants where its foreign born population represented 20.6% of the total population in 2011 – this is the highest proportion among the highly industrialized

countries that comprised the Group of Eight (G8), countries which included Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America during this time period (Statistics Canada 2013). Canada is a country that prides itself on multicultural ideals, where multiculturalism is often viewed as a part of Canada's identity. This is in large part due to the fact that the federal government formally adopted a multiculturalism policy in 1971, recognized multicultural heritage in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, and passed the Multiculturalism Act (the *Act*) in Parliament 1988 (Government of Canada 2018).

Despite what is known about Canada's immigration and ethnocultural diversity and what the literature reveals about the benefits of a diverse and descriptive representational government, there is a rather large disconnect between the country's population demographics concerning visible minorities and the profile of its elected officials. Visible minorities – i.e., persons defined by the Government of Canada as those who are not Indigenous, Caucasian in race, or white in color - account for roughly 22% of Canada's population (Statistics Canada 2017). Yet this group continues to be underrepresented as political candidates and elected officials at all three levels of government (federal, provincial, municipal / local), with the problem most pronounced at the local level. In 2015, fewer than 7% of municipal council seats across Canada's 50 largest cities were held by visible minorities (Spicer and McGregor 2015). In some jurisdictions, certain subgroups have no representation at the local level of government and never have.

As authors Elisabeth Gidengil and Heather Bastedo state in *Canadian Democracy from the Ground Up* (2014) “any assessment of the health of Canadian democracy must necessarily consider the extent to which citizens actually participate in the country's political life” (p. 4). From this perspective, a starting point in trying to assess the underrepresentation of visible minority groups in local politics would be to determine the scope of the problem in each

Canadian municipality. Given that this would be an arduous task for any researcher or research team, the overall goal of this thesis is to determine the scope of visible minority underrepresentation in municipal government in one Canadian city – Winnipeg. Therefore, the central research question guiding this study asks: what is the scope of visible minority underrepresentation in Winnipeg’s municipal government?

In an attempt to resolve this research goal, three objectives will be addressed. The first objective seeks to determine what percentage of visible minorities stood as candidates and what percentage of these candidates were elected to council in Winnipeg’s 2018 municipal election (in proportion to their share of the overall population). The results of the election will provide an opportunity to assess the city’s progress towards visible minority representation in the political arena. Second, this study will explore to what extent the journey and experiences between visible minority and non-visible minority candidates are the same and different. The third and final objective pertaining to this study will explore reasons or factors that ultimately influence a candidates’ decision to run for office – and to what extent any uncovered reasons or factors are similar or different between visible minority groups and non-visible minority groups. These last two objectives shift the focus to candidacies in an effort to invite more depth and breadth into the study.

1.2. Delineations

Although other Canadian jurisdictions will be covered in the literature review, this study is limited to one Canadian municipality – Winnipeg, Manitoba. Additionally, this study intends to study the phenomenon of underrepresentation of visible minorities at the local government level and will not include any analysis at the provincial or federal levels.

Although the causes of underrepresentation and electoral challenges and successes will be discussed, this study does not intend to diagnose the cause(s) of underrepresentation of visible minorities in Winnipeg's municipal government. Furthermore, the study will not be able to confirm with absolute certainty electoral challenges and success, where and if observed.

Lastly, although the study seeks to explore the extent to which visible minority and non-visible minority candidates share or differ in certain aspects their political journey, the study will not determine cause-and-effect relationships to account for any similarities or differences observed.

1.3. Definitions

1. **Visible Minority:** Racial minorities in Canada are typically referred to as *visible minorities*. The term refers to whether a person belongs to a visible minority group as defined by the *Employment Equity Act* and, if so, the visible minority group to which the person belongs. The *Employment Equity Act* (1995, c. 44) defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (p.2). The visible minority population consists mainly of the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese. (Statistics Canada 2017).
2. **Municipal Government** (used interchangeably with *Local Government*): Municipal government is one of three levels of government in Canada (the other two levels being federal and provincial). It is a type of council authority that is responsible for establishing by-laws and for the provision of local services, facilities, safety and infrastructure.
3. **Canadian Multiculturalism:** According to the Library of Parliament's background paper on Multiculturalism in Canada (2009), the concept of Canada as "multicultural

society” can be interpreted in one of three ways – as a sociological fact, as an ideology or as policy. The backgrounder describes the concept as follows:

“As a sociological fact, multiculturalism refers to the presence of people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Ideologically, multiculturalism consists of a relatively coherent set of ideas and ideals pertaining to the celebration of Canada’s cultural diversity. At the policy level, multiculturalism refers to the management of diversity through formal initiatives in the federal, provincial, territorial and municipal domains” (p. 1).

1.4. Controversies Surrounding use of the Term ‘Visible Minority’

The term “visible minority” is unique to Canada. Visible minorities are one of four groups covered by the Canadian Employment Equity Act (the *Act*). As outlined in section two of the Act, the purpose is to:

“achieve equality in the workplace so that no person shall be denied employment opportunities or benefits for reasons unrelated to ability and, in the fulfilment of that goal, to correct the conditions of disadvantage in employment experienced by women, Aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and members of visible minorities by giving effect to the principle that employment equity means more than treating persons in the same way but also requires special measures and the accommodation of differences” (p.4).

Essentially the Government of Canada uses demographic data on the designated groups covered by the Act to support programs and initiatives that promote employment equity. Under the Act, employers are responsible for “identifying and eliminating employment barriers against persons in designated groups” ensuring that each achieves “a degree of representation in each occupational group in the employer’s workforce that reflects their representation in the Canadian workforce” (Employment Equity Act S.C. 1995, c. 44, p.5).

Despite the *Act's* stated purpose, there are many throughout Canada and abroad who consider use of the term to be outdated (given the country's changing demographics) and hurtful to those that were intended to benefit from its programs and policies (Balkisoon and Grant 2019). In his examination of visible minority representation among politicians in Ontario, author Myer Siemiatycki (2011) states that the term has been "criticized for its ambiguities and assumptions" (p.2), further identifying a number of problems stemming from its use, some of which include:

- Upon first impression, the term incorrectly assumes that non-Caucasians are 'visible' and that visible minorities are the minority throughout the population (statistically speaking) (p.2);
- There are inconsistencies pertaining to how the sub-groups are defined, where some sub-groups represent ethnicity by continent and others by sub-continent (p.3); and
- While visible minorities are not a homogenous group, lumping various ethnicities or nationalities into one large group may incorrectly communicate this kind of message (p.3).

The term has even garnered the attention of the United Nations (UN) Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (the *Committee*). Although a 2012 Report of the Committee recognizes "various legislative and policy developments which have taken place" in Canada to "combat racial discrimination", it notes that the term visible minority "is considered objectionable by certain minorities who claim that it is being used at all levels of the Canadian society, homogenizing experiences of different ethnic groups" (p.9).

Despite the controversies and criticisms surrounding the term, it is used throughout most of the literature specific to racial / ethnic groups in Canada and the issue of underrepresentation in politics. Furthermore, its classification in census data is the only statistical source for

informing and analyzing the political participation of certain groups in Canada's political arena. For these reasons – the crucial information stemming from the literature and Statistics Canada - the term as defined by the Employment and Equity Act will be used for this study.

1.5. Study Area

Manitoba's provincial capital of Winnipeg is the municipality selected for this exploratory study. The primary reasons why Winnipeg was selected as the site for this case study was in large part due to the researcher's familiarity with the city, proximity to the city, and the timing of the city's civic election. The 2018 City of Winnipeg municipal election was scheduled to take place in the same year that the researcher sought to carry out this thesis. Consequently, the candidates running for council in the city's 2018 election will make up the study's participants.

Winnipeg is home to just over 700, 000 residents, of which roughly 28% fall under the visible minority category, as indicated in Table 1: 2016 Census Profile – Winnipeg - Visible Minority Population. The top three subgroups in terms of population are Filipino's (11%), South Asians (5%) and Black (4%) (Statistics Canada 2016).

Table 1: 2016 Census Profile – Winnipeg - Visible Minority Population

Visible Minority Group	Number	% of Total¹	% of Population²
South Asian	37570	19.4%	5.4%
Chinese	19660	10.2%	2.8%
Black	26890	14.0%	3.9%
Filipino	73365	38.0%	10.6%
Latin American	6715	3.5%	1.0%
Arab	4565	2.4%	0.7%
Southeast Asian	7880	4.1%	1.1%
West Asian	2450	1.3%	0.4%
Korean	3780	2.0%	0.5%
Japanese	1550	0.8%	0.2%
Visible minority; n.i.e. ³	2760	1.4%	0.4%
Multiple visible minorities	5875	3.0%	0.9%
Total	193,060	100%	27.9%

¹ percent of visible minority population

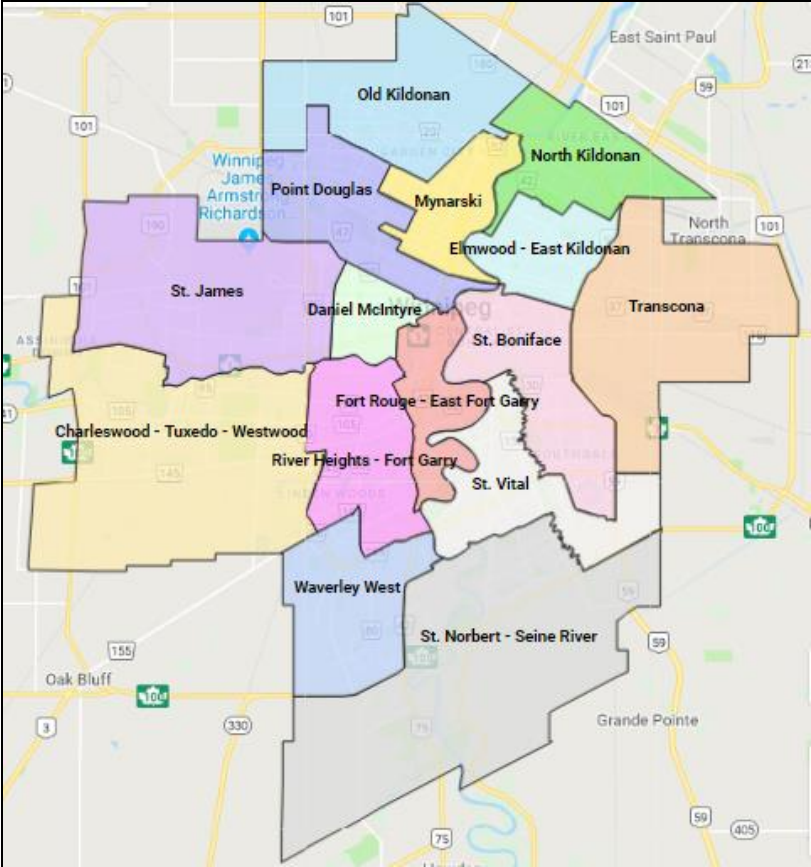
² percent of Winnipeg population

³ means 'not included elsewhere'

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population.

As legislated under the City of Winnipeg Charter, the city is divided into 15 council wards for electoral purposes - the wards are illustrated in Map 1: City of Winnipeg Ward Map. The municipal government is comprised of 15 city councillors and one mayor – one councillor represents an individual ward and the mayor is elected by a vote of the city-at-large (City of Winnipeg 2018). Collectively, this group is the governing body of the City. The Mayor is the head of council. He / she chairs the Executive Policy Committee (of which they appoint members to) and is an ex officio member of every committee of council (to which he appoints chairpersons to). Appendix A, *Executive and Functional Organizational Chart*, details the organizational reporting structure and lists all standing committees. City councillors have dual roles pertaining to decisions that affect the entire city as well as local community issues (City of Winnipeg Municipal Manual 2017). The composition of Winnipeg’s city council leading up to the October 24, 2018 civic election consisted of two councillors that fall under the visible

minority category. These two councillors represented the Old Kildonan and Point Douglas wards.



Map 1: City of Winnipeg Ward Map

Source: Google Maps 2019

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Several disciplines, such as political science and sociology, have been concerned to varying degrees about the underrepresentation of visible minorities in municipal politics. Yet the literature on the issue from a Canadian perspective is relatively modest in scope and underexplored – this is particularly surprising given the fact that visible minorities are projected to account for 34.7% to 39.9% of Canada’s working-age population (15 to 24 years of age) by 2036, a projection that has risen from 19.6% in 2011(Statistics Canada 2017). Such a projection demands research on the subject matter, exploring underlying causes and potential solutions related to the participation of visible minority groups in the country’s social-political sphere.

In his review of minority political incorporation in Canada, author Jerome Black points to the long-standing tendency of scholars on the subject matter to focus more on the relationship between the country’s “dominant original communities” - the British and the French - while simultaneously disregarding the political behaviour of other groups of immigrants and their descendants (Black 2011, p.1161). In her study on the scope and causes of visible minority underrepresentation in municipal elections, author Karen Bird out of McMaster University provides several hypotheses attempting to explain the inattention paid to the participation of visible minorities in municipal politics. One likely reason cited by Bird is the traditional views of local governments being weaker and more limited in their autonomy compared to provincial and federal levels of government (Bird 2011). She also suggests that the lack of attention could be the result of the absence of political parties at the municipal level across most Canadian cities, noting that diversity at the federal level is likely driven by intentional efforts of targeting ethnic groups as part of a wider voter mobilization strategy (Bird 2011 pp.2-3). Although no one reason

can explain the gap in the literature, a combination of factors are likely at play, including ones presented by Black and Bird.

What the literature on visible minorities and politics does make clear are several things. First, immigrants and their descendants - most of whom make up the visible minority population in Canada - are politically engaged and are observed to take part in various types of political activities. Second, racialized groups remain underrepresented in municipal politics across many Western societies, Canada included. Third, any efforts aimed at fully understanding the persistent and historical underrepresentation of any group in formal politics, visible minority or otherwise, should explore numerous sides of the representation equation – candidacy (assessments of whether or why visible minority candidates do or do not decide to run for office), electoral success (whether and why visible minority candidates win when they run) and voter preferences and tendencies. The literature presents several theories that attempt to explain causes of underrepresentation – the simplest and most straightforward explanation is that the causes are complex and often varied, as this review will demonstrate in section 2.3 *Causes of Underrepresentation*. Lastly, the literature presents various and conflicting perspectives on descriptive representation. Does representation among elected bodies of decision-makers matter? Why or why not? As this review will discuss, it depends on how one views the concept and legitimacy of representation in democratic societies.

2.1. Political Participation

In the broadest sense, political participation refers to “activities of the mass public in politics, including, for example, voting in elections, helping a political campaign, giving money to a candidate or cause, writing or calling officials, petitioning, boycotting, demonstrating, and working with other people on issues” (Uhlener 2015, p.504). The term has evolved in recent

decades, moving beyond the narrow confines of election-related activities such as voting or campaigning to include newer types of participation such as “boycotting” as a type of protest activity or discussing political matters via social media as a different way to participate.

Although there is an ongoing debate on a universal definition of the concept, political participation maintains a number of key features, all of which are meant to loop back to the idea of citizens engaging in activities that affect politics. Four key understandings about political participation are as follows (van Deth 2016, p.3):

- it is an action (via the engagement in an activity);
- it is voluntary (versus obligatory);
- it can refer to people participating in roles that are not professionally-related (e.g. politician or lobbyist); and
- it concerns government/state politics that are not limited to specific phases, levels, or areas.

Based on the key features identified above, political participation can take many forms or types.

Black (2011) highlights several differentiations in his study on immigrant and minority political incorporation in Canada. According to Black, informal participation typically includes activities such as “contacting elected and nonelected officials and undertaking less conventional or protest forms of political behavior” noting that “the latter typically includes activities such as signing a petition, joining a boycott, demonstrating, striking illegally, and participating in sit-ins and occupations, but more recently, it has come to also include political consumerism (e.g., buying patterns linked to environmental protection; see, for instance, Micheletti, Follesdal, & Stolle, 2003)” (Black 2011, p.1165). This is in contrast to formal participation which typically includes electoral-related activities such as voting in elections or campaigning activities.

Although some view running for office as a form of formal participation, Black describes this as *elite* political participation (Black 2011).

Other individuals or groups like *The Samara Centre for Democracy*, which self-describes as “a charitable organization dedicated to improving political participation in Canada” (Samara 2013, p.10) identifies five broad categories of political participation. These include (Samara 2013, p.3):

- online discussions (e.g., participating in online groups about political issue, circulating political information on social network sites);
- offline discussions (e.g., organizing public events or meetings about politics, discussing political issues in-person or over the telephone)
- activism (e.g., signing a petition, taking part in a protest);
- civic engagement (e.g., donating to a political cause, working with other on a community issue); and
- formal engagement (e.g., volunteering in an election, donating to a political candidate, being a member of a political party).

Political participation and the related activities as briefly described above by Black and Samara, is therefore seen as an essential feature of democracies that utilize representative governments.

Not only does participation provide an opportunity for citizens to communicate their views, interests and needs but the various activities serve to link constituents to their elected officials.

Some political scientists argue that the more citizens from various backgrounds who participate in civic life, the more likely that the principle of equality will be respected (Verba 1996 as cited in Turcotte 2015). For immigrants and ethnic minorities, many of whom fall under the visible

minority category, political participation can help facilitate their integration into society (O'Neill et al. 2012).

Assessing the level of a society's political participation, including who chooses (and alternatively chooses not) to become involved in civic life, is often times used to determine how healthy a democracy is. A recent Samara democracy report, which measured 20 political activities across the five political participation categories mentioned earlier found that "Canadians on average, are involved in only five out of the possible 20 activities" (Samara 2013, p.2) where 10% of those surveyed in their study reported not participating in any political activities. The most active were those who participated in formal politics, a group whom Samara refers to as "the real heavy lifters when it comes to our political life" (p.2). Samara's report found that those who report participating in formal politics completed "half of the activities, and their engagement goes well beyond partisan interests, crossing all categories" (p.2). Perhaps the most notable finding from Samara's report that is worth noting is that 59% of Canadians reported not participating in any of the activities listed within the formal engagement category. As the authors of the report indicate "this sends a strong signal that formal political participation is not an activity that Canadians view as worthwhile" (p.2).

The act of voting in an essential activity within a democracy and is therefore often seen as a key indicator of political participation. Research focusing on immigrant voters appears to suggest that those who are eligible to vote typically vote less than non-immigrants. Explanations highlighted by Uppal and LaRochelle-Côté include "the lack of democratic traditions in some regions of the world, the lack of trust in institutions, or differences in political culture" (Uppal and LaRochelle-Côté 2016, p.5). Although this is often observed to be the case, a 2015 report by the Institute for Canadian Citizenship (ICC) which self-describes as "a non-profit charity that

helps accelerate new citizens' integration into Canadian life through original programs, collaborations and unique volunteer opportunities" contradicts this notion (p. 54). In an ICC report on the political participation of new citizens, they signal no significant differences between the overall voting rates between the two groups if you take into account the length of time immigrants have been in the country. In citing Stephen White and his co-authors on their work on immigrant voter turnout in Canada (2006), the ICC notes the observation that "age is a more important factor for new citizen voters than Canadian-born voters" where they further argue "that time and exposure to Canadian politics play an important role for new citizen voters" (p.13).

As mentioned earlier, political participation can encompass a wide array of activities - voting is not the only way to participate in a democracy. In Black's 2011 study referenced earlier, two findings from the literature are noteworthy. The first is that political involvement levels of immigrants tend to be close to the levels of those who are Canadian-born. Second, the longer foreign-born citizens remain in Canada, the more participation rates either move towards or surpass those of Canadian-born citizens. Citing an Anderson and Black (2008) study which drew on the 2004 Canadian National Election study there was "participation parity with regard to contacting government officials, engaging in boycotts, and taking part in illegal strikes" (p.1166). Another result worth noting from the same study was that "in three areas, newcomers actually participated more than the Canadian born—communicating views to government through protest, working with other like-minded people, and engaging in lawful demonstrations" (p.1166). Although the study references newcomers and immigrants, it is still worth highlighting given that most visible minorities are immigrants or descendants of immigrants. According to a 2017 Statistics Canada report on immigration and ethnocultural diversity, the 2016 census found

an increase in immigrants from non-European countries where “the increase in the number of immigrants from non-European countries, as well as their children and grandchildren born in Canada, has contributed to the growth of the visible minority population in Canada” (Statistics Canada 2016, p. 6).

The two observations and examinations highlighted above by ICC and Jerome Black are but a few among a rather scant grouping of studies on the topic of political participation of visible minority groups. Other studies, as mentioned by Gidengil and Roy(2016) suggest that visible minorities “may face greater challenges in adapting to institutional and societal norms and to the new political system (Bilodeau 2008; Black 1982,198; Black Niemi, and Bingham Powell Jr.1987, Reitz et al.2009; White et al.2008) as well as participating more generally in the host country’s political organizations (Berger, Galonska, and Koopmans 2004; Bevelander and Pendakur 2009; O’Neill, Gidengil, and Young 2012; van Londen, Phalet and Hagendoorn 2007; Tillie 2004)” (Gidngil and Roy 2016, p.149). Gidengil and Roy go on to present several considerations that shed light on the challenge’s immigrant visible minorities face in political integration, some of which include:

- *Racial discrimination* – there is overwhelming evidence demonstrating the discrimination and marginalization faced by various visible minority groups. One might subsequently conceive that “lower levels of political activity on the part of visible minority immigrants reflect the racial biases that still permeate Canadian society” (p.150);
- *The time it takes to acclimate to the host country’s political environment* – this is something that might not be prioritized among newcomers in the midst of “finding employment and adapting to new cultural norms, both of which tend to take precedence over political integration” (p.150);

- *Having different experiences in their country of origin* – this might make it challenging to learn about, and subsequently participate actively in, a new political system (p.151); and
- *Settling in communities where that already have high concentrations of immigrants* – “living in an ethnic enclave could impede visible minority immigrants’ political integration if it limits their opportunities for associational involvement beyond their own ethnic group” (p. 152).

There are a few studies that have looked at formal or elite political participation by visible minorities – participation specific to running for office. Understanding a candidate’s decision to run (or not to run) for office is an important angle from which to attempt to understand the representation deficit of visible minorities in office. For a brief discussion on the topic, this literature review turns to Fox and Lawless’ (2005) study in which they assess and develop the concept of nascent political ambition, described as the “potential interest in office seeking that precedes the actual decision to enter a specific political contest” (p. 643). The authors describe it as a precursor to expressive ambition or deciding on whether or not to run in an election. Two of the six research expectations identified by the researchers as personal attributes and characteristics that may influence nascent political ambition were the family unit and minority status. Studies on the influence of the family unit have concluded that interest in politics and considering candidacy can sometimes be intergenerational, regardless of sociodemographic background or personality. Minority status is thought to play a role as well where groups that have been historically excluded from prestigious political positions believe that the elite level is not open to them.

Findings from Fox and Lawless’ 2005 U.S.-based study in which nearly 3,800 people completed the Citizen Political Ambition Study found that “a general sense of efficacy as a

candidate, as well as a politicized upbringing, motivate well-situated potential candidates' inclinations to consider running for office" (p. 643). However, the study also found that falling under certain groups that had historically been marginalized from the elite political process weakened the likelihood of considering candidacy. More specifically, results from the study found that African Americans "are substantially less likely to express political aspirations" (p. 655), "lack the key ingredients that foster ambition" (p.654) and "less likely than whites to indicate that, as children, they received encouragement from their parents to enter politics" (p. 654).

A 1991 study by Chui et al. cited in a report by the Institute for Canadian Citizenship demonstrated that "there is no significant difference in political organization membership between immigrant and Canadian-born individuals" but "making the leap to political candidacy may be more difficult" (Institute for Canadian Citizenship 2015, p.14). Before turning our attention to the causes of representation which might shed some light on the difficulties faced in making this leap, it is worth reviewing what the literature has to say on visible minority representation – or underrepresentation – in municipal government.

2.2. Visible Minorities and (Under)representation in Municipal Government

Although somewhat minimal in number, most of the studies found in the literature that investigate underrepresentation of visible minorities at the local government level in Canada focus on the issue in Ontario. These studies tend to examine various aspects of the phenomenon as it plays out in the province's elections at all levels (municipal, provincial, federal). The general consensus is that visible minorities are historically, and continue to be, underrepresented across city council's province-wide.

In their study on whether or not women and visible minorities are more likely to contest and win municipal elections under certain institutional and contextual circumstances, co-authors Christopher Alcantara, Michael McGregor and Zachary Spicer thought it was “worth presenting some brief descriptive information on the relative prominence of female and visible minority candidates” (Alcantara et al. 2017, p. 13). They described visible minorities as being “significantly underrepresented as candidates and elected representatives” (p.13) noting that of the data collected on 934 candidates running in Ontario’s 2014 municipal election, 17.8% of candidates were visible minorities, with 11.5% from this group emerging victorious (pp.13-14).

In her examination of the underrepresentation of several social groups following Ontario’s 2010 municipal election, author Karen Bird (2011) observed two things worth noting about visible minorities. The first is that even though other groups were also underrepresented (e.g., women), the phenomenon observed was much more acute for visible minorities and much more pronounced at the municipal level compared to provincial and federal levels. In trying to determine potential explanations for what was observed, Bird determined that a lack of candidates appeared to be part of the problem. However, a deficit in candidacies cannot explain Bird’s second observation, where visible minorities were found to be less likely than other underrepresented groups to get elected when they do run for office, suspecting voter bias as a contributing factor. Bird’s study included a voter experiment, the purpose of which was to investigate the role that voter bias might play. The results of a voter survey, which was part of the experimental design, showed “rather clearly that there is a significant ethnic affinity bias, such that voters prefer same-ethnic over different-ethnic candidates” (Bird 2011, p. 20).

Siemiatycki (2011) made similar observations and conclusions following his examination of visible minority representation among all three levels of government. Siemiatycki’s

assessment occurred during Ontario's municipal and provincial elections as well as the federal election - all three elections took place between October 2010 and October 2011. The results of Siemiatycki's examination further confirmed that visible minorities were underrepresented across all three levels of government but none-more-so than at the municipal level where out of 253 city council members in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), 7% were visible minorities – this was despite the fact that visible minorities accounted for 40.29% of the GTA population at the time (Siemiatycki 2011).

The cases described above are a few studies out of Ontario that highlight what is occurring in municipal politics in Ontario. However, it may be likely that what is happening in Ontario is playing out in other municipalities across the country. The literature is also unanimous in declaring that visible minorities are severely underrepresented at the local level across much of Canada. In 2015, a mere 7% of city council seats across Canada's 50 most populated cities were held by visible minorities, with Calgary Mayor Naheed Nenshi becoming the first and only person with a visible minority background to-date to become a mayor of a major Canadian city (Alcantara et al. 2017). Nenshi was first elected in 2010 and re-elected again in 2013 and 2017. If city councils are considered to be the most accessible level of government in Canada, then why are we failing to see racial minorities as candidates and elected officials, failing to see councils that are more reflective of a nation as diverse as Canada? In an effort to understand this phenomenon and address such questions, the section that follows reviews the literature on potential causes of underrepresentation.

2.3. Causes of Underrepresentation

Municipal councils are often viewed as the most accessible level of government in Canada, especially for groups that have been historically excluded from participation in elite-

level politics. There are a number of factors that contribute to this argument, some of which include the “residential concentration of some ethnic groups, generally smaller electoral districts, cheaper electoral campaigns and a more flexible party structure” (Bird 2004, pp.182). In theory, these factors should make it easier for various marginalized groups to both run for office and get elected as several barriers which would typically hinder participation are removed. In her assessment of the scope and causes of disparities in descriptive representation in municipal politics, author Karen Bird lists these factors, which include (Bird 2011, p.3):

- Campaigns are less costly;
- Electoral wards are typically smaller;
- In most cases a person can enter a municipal contest directly, without having to first secure a party nomination and without a deep political resumé, and;
- Elected city councillors bear neither the burden of long-distance travel from the constituency to the assembly, nor the extended periods of absence from family and community.

Based on the points above, Bird goes on to surmise that “it seems reasonable to assume that the consequence would be better numerical representation in local politics of the less privileged members of society (including women and visible minorities), who may be less able to overcome the more formidable barriers to election at the national and provincial levels” (Bird 2011, p.3).

Yet in spite of this, visible minorities continue to be significantly underrepresented at the municipal level, more so than at the provincial and federal levels (Siemiatycki 2011). This phenomenon begs the question: why does a country as liberal and diverse as Canada continue to witness a representation deficit? Given the lack of research devoted to the phenomenon, the literature reveals but a few possible answers. Most attempts to explain the representational gap

from a Canadian perspective, in part, discuss the role of institutions and the absence of formal political parties in local politics (across most cities).

Unlike provincial and federal elections, municipal elections across most Canadian municipalities occur without political parties – this is the case in Winnipeg. Greater political representation (though still underrepresented) at the provincial and federal level may stem from parties' efforts to engage minority groups as part of an overall campaign strategy. In their examination of women and minorities in local politics, McGregor et al. (2017) note that “parties in Canada and elsewhere tend to engage in strategic outreach to minority and immigrant communities, providing crucial information about political platforms and mobilising them to vote as well as affording some influence in candidate selection (Bird et al. 2011; Sobolewska 2013)” (McGregor et al 2017, pp.135-136). In addition to their mobilization efforts, political parties play an important role in facilitating information about their candidates to the general public.

One consequence of the absence of political parties and the mobilizing and informational support they add to a campaign is that candidates depend more on the media than usual in an attempt to extend their reach to the public. Bird's 2011 study highlighted earlier notes that “there is emerging evidence that race structures the media's reporting on candidates in Canadian national elections, positioning visible minorities in terms of their socio-demographics, novelty and interest in more marginal policy issues (Tolley 2011)” (Bird 2011, p.21). This suggests that the media plays a powerful role in informing voters about certain attributes or characteristics about candidates, some of which may or may not influence their overall judgement about a candidate. Another consequence is that candidates who run for office at the local level must rely

on name recognition to a large degree (Siemiatycki 2011). This gives incumbents - who already have a large advantage over non-incumbents - an even larger advantage in local elections.

There is overwhelming evidence in the literature of the advantages that incumbents carry with them into an election. Research has demonstrated that incumbency is one of the strongest predictors of success in local elections (Alcantara et al., 2017). In addition to the advantage of name recognition at the local level, Alcantara et al. (2017) further note “the incumbency advantage in municipal politics is largely the result of voters using incumbency as a heuristic in the absence of political parties (Krebs, 1998; Schaffner et al., 2001; Trounstine, 2011)” (Alcantara et al. 2017, p.12). Bird (2011) builds on the notion of heuristics, signaling that it is likely the consequence of low information about non-incumbent candidates during elections. She notes that during elections, knowledge amongst voters about candidates running for office is usually limited to incumbent councillors. The low information context and “the lack of partisan electoral cues enhances the power of other kinds of heuristics such as race and ethnicity” (Bird 2011, p. 21). Additionally, the lack of information about non-candidates tends to result in a lower turnout during elections and “lower turnout elections have been shown to produce electorates that are less representative (with regard to race, education, age, income and employment) of city populations (Hajnal 2010, Trounstine 2010)” (Bird 2011, p. 21). Taken collectively, these trends in part might explain why incumbency is viewed as one factor that has hindered the entrance of visible minorities in local politics. If minorities have historically been, and continue to be underrepresented in elite level politics, then they are also less likely to be incumbents - this likelihood means that they are particularly disadvantaged by the incumbency advantage (McGregor et al 2017).

In *Our Diverse Cities* (2004), Bird makes the argument for three features of elections that contribute to the lower level of visible minority representation at the local level in Canada. The first factor identified is the lack of voting rights among new immigrants to Canada, most of whom are visible minorities. Bird notes that “immigrants to Canada acquire voting rights as soon as they become citizens, after three consecutive years of residence in Canada” (Bird 2004, p.183) unlike the case in European countries where “voting rights in local elections are often extended to all permanent residents rather than just citizens” (Bevelander and Pendakurp 2009, p.1407). The second factor Bird identifies is the combined effects of an electoral system that employs single-member districts and a first-past-the-post system on the capacity for political mobilization. Although this might be of benefit to ethnic minorities where areas of ethnic concentration correspond with electoral districts, it is viewed as disadvantageous to ethnic minorities where corresponding groups are dispersed throughout the population and across electoral districts. Such groups are limited in terms of their capacity to convert political mobilization into effective representation (p.184). Lastly, Bird reiterates some of the points made earlier about the role of a party system, specifically noting that the absence of a party system results in a failure to “perform the mobilizing role that is so important in determining the political influence of ethnic minorities” (p.184).

Affinity voting is also suspected to play a role in elections that are characterized by a lack of information about candidates. Affinity voting in this sense is based on the premise that “voters invoke baseline preferences for candidates on the basis of shared gender, racial or other highly visible sociodemographic characteristics, and that this voting strategy will be more prevalent where other information is scarce (Dolan 2008; Matson and Fine 2006; McDermott 1998; Sanbonmatsu 2002)” (McGregor et al 2017, p. 136). Therefore, if voters tend to represent the

majority group, then voter affinities might contribute to the continual underrepresentation of visible minorities in office.

The studies mentioned to this point identify a number of challenges visible minority candidates face during their quest to being elected to office. This includes the challenge of unseating an incumbent, the lack of a party system, low information contexts and affinity voting. Although this study is focused on representation of visible minorities at the local level, other studies have identified additional challenges at the provincial and federal level including the practice of parties putting visible minority candidates in challenging ridings, the influence of political networks on nomination processes, financial barriers for more recent immigrants, discrimination and media bias (Institute for Canadian Citizenship 2015).

In the United States (U.S), the causes of African American representation in elite politics has been explored to a greater extent than it has been in Canada. Although the Black population in the U.S. and Canada differ in varying degrees related to history, racism, immigration and general traits, the literature on the subject matter through a U.S. lens may be useful in highlighting factors for consideration in studying the phenomenon of underrepresentation north of the border. Shanton's overview (2014) of African American underrepresentation on municipal councils sheds some light on a few possible causes to African American underrepresentation. One potential cause cited was the nature of the job in relation to compensation. Shanton states that "councilmembers' pay is often nominal" which in turn "limits the pool of potential councilmembers to residents with enough time and resources to serve on the council for little compensation" (Shanton 2014, p. 6).

Another explanation highlighted by Shanton that has received quite a bit of attention is the way that elections are run. Off-cycle election scheduling combined with nonpartisan

candidates have been linked to lower voter turnout. Lower voter turnout tends to shrink the minority voter base. Strong minority support has often played a key role in the success of African American candidates. Shanton notes that “this combination of election rules can make it difficult for African American candidates to gain traction” (Shanton 2014, p.6). In her study examining supply-side theories to representation, Shah (2014) makes a similar point, citing a Hajnal and Lewis (2003) study which found “a 25 percent increase in municipal turnouts when local elections are concurrent with statewide or federal elections” (Shah 2014, p. 270).

In other cases, the underlying cause of underrepresentation at the city council level is the direct result of a shortage of African American candidates. While it goes without saying, if there are no minority candidates, then voters cannot elect a minority official to office. Simply put, minority candidates are not on the ballot in every local election. Shah explains that “the costs of running for office, demographic patterns of dispersion and concentration across the United States, and histories of voter intimidation and disenfranchisement mean that in most elections, a minority candidate is not on the ballot” (Shah 2014, p. 268). One explanation provided by Shah on the shortage of African American candidates could be the hesitancy of potential candidates to run in races where they would be the first to “break representational barriers”, where research by Marschall, Shah, and Ruhil (2010) note that “the process of attaining descriptive representation, the initial ‘hurdle’ of attaining the first black representative is the hardest to overcome” (as cited in Shah 2014, p.269).

2.4. Descriptive Representation

The literature surrounding the notion of “representation” as it relates to a representative democracy tends to pit two common types of representation against each other – *descriptive* or *mirror representation* which is concerned with the degree to which representative bodies simply

bear resemblance to their constituents, and *substantive representation*, which is more concerned with the actions, impacts, and results of elected officials on policies or programs (Andrew et al. 2008). Hanna Pitkin's theoretical framework on descriptive versus substantive representation continues to be the standard from which the discussion on political representation is discussed. In *The Concept of Representation*, which can arguably be considered to be Pitkin's most influential work, she asserts that it is more important to judge elected officials by their actions (substantive representation) rather than how closely they resemble their constituents (descriptive representation). But is this the case? Contrary to Pitkin's position, several studies highlight the significant value to society and legitimacy to democracy of mirror representation.

In their analysis of the political representation of immigrants and minorities, authors Bird, Saalfeld, and Wüst (2011) identify three reasons why group representation is vital. First is that "descriptive representation is thought to be valuable insofar as it facilitates the introduction of new perspectives and a broader range of reasons for democratic debate" (p.5). Second, Bird and her colleagues also recognize the potential that representation holds for providing "an important point of access for marginalized groups, providing them with a less intimidating channel through which to engage with elected representatives, and to let their preferences be known on a quotidian basis, outside of periodic elections" (p.5). The third reason, which has been frequently cited through numerous studies in the literature is the "important symbolic value, signalling to both dominant and marginalized groups that its perspectives matter and rightfully belong in the public debate" (p.5). Most studies that examine some aspect of mirror representation appear to note its value from a symbolic perspective, where both majority and minority groups believe their views and needs matter and belong in the public debate.

In her integrated perspective of minority representation from a Canadian context, author Bird (2012) makes the argument of descriptive representation being, at minimum, as important as substantive representation. Bird cautions us not to minimize the validity of symbolic representation nor to consider it any less significant than substantive representation. Bird describes symbolic representation as “a crucial means for securing the representational relationship in instances where responsiveness in terms of policy outcomes is compromised by institutional and party rules” (Bird 2012, p. 534).

Black’s study on minority political incorporation in Canada sums up the position of most scholars on the subject matter, stating “even if no substantive representation occurs, most observers agree that increasing diversity in Canada’s central political institutions is at the very least of powerful symbolic importance—and not only for minority communities searching for some reflection of themselves among the political elite” (Black 2011, p.1176).

The literature reveals a number of other benefits of descriptive representation, in addition to its symbolic importance. Mansbridge (as cited in Banducci et al. 2004) makes mention of the “communicative advantages” of descriptive representation. The idea is that a descriptive representation deficit might result in the inability of some constituents to communicate and identify with their representative. The benefit of a representative who to some degree “looks like” a segment of constituents could break down perceived communication barriers.

The literature also seems to suggest that descriptive representation results in increased political participation by minority citizens and increased responsiveness on the part of elected officials from a minority background. In the United States (U.S.) studies have shown that descriptive representation can promote political engagement in a number of ways. Studies show that African Americans are more apt to become involved in a number of political processes when

they are descriptively represented. In her report on problems associated with the underrepresentation of African Americans on local councils, Shanton notes that African Americans “pay closer attention to elections and vote at higher rates when they are represented by an African American official and are more likely to run for offices that are or have been held by an African American” (Shanton 2014, p.5). The same report suggests that in comparison to their non-African American counterparts, African American officials have been found to be more engaged with African American communities and advocate more vigorously for their interests at higher rates (Shanton 2014). Similarly, Bobo and Gillam (as cited in Marshal and Ruhil, 2007) found that “symbolic representation has been found to increase levels of political engagement, knowledge, efficacy, and trust in government” (p. 19). The same study by Marshal and Ruhil on black political incorporation in local government noted that shared racial identity renders black congresspersons more responsive to their minority constituents (Whitby 1998; but see also Swain 1993) while also fostering group identity and a sense of inclusion in American political life (Canon 1999; Fenno 2003)” (Marshal and Ruhil 2007, p. 18).

A central tenet of a representative democracy relates to the expectation that elected officials will make decisions in a manner that is consistent with the will, interests and needs of citizens. Despite the arguments to this point in support of the value and importance of descriptive representation, this principle invites a number of questions about whether or not it leads to substantive representation, which begs the question - are members of marginalized groups able and willing to speak on behalf of specific community groups? As Bird et al. rightly assess “groups clearly are not homogenous entities in which members all think identically” further noting that “the very focus on the fact that a representative shares particular traits with his or her constituency may overshadow the important matter of one’s policy views” (Bird et al. 2011, p.5).

Black (2011) also notes that not all minorities view their minority status as an important or primary aspect of their lives. He further suggests that, for those who do “see their backgrounds as salient aspect of their lives”, may see it as a “matter of personal and private concern, far removed from the world of politics” (p. 1180). Likewise, Andrew et al. have made similar conclusions encompassing all underrepresented groups, noting that there are situations “in which elected representatives have soundly refuted the idea that they represent particular groups outside of their constituents, whether they are women, visible minorities, Aboriginals, immigrants, youths, gays or lesbians, religious, linguistic, or ethnic minorities, or, significantly, combinations of any of these” (Andrew et al. 2008, p.14). Lastly, it is worth noting that there are non-minority elected officials who do respond to minority concerns, due in large part to representing a diverse constituency.

With visible minorities underrepresented at all levels of government in Canada, it is impossible to determine whether or not more visible minority populations elected to office will lead to substantive representation. Studies out of the United States however, appear to suggest that, in some instances, it does. A number of studies have demonstrated that increased descriptive representation has indeed led to substantive benefits. For example, studies highlighted by Marshal and Ruhil suggest that “black mayors positively influence black representation in city administrative, professional, and protective services positions (Eisinger 1982; Mladenka 1989; Sass and Mehay 2003), spend more on social policies (Karnig and Welch 1980; but see also Pelissero, Holian, and Tomaka 2000), and promote public sector contracting with minority businesses (MacManus 1990; Nelson 1987)” (Marshal and Ruhil 2007, pp.18-19).

Most of the research on representational politics has focused on the numerical incidence of visible minorities as office seekers or office holders, in proportion to their share of the overall

population. While the case can be made for the symbolic importance of descriptive representation, it is clear that the next step in determining the relevance of descriptive representation in Canada lies in research that focuses on *if* or *what* the implications are for substantive representation. Unfortunately, until visible minority groups are more reflective in councils, legislatures and parliament - especially as their share of the population continues to grow - the legitimacy of Canada's democracy will continue to be called into question.

2.5. A Summary of the Literature

While there continues to be a gap in the literature on descriptive representation of visible minorities at the local government level, there are a number of takeaways that inform this study. The first is that visible minority groups do participate in political activities across the political participation spectrum, though the level of involvement varies across the broad categories of activities. It is suggested in some studies that assess political participation and ambition that in some instances, ethnic or racialized groups - immigrant groups in particular – tend to be influenced by experiences unique to their country of origin and host country.

Second, in light of the fact that municipal governments are often seen as the most accessible level of government across the three types, there continues to be a representational deficit of visible minority groups on city councils. Although most of the studies that look at this phenomenon from a Canadian perspective tend to zero in on municipal elections across Ontario, there is evidence of this being the case in municipalities nationwide. This inevitably raises questions as to why this is occurring, especially when one considers the massive influx of visible minority immigrants in recent decades and demographic trends. An attempt to understand the causes of underrepresentation from the candidate supply-side of the representation equation indicates that, although underrepresented from among the candidate pool, visible minorities are

running in municipal elections throughout most of Canada's urban centres. However, a number of factors appear to limit the supply of visible minority candidates. In addition to the absence of political parties, literature on the incumbency factor may provide reasonable explanations as to the observed deficit of racialized candidates, especially those who are running as non-incumbents. In terms of electoral success among the small percentage of visible minority candidates that do run for office, there appear to be other factors at play further impacting their capacity to win in elections. The demand-side of the representation equation considers voter preferences. A number of studies seem to suggest that discrimination and voter bias might be contributing factors, though the notion is inconclusive from a Canadian perspective.

Clearly more research on descriptive representation in Canada is warranted, in part because the bulk of the literature signals the importance of having historically excluded and marginalized groups represented among the political elite. Although some minority representatives may not consider themselves as *the* person to represent an entire group or community, there is overwhelming evidence that suggests descriptive representation benefits democratic societies in two ways. First, at minimum, it holds symbolic value, signaling to minority and majority groups alike that their views and needs matter in society. In theory, this is a step towards broader goals of equality and strengthens the legitimacy of a democracy. Second, there is emerging evidence that suggests descriptive representation leads to substantive representation, where the broader range of perspectives brought into political processes has the potential to result in actions and decisions that take into consideration the needs of *all* citizens.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This study aims to shed light on the scope of political underrepresentation of visible minorities at a local level in Canadian politics. The Manitoba capital of Winnipeg was selected to explore the issue and implement the research for two main reasons. The first, the researcher has familiarity with, and proximity to the city – as a resident, this increased the likelihood that interviews could take place in-person, which allowed for more in-depth data collection and a comprehensive understanding of participants’ responses. Secondly, the timing of Winnipeg’s October 24, 2018 civic election provided an optimal opportunity to study the issue and contribute *current* research findings to the body of literature on the subject matter. The research:

- Identifies what percentage of visible minorities stood as candidates in the 2018 City of Winnipeg municipal election (in proportion to their share of the overall population).
- Presents the results of those elected to city council in Winnipeg’s 2018 municipal election.
- Identifies the visible minority composition of officials elected to city council in Winnipeg’s 2018 municipal election (in proportion to their share of the overall candidate pool).
- Produces data and analysis on the campaign and political experiences of candidates running for councillor or mayor in the 2018 City of Winnipeg municipal election.
- Produces data and analysis on factors that influenced a candidates’ decision to run for Mayor or Councillor in the 2018 City of Winnipeg municipal election.

From a methodological point of view, the study implemented a mixed methods design, which involves “the use of two or more methods in a research project yielding both qualitative and quantitative data (Creswell & Palno-Clark, 2007; Greene, 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori,

2009)” (Baran and Jones 2016, p.13). Quantitative research “involves looking at amounts, or quantities, of one or more variables of interest” while qualitative research “involves looking at characteristics, or qualities, that cannot be entirely reduced to numerical values” (Leedy and Ormrod 2013, p.95). The quantitative data collection methods employed in this study involved administering surveys to study participants while qualitative data collection methods involved carrying out a comprehensive assessment of publically available published information and conducting a semi-structured interview with a study participant. Given that every type of data presents both advantages and limitations, combining techniques often helps to make up for the weaknesses found in using just one approach (Salkind 2012). Furthermore, taking a mixed methods approach tends to facilitate a better understanding of research problems than either approach would on its own (Leedy and Ormrod 2013).

Given that the approaches to collecting data described above were carried out in different ways using different data collection methods (see section 3.1. Research Methods), triangulation of the data was carried out. Triangulation refers to “the practice of using multiple sources of data or multiple approaches to analyzing data to enhance the credibility of a research study” (Salkind 2010, p.2). By converging findings stemming from various methods to collecting data, triangulation is known to increase validity when multiple findings either confirm or contradict on the same topic. As it is highly improbable to predict what kind of results any data collection method will yield, additional benefits of triangulation design include the ability to compare or expand quantitative results with qualitative findings. To this end, the methods are described below.

3.1. Research Methods

3.1.1. Published Information Available to the Public

In order to identify who stood as candidates in the 2018 City of Winnipeg municipal election and, subsequently, those who were elected to city council, this study relied on publically available information from the City of Winnipeg's website. The City of Winnipeg maintains a *Nominated Candidates* webpage, organizing candidates by office (Office of Mayor versus Office of Councillor) and alphabetically by ward (for Councillors). The city-maintained webpage listed eight candidates for Mayor and fifty-two candidates for City Councillor. Additionally, the City Clerk's department has made available to the public the *2018 Civic Election Official Results* document, available for download in pdf format. In addition to the results for the office of school trustee (not included in this study), the document details the official results for the Office of Mayor and Office of Councillor.

One of the challenges in carrying out this research is the fact that the City of Winnipeg does not collect nor track information related to the race or ethnicity of election candidates. Therefore in an effort to overcome this challenge and discern which candidates and elected officials were visible minorities, a comprehensive assessment was conducted based on publically available published information. At minimum, information about candidates on the nominated candidates' webpage included their first name and last name as well as contact information (phone and /or email). Candidates also had the option of providing a photo, biography, link to their campaign website and a link to their social media page (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Instagram). Therefore, determinations as to whether or not a candidate qualified as a visible minority was based on publically available candidate photographs, biographical descriptions, candidates' websites, social media profiles, news articles, news media's candidates profiles and

interviews (primary and secondary). Although this approach to categorizing race does not take into account how candidates themselves self-identify, it is an approach that to some degree mimics the process that voters would likely use in determining the race or ethnicity of candidates in a low information.

3.1.2. Surveys and Semi-Structured Interviews

In an effort to collect data on the campaign and political experiences of candidates and identify factors that influenced a candidate's decision to run for office, all 60 candidates were invited to complete the *2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election – Candidate Survey* (Appendix B). The survey consisted of 26 questions, capturing information on candidates':

- Insight, decision, and experiences related to running for office;
- Political experience;
- Thoughts and opinions on democracy and representation;
- Demographics; and
- Sociocultural information.

Using the email address that was listed for each candidate on the City of Winnipeg's Nominated Candidates webpage, each candidate received an email for the purposes of notifying them about the study and inviting them to complete the survey. Candidates were given the option of completing the survey either (a) online, (b) by returning an attached copy by email, (c) by post (mail) or (d) by telephone. The first email was sent on October 6, 2018 and follow up emails were sent on October 11 and October 30, 2018 in an effort to increase the response rate. Between October 6, 2018 and November 28, 2018, 18 candidates completed the survey online and one candidate completed the survey by telephone whereby the researcher asked the questions listed on the survey and recorded their response electronically. A total of 19 candidates

completed the *2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election – Candidate Survey* for a response rate of 32%.

The survey concluded with information about a follow up interview phase to the study and an invitation to participate in a short interview. Those who expressed a willingness to participate in the follow up interview were asked to leave either their telephone number or email address so they could be contacted at a later date for the purpose of scheduling the interview. Of the 19 candidates who completed the survey, a total of 12 participants stated their willingness to participate in a follow up interview. Of the 12 participants who indicated their willingness to participate in an interview, 10 listed their contact information. Two of the 12 participants left the contact information section blank, meaning only 10 candidates could be followed up with for the purpose of scheduling interviews. Attempts were made to reach each the 10 candidates at least twice between the first survey submission on October 6, 2018 and December 31, 2018 – these efforts resulted in only one candidate responding that they were still interested in participating in the interview phase of the study for a response rate of 5%. The study’s sole interview took place in January 2019.

3.2. Data Analysis

The first step in analyzing data collected from different research methods consisted of conducting a separate analysis of three separate sets of data - the 2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election - Nominated Candidate Profiles, Results from the 2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election – Candidate Survey, and a transcript from the one interview conducted. The *2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election – Nominated Candidate Profiles* consisted of collecting and organizing publically available published information about candidates into a table as it pertained to their status going into the election (incumbent versus non-incumbent);

race or ethnicity (visible minority or non-visible minority); source (from which the determination was made) and; election results (whether they were elected or not). The table provided the opportunity to calculate the percentage of visible minorities that stood as candidates in the municipal election and to determine the visible minority composition of officials elected to city council in Winnipeg's 2018 municipal election. The second data set consisted of results from the *2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election – Candidate Survey* which were analyzed by summarizing responses with percentages and frequency counts as well as drawing inferences and noting observations where appropriate. As it relates to *interview* data, a transcript was produced which put the interviewee's verbal responses into print. Analysis of the transcript involved highlighting responses that related to the survey questions.

The second step in analyzing and interpreting the data consisted of attempting to merge the data sets and accomplish one of the primary goals in analyzing data stemming from a triangulation design: intentionally looking for convergence of the information collected. Convergence in this case seeks to determine if or how the separate data sets intersect or point to the same conclusion (Leedy and Ormrod 2013). However, due to a low response rate on the surveys and an even lower response rate on the interviews, convergence amounted to validating the results from certain survey questions with the findings from the interview. This was deemed entirely appropriate given that the interview questions were intentionally created with the survey questions in mind - they were meant to build on the survey questions in an attempt provide a level of depth and breadth that would have been difficult to capture using just the survey tool. As Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) note in their text *Designing and Conducting Research Methods*, using the validating quantitative data model can “provide the researcher with interesting quotes that can be used to validate and embellish the quantitative survey findings” (p.65).

3.3. Methodological Issues

With a study population of 60 candidates yielding a total of 19 survey completions and one interview, a lack of responses was observed. Not only do low response rates decrease the statistical power of any data collected but it also compromises the reliability of the results. The impact of the low response rate on this study will be discussed further in the discussions section of this paper.

There are a number of factors that can influence response rates for a survey or interview request, such as the availability and reachability of the target population or their perceived importance of the survey. Although in all likelihood the response rate is the end result of a combination of factors, there was one reason mentioned by three candidates – timing. The request to participate in the study by taking the time to complete the survey was made 18 days before the civic election – this tends to be a time when many candidates are engaged in activities meant to reach voters in hopes of getting their support. Three candidates responded to the invitation to participate (two by email, one by telephone), shedding some light on the issue of timing. They opined that similar to themselves, most candidates were likely inundated with requests to complete surveys and interviews and they were at a stage in their campaigns where the sheer volume of work resulted in their inability to prioritize completing the survey. It should be noted however that all three respondents did indicate their willingness to complete the survey after the election had taken place.

3.4. Ethical Issues

Individuals that make up the study population (that is, all 60 candidates) will not remain entirely anonymous given the public attention and publically declared candidacy associated with

campaigning for office. However, a number of measures were taken to protect the rights, safety and welfare of all study participants.

3.4.1. Institutional Review Board Approval

An institutional review board (IRB) or research ethics committee is formally designated to review research proposals in order to ensure that the rights, safety and welfare of human participants will be protected. Through the protocol review process, the IRB obtains the necessary information to verify that the research will be conducted in a manner that affords certain rights to participants. Such rights include but are not limited to their right to be informed about the nature of the research, what is being asked of them, and notification of potential risks and benefits associated with being a study participant. The proposal to conduct this study was reviewed by North Dakota State University's IRB and approval to carry out the study was granted on October 3, 2018 (Appendix C).

3.4.2. Consent

Every participant was provided with an opportunity to consent to their participation in all phases of their involvement in the study.

- Surveys: The decision and subsequent act by the participant to complete and return the survey in response to the email invitation notifying candidates about the study and inviting them to participate, was interpreted as an indication of their consent to participate in this phase of the study.
- Interviews: The interviewee was sufficiently informed of the interview purpose, procedures, and right to voluntarily withdraw from participating by way of an Informed Consent Form (Appendix D). The study participant received the form four days in

advance of the interview. On the day of the interview, the researcher asked if the participant was in agreement with participating - the participant verbally indicated their continued interest. The verbal commitment and subsequent act by the participant to continue and respond to interview questions was further interpreted as an indication of their consent to participate in this phase of the study.

3.4.3. Confidentiality

All data gathered from study participants during all data collection processes remained strictly confidential and will remain strictly confidential throughout the study's lifespan. All notes, transcripts, and any form of confidential data are maintained in a secure, private location.

3.4.4. Reporting

Due to an already small study population and a low response rate, certain responses to the survey and interview cannot be reported in order to protect the identity of participants. This is part of a broader effort to maintain confidentiality and provide anonymity of the information collected and eliminate any perceived risks of linking individual responses with participants' identities.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

In this section, findings from the research methods engaged in as part of this study are presented in three sub-sections. The first two sub-sections, *Visible Minority Candidates* and *Results from the 2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election* are concerned with demonstrating the proportion of visible minorities who stood as candidates and those elected to Winnipeg's city council, in proportion to their share of the city's overall population. The third sub-section presents results from the 2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election Candidate Survey and follow-up interview, the purpose of which is to learn more about candidates' experiences leading up to declaring their candidacy and campaign efforts and activities.

4.1. Visible Minority Candidates

Using publically available information from the City of Winnipeg's Nominated Candidates webpage, the first step of this study involved identifying individuals who had cemented their candidacy by filing their nomination papers to run for office in Winnipeg's 2018 municipal election. The webpage confirmed a total of 60 candidates running for office – eight candidates for Mayor and 52 for Councillor across 15 wards.

The second step of this study involved determining the identity of each candidate in an attempt to ascertain which candidates fit the definition of a visible minority – that is, "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Statistics Canada 2017). This was achieved again by accessing publically available published information. Determinations were made by collecting and assessing information obtained by scouring candidates' campaign websites, social media profiles (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Linked In), biographies, newspaper articles, interviews, debates, and media profiles. An estimated 11 out of 60 candidates in Winnipeg's 2018 civic election were members of a visible minority group,

running as candidates for Mayor and City Councillor (in seven of 15 wards). According to the 2016 census, 28% of Winnipegger's identify as a visible minority yet results from this study indicate that they represented just 18% of candidates running for office.

4.2. Results from the 2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election

On October 24, 2018, Winnipeg's 2018 Municipal Election was held where 216,003 eligible voters casted their ballots. This represented a voter turnout of 42.33%. The election for City Council included one race for Mayor and 15 for City Councillor. With the Mayor and 10 Councillors running as incumbents, Winnipeg's residents were guaranteed to see a minimum of five new faces on city council. According to the *2018 Civic Election Official Results* published by the City Clerks Department, all incumbents who ran as candidates kept their seats while five new Councillors were elected in wards where incumbents chose not to run for re-election. As Table 4.1 Elected Candidates – Percent of Votes demonstrates, not only did incumbents win but they won by a fairly large margin in comparison to races where there was no incumbent on the ballot.

Table 2: Elected Candidates – Percent of Votes

Municipal Race	Elected Candidate - Incumbent vs Non-Incumbent	Percent of Votes
Office of Councillor – Waverly West Ward	Incumbent	Acclaimed
Office of Councillor – St. Vital Ward	Incumbent	89%
Office of Councillor – St. Boniface Ward	Incumbent	83%
Office of Councillor – North Kildonan Ward	Incumbent	77%
Office of Councillor – River Heights-Fort Garry Ward	Incumbent	69%
Office of Councillor – Mynarski Ward	Incumbent	66%
Office of Councillor – Daniel McIntyre Ward	Incumbent	57%
Office of Councillor – Old Kildonan Ward	Incumbent	57%
Office of Councillor – Point Douglas Ward	Non-incumbent	57%
Office of Councillor – Elmwood-East Kildonan Ward	Incumbent	55%
Office of Councillor – St. James Ward	Incumbent	55%
Office of Mayor	Incumbent	53%
Office of Councillor – Charleswood-Tuxedo Ward	Non-incumbent	42%
Office of Councillor – Fort Rouge-East Fort Garry Ward	Non-incumbent	37%
Office of Councillor – Transcona Ward	Non-incumbent	37%
Office of Councillor – St. Norbert-Seine River Ward	Non-incumbent	34%

According to Statistics Canada (2017), the visible minority population consists mainly of the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese. In terms of the visible minority composition of officials elected for the 2018-2022 term, three of the 15 Councillors elected to city council (1 incumbent, 2 new members) are from a visible minority group – this means that visible minority representation at Winnipeg’s city council sits at roughly 19% which is proportionate to the groups representation among candidates who ran for office. The 2018 election resulted in Black, Chinese and South Asian racial minority representation at city council.

As it relates to visible minority representation at the municipal government level, there are two observations that stand out. The first is that although visible minorities are still under-represented on Winnipeg’s city council, the 2018 election resulted in the highest proportion of visible minority council members in the city’s history. The second observation that stood in

analyzing the results of the election is the absence of Filipino candidates and subsequently, elected officials from the Filipino subgroup. The Filipino community in Winnipeg is the largest visible minority group in Winnipeg, accounting for 38% of the visible minority population and 11% of Winnipeg's overall population (Statistics Canada 2016). Despite its large population, this will be the first time in 16 years that Winnipeg will not have a member from the Filipino community represented on city council.

4.3. Candidate Journey and Experiences

For most individuals interested in venturing into formal politics, considering a candidacy for public office is influenced by a variety of personal, professional and political factors. When certain groups tend to be underrepresented or absent as candidates or elected officials, it is worth exploring *if* there are factors or circumstances that are similar, different or unique between historically represented and underrepresented groups. To this end, all 60 nominated candidates in Winnipeg's 2018 civic election were invited to participate in the 2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election Candidate Survey (Appendix B). In addition to posing questions that captured demographic and sociocultural information, candidates were asked a series of questions pertaining to their decision to run for office, experiences campaigning, political experience, and views on democracy and representation. The survey concluded with an invitation to participate in a follow up interview. The initial invitation to participate in the study - as well as follow up efforts for both non-respondents and those who indicated their interest in participating in an interview - were made via email. These efforts produced 19 completed surveys and one in-person interview. Two surveys were not completed adequately and were therefore not included in the analysis.

The results below produce data stemming from 17 fully completed surveys and one interview. Survey questions sought to explore candidates' campaign and political experiences as well as their views on democracy and representation. Five of the surveys were completed by candidates belonging to a visible minority group and 12 were completed by candidates who either identified themselves as an Indigenous person or white – that is, candidates who did not identify as belonging to a visible minority group. It is worth noting that study participants included both visible minority and non-visible minority mayoral and councillor candidates. Due to the low response rate, all responses cannot be published in an effort to maintain confidentiality and protect the identity of study participants.

4.3.1. Running

In assessing political representation from a demand-side perspective, attention should be paid to understanding *why* candidates decide to run. Respondents were therefore asked a series of questions about their decision to run for office, exploring when they first entertained the idea of running, whether or not anyone or any groups encouraged their candidacy and who or what was the single most influential factor in their decision to declare their candidacy.

Survey results found that 32% of all respondents first thought about running for office within a year of the 2018 election; 16% between one and four years prior to the election; 16% between five to 10 years prior; 26% at least 10 years prior to the election ; and 11% first thought of running as a youth (under 18 years of age). Table 4.2 breaks down the results by minority status.

Table 3: When Candidates First Thought About Running for Office

	<u>Visible Minority</u>		<u>Non-Visible Minority</u>	
	n	%	n	%
Less than 1 year ago	2	40%	3	25%
1-4 years ago	1	20%	2	17%
5-10 years ago	0	0%	3	25%
10+ years ago	2	40%	2	17%
As a youth (under 18 years of age)	0	0%	2	17%
Total	5	100%	12	100%

The activities associated with running for office are often perceived as all-consuming in nature and the decision to run in an election likely involves considerations beyond time, resources, and skills. Even though the literature demonstrates the role of the family unit in influencing political ambitions, the researcher wanted to know if other “encouragers” beyond the family unit influenced candidates’ decision to run for office. Encouragement can come from any number of individuals or groups, including but not limited to: a person’s spouse, partner or significant other; family, friends, or acquaintances; colleagues or business associates; current or former elected officials; non-elected political activists; and representatives from a civil society organization or interest group. Results from this study found that 53% of all respondents indicated that had not received encouragement to run in the 2018 election from a particular person or group, compared to 47% who stated that they had received encouragement. Furthermore, there was no difference observed between visible minority and non-visible minority respondents, where two-out-of-five (40%) visible minority and six-out-of-12 (50%) non-visible minority respondents received encouragement to present their candidacy. However, what stood out was the responses to the follow up question which asked, “Who encouraged your candidacy?” for those indicated having received encouragement to run. The follow up question

presented respondents examples of persons or groups – that is, “encouragers” - that could have supported their candidacy. Non-visible minority candidates appeared to receive encouragement from more “encouragers” than their visible minority counterparts, identifying an average of 3.7 sources of encouragement compared to 1.5 sources of encouragement for non-visible minority respondents.

Although not all study participants identified sources of encouragement towards declaring their candidacy to run in Winnipeg’s 2018 municipal election, all were able to identify at least one influential factor in their decision to run for office. Study participants were asked the following question: *who or what was the single most influential factor in your decision to run?* Candidates across both groups of respondents (visible minority versus non-visible minority) identified at least one factor that influenced their decision to run. Three themes emerged based on candidate responses to the question on influential factors. The first theme was related to *incumbency*. Several participants simply responded to the open-ended question by making the remark “*no incumbent*” and others noted that a particular councillor was “*not seeking re-election*.” The second theme that emerged was related to *altruistic* purposes, where responses included “*my desire to be impactful*” and “*myself...I like to help*” as being the single most influential factor in declaring their candidacy. Lastly, the most common response made by participants was related to their view on the *state of affairs in their community or the city* and the *need for more effective leadership*. Survey responses that were categorized under this theme included “*the state of Winnipeg*,” “*unhappiness with the current council and direction of the city*” and “*the level of corruption*.” In fact, the interviewee further described council and the election system as “*corrupt*” further stating:

“You have 8 people running and one person has more votes than all of the seven put together? That’s not an election.”

It is worth noting that there were no participants who identified the need or desire for better representation of minority groups as the single most influential factor in the decision to run for Mayor or Councillor. Additionally, respondents did not identify a lack of diversity or representation as a local issue that they were running on. Sixteen out of 17 respondents stated they were running on local issues, most of which were related to infrastructure, public transit, community safety, social issues, responsible government and community and economic development.

4.3.2. Campaign Efforts, Activities and Attitudes

Results from the 2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election Candidate Survey demonstrate that both visible minority and non-visible minority groups were involved in a variety of campaign activities. Both groups were heavily involved in media activities (e.g., interviews), distributing campaign material, canvassing through the community and visiting businesses and local organizations. Figure 4.1 compares responses by visible minority and non-visible minority participants by activity. Although the survey did not list social media as a campaign activity, both groups mentioned that they were engaged in social media activities when asked to specify other activities that were not listed. This prompted the researcher to revisit the City of Winnipeg’s Nominated Candidates page, where candidates had the opportunity to provide their email address and links to their campaign website and social media pages, where and if applicable. All nominated candidates (100%) listed their email address; 67% provided a link to their campaign website; 52% provided a link to their Facebook page; 38% provided a link to their Twitter handle; 16% provided a link to their Instagram page and; 15% provided a link to

their LinkedIn profile. It is clear that candidates were engaged in online activities, though in varying degrees. When asked about campaign activities, the interviewee noted:

“I did A LOT of activities via email and Facebook.”

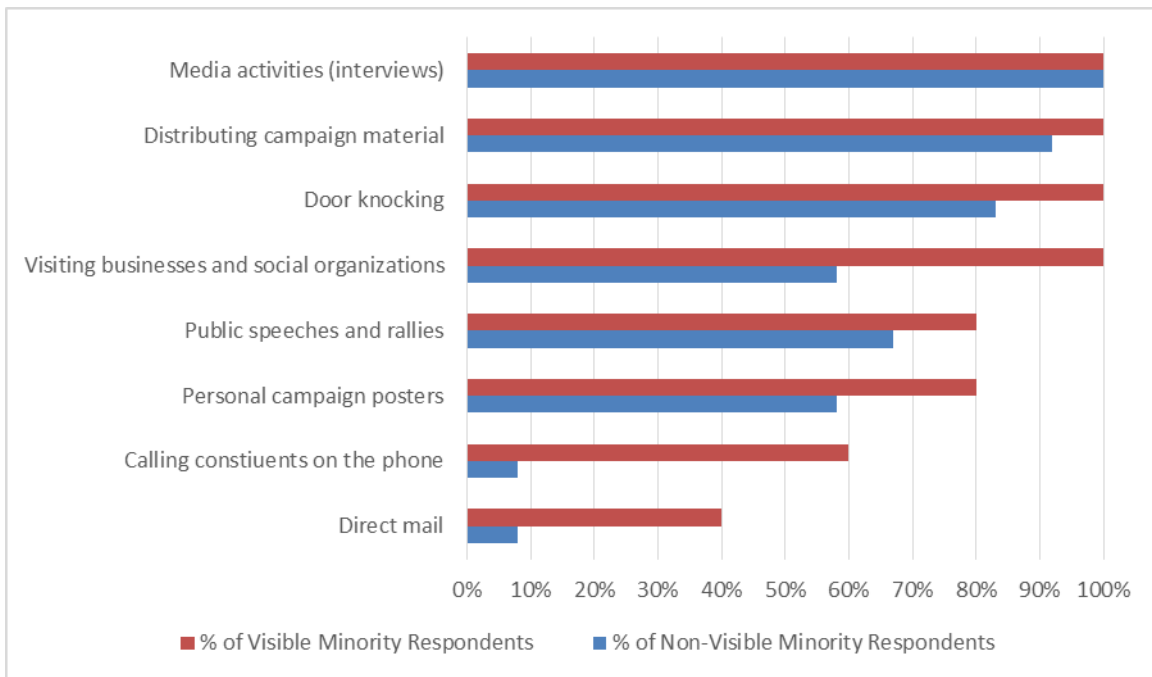


Figure 1: Campaign Activities

Many campaign activities, such as distributing campaign material or hosting a rally, often have a financial price tag involved. The survey therefore included questions aimed at determining participants’ financial resources and what percentage of their resources were allocated to certain activities and related items. The responses stemming from these questions are not reported as they could not be analyzed – several participants declined to provide a financial figure to the question asking how much money they intended to spend on their campaign, indicating either an inability or discomfort in doing so.

The survey also looked at participants’ attitudes and outlooks on how they evaluated their chances of winning. The summary of results listed in Table 4.3 shows that visible minority

respondents were slightly more optimistic about their chances of being elected compared to their non-visible minority counterparts. Although 60% (n=3) of visible minority and 58% (n=7) of non-visible minority respondents indicated that they thought it was an open race, 40% (n=2) of visible minority respondents either thought they could hardly lose or could not lose compared to the one (8%) non-visible minority respondent who indicated that they could not lose.

Conversely, there were no visible minority participants who indicated that they could not win or could hardly win, compared to 34% (n=4) of non-visible minority participants who indicated as much.

Table 4: How Candidates Evaluated their Chances of Winning

	<u>Visible Minority</u>		<u>Non-Visible Minority</u>	
	n	%	n	%
I thought I could not win	0	0%	2	17%
I thought I could hardly win	0	0%	2	17%
I thought it was an open race	3	60%	7	58%
I thought I could hardly lose	1	20%	0	0%
I thought I could not lose	1	20%	1	8%
Total	5	100%	12	100%

4.3.3. Political Experience and Participation

The survey sought to capture *formal* political experience by listing a variety of political activities that if engaged in, would qualify as having some degree of this type of experience. Study participants were asked to select which activities they had experience in and to specify other political activities that were not listed. Political experience as it relates to whether participants had ever declared themselves as a candidate for office or had been elected to office could not be reported as the low response rate would risk identifying participants. However, the one activity that stood out was related to experience working on an election campaign, whether paid or unpaid / as a volunteer. Although neither visible minority or non-visible minority

respondents indicated that they had worked on an election campaign in a paid position before, a stark difference was observed in regards to working as a volunteer or in an unpaid role. All five (100%) visible minority respondents indicated they had political experience by way of working on an election campaign in an unpaid / volunteer role compared to seven (58%) non-visible minority participants who indicated the same.

Differences were also observed as it relates to other forms of political participation. Examples of activities that study participants were asked to select from on the 2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election Candidate Survey include: donating to a political campaign or group; signing petitions; working with groups to affect political outcomes; attending community meetings about a local issue; participating in a demonstration or march and; seeking or exchanging political information online. As Figure 4.2 illustrates, visible minority and non-visible minority respondents were found to participate in several activities. However, when comparing groups, visible minority respondents were observed to participate in certain activities at a higher rate than their non-visible minority counterparts - and vice versa. Four-out-of-five (80%) of visible minority respondents indicated that they had donated to a political campaign or group, compared to five-of-12 (42%) non-visible minority respondents. Conversely, seven-out-of-12 (58%) of non-visible minority respondents indicated they had worked with groups to affect political outcomes, compared to one-out-of-5 (20%) visible minority respondents. Additionally, a larger percentage of non-visible minority respondents indicated that they sought or exchanged political information online, where 10-out-of-12 (83%) indicated having engaged in that particular activity, compared to two-out-of-five (40%) visible minority respondents.

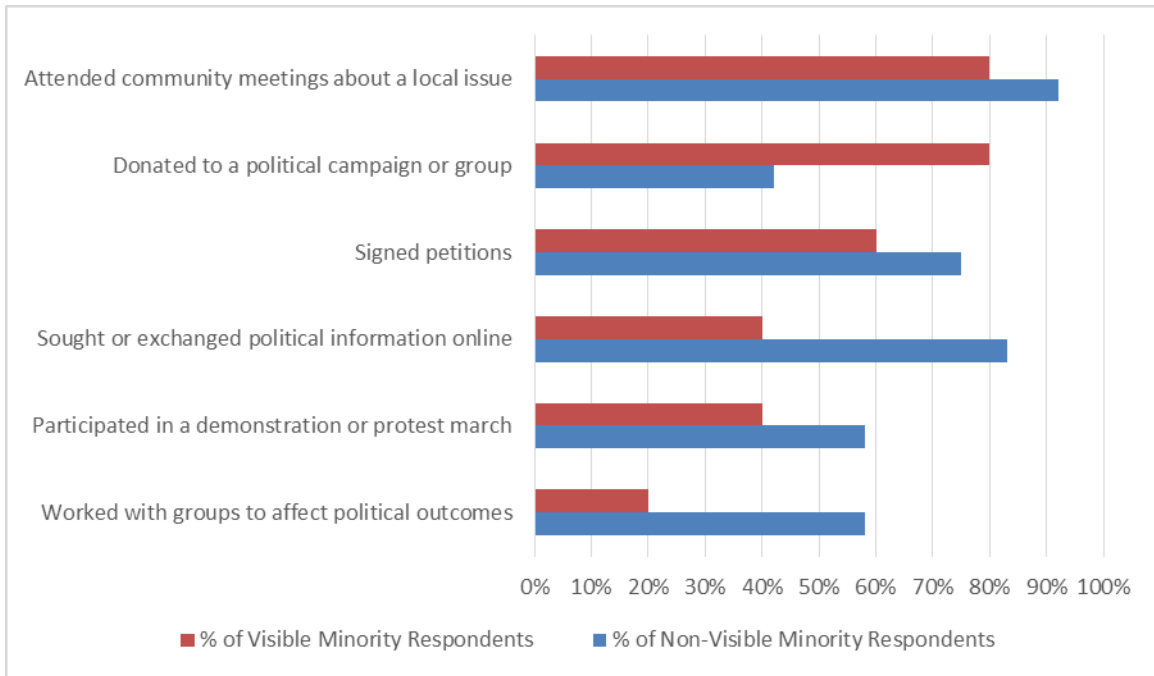


Figure 2: Political Participation Activities

4.3.4. Democracy and Representation

On a broader level, study participants were asked about their level of satisfaction regarding how democracy works in Canada. Overall, respondents indicated varying levels of satisfaction about the way democracy works in Canada. Sixteen percent of respondents overall were “very satisfied” with the way democracy works in Canada; 32% were “somewhat satisfied”; 21% had neutral views; 11% were “somewhat dissatisfied” and; 21% indicated that they were “very dissatisfied” with the way democracy works in Canada.

The survey also prompted participants to consider how well municipal elections work at ensuring that the views of City Council accurately reflect that of the voters. There were no study participants who believed that City Council functioned “very well” in this regard. As Table 4.4 illustrates, the majority of respondents indicated municipal elections operate “somewhat poorly” or “very poorly” at ensuring that the City Council accurately reflects the views of voters. This

finding does not come as a surprise given that several respondents mentioned the state of affairs in their community and that the need for more effective leadership was an influential factor in their decision to run for office.

Table 5: Participants’ Views on How Well Municipal Elections Work

	<u>Visible Minority</u>		<u>Non-Visible Minority</u>	
	n	%	n	%
Very poorly	2	40%	3	25%
Somewhat poorly	0	0%	3	25%
Neutral – neither well or poorly	1	20%	2	17%
Somewhat well	2	40%	4	33%
Very well	0	0%	0	0%
Total	5	100%	12	100%

One of the main characteristics of a democracy is a representative government. Given that wards are segments that collectively make up the city, it is not uncommon to find differing opinions as to who an elected official should *primarily* represent. Participants were asked to share their views on the importance of representing certain groups or segments of the population. The groups identified on the survey included: all voters in their constituency; all citizens in their constituency; and all citizens throughout the city and member specific social groups (e.g. young or elderly people). As demonstrated in Table 4.5, both groups of respondents (visible and non-visible minority respondents) placed greater importance on primarily representing voters and citizens in their constituency and less importance on primarily representing all citizens throughout the city and members of specific social groups.

Table 6: Participant Views about Who Elected Councillors Should Primarily Represent

	Group: All voters in your constituency			
	<u>Visible Minority</u>		<u>Non-Visible Minority</u>	
	n	%	n	%
Very important	5	100%	11	92%
Somewhat important	0	0%	1	8%
Neither important nor unimportant	0	0%	0	0%
Somewhat unimportant	0	0%	0	0%
Very unimportant	0	0%	0	0%
Total	5	100%	12	100%

	Group: All citizens in your constituency			
	<u>Visible Minority</u>		<u>Non-Visible Minority</u>	
	n	%	n	%
Very important	5	100%	9	75%
Somewhat important	0	0%	3	25%
Neither important nor unimportant	0	0%	0	0%
Somewhat unimportant	0	0%	0	0%
Very unimportant	0	0%	0	0%
Total	5	100%	12	100%

	Group: All citizens throughout the city			
	<u>Visible Minority</u>		<u>Non-Visible Minority</u>	
	n	%	n	%
Very important	2	40%	7	58%
Somewhat important	2	40%	5	42%
Neither important nor unimportant	1	20%	0	%
Somewhat unimportant	0	0%	0	%
Very unimportant	0	0%	0	%
Total	5	100%	12	100%

	Group: Members of specific social groups (e.g. young or elderly people)			
	<u>Visible Minority</u>		<u>Non-Visible Minority</u>	
	n	%	n	%
Very important	1	20%	3	25%
Somewhat important	3	60%	6	50%
Neither important nor unimportant	1	20%	2	17%
Somewhat unimportant	0	0%	0	0%
Very unimportant	0	0%	1	8%
Total	5	100%	12	100%

4.3.5. Demographics

As noted earlier in this section, several results from the survey cannot be reported in any capacity in order to protect the identity of all those who participated in this study. Therefore, demographics specific to age and gender will not be published and respondents' place of birth will be referenced briefly. The only information that will be covered in this section will be that pertaining to participants' education attainment and language.

Overall, participants who completed the 2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election Candidate Survey displayed varying degrees of academic achievement. There were no respondents with less than a twelfth grade education. Furthermore, close to three-quarters of respondents (74%) had "some university" or "completed a university degree". There was no marked difference observed between post-secondary education experiences between visible minority (four-of-five) and non-visible minority respondents (nine-of-12).

Both English and French have official federal status throughout Canada. Part 9 of the *City of Winnipeg Charter* and *By-law for the Provision of Municipal Services in Both Official Languages* guides the city's efforts in ensuring that both languages are embedded in the public services that fall under the city's purview. Participants were asked whether or not they spoke English and French well enough to conduct a conversation. Four-out-of-five (80%) of visible minority respondents indicated that they spoke English well enough to conduct a conversation, with only one (20%) respondent indicating they were fluent in both official languages. Conversely, eight-out-of-12 (67%) non-visible minority candidates indicated that they could speak English well enough to conduct a conversation whereas four-out-of-12 (33%) respondents indicated their fluency in both English and French. The slight difference in bilingualism could be attributed to the fact that a far greater percentage of non-visible minority respondents indicated

they were born in Canada and therefore likely exposed to both official languages from an early age across various institutions and systems.

Canada is often viewed as a multicultural society, a diverse country that has been shaped throughout history by immigrants and their descendants. Its ethnic and cultural composition has resulted in a multitude of languages being spoken far and wide throughout the country where over 200 languages were reported as a home language or mother tongue in the 2011 Census of Population (Statistics Canada 2011). Study participants were asked whether or not there was another language, besides English and French, that they could speak well enough to conduct a conversation. Three-out-of-five visible minorities (60%) respondents indicated that they could speak other languages well enough, identifying seven languages between the three of them. This is in stark contrast to the sole (8%) non-visible minority respondent who identified just one other language besides English or French that they could speak well enough to carry on a conversation.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

A model representative democracy would be one in which each and every citizen who has the right to vote would not only exercise that right but would feel confident and assured that their voices are filtered through the elected body. That would be inclusive of those who are considered the majority, the minority, the marginalized, among others – *all* would feel well represented. The reality however is that such a political system will likely never achieve these ideals. This does not mean that society should abandon efforts to strive towards these ideals - quite the contrary. Governments and their citizens are tasked with the added responsibility of continuously assessing the quality of our democracy and making conscious, well-intended, responsible decisions that strive towards those ideals, no matter how unattainable they might seem. Perhaps some might agree that the more realistic goal at all times should be progression, not perfection.

The level of political participation among Canadian citizens can be considered moderate at best. Furthermore, there are segments of Canadian society that are observed to not be politically engaged (or at least not in large percentages) across a variety of activity types. Elite level participation - which includes running for *and* being elected to office - is one of the areas where a number of groups are underrepresented. This includes but is not limited to Indigenous peoples, women, youth, and the focus of this study – visible minorities. This section discusses a number of observations and subsequent speculations made by the researcher as to the scope and possible causes of underrepresentation in Winnipeg.

5.1. Progress...More or Less

For the purposes of this study which sought to determine the scope of underrepresentation of visible minorities in local government, the findings provide a benchmark

from which to monitor and report on progress of both descriptive and substantive representation. Visible minorities continue to be underrepresented, both as candidates and as elected officials though not as much as in other jurisdictions across Canada. This study did not examine candidacies from prior elections and therefore cannot conclude whether or not progress has been made in terms of the number of visible minorities running for office in proportion to their overall share of the population.

Figure 5.1 compares 2006, 2011 and 2016 census reports with council composition during the same time period. It demonstrates that visible minority representation on Winnipeg's city council has hovered around the 13% mark for quite some time despite their increased share of the city's overall population – at least until recently. If we further compare the number of visible minorities elected to Winnipeg's city council in 2018 with previous elections, the results show greater visible minority representation today. Although still underrepresented, this is progress to some extent, albeit slow. Notwithstanding the fact that members from the Filipino community are absent from council despite accounting for 11% of the overall population, all indications point to a historic first, with the first Black person to be elected to Winnipeg's city council.

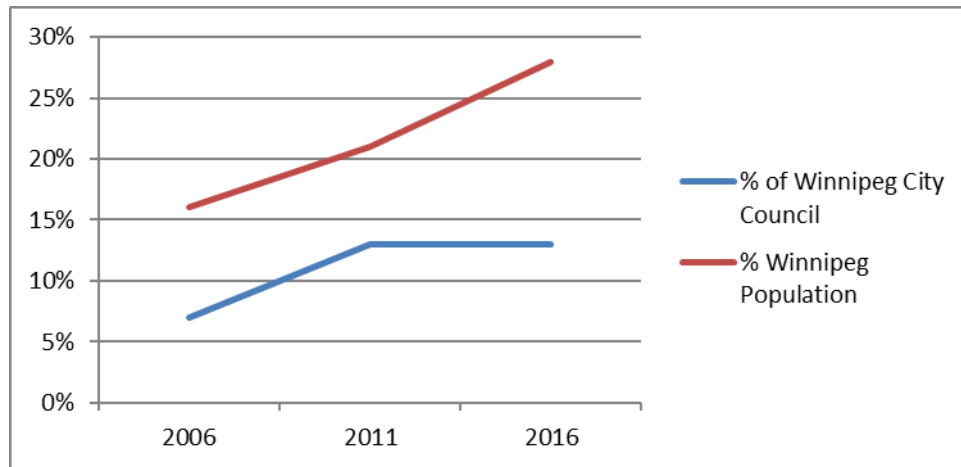


Figure 3: Visible Minority Overall Population and City Hall Representation Across Three Census Periods

5.2. The Power of Incumbency

In looking a bit closer at the election results from Winnipeg’s most recent municipal election, a phenomenon is observed consistent with what the literature has unanimously revealed – incumbency is extremely powerful. Every incumbent, who ran for re-election, won (with one incumbent candidate winning via acclamation). Incumbents did not just win – they won by big margins. In contests that involved an incumbent, the percent of votes that they won by ranged from a low of 53% (Mayor) to a high of 89% (St. Vital Ward). Where there were no incumbents, the percent of votes that the challengers won by ranged from 34% (St. Norbert-Seine River ward) to 57% (Point Douglas Ward).

Remaining consistent with what many in the field of political science have concluded on the subject matter, incumbency continues to be one of the strongest predictors of electoral success in local elections. The results from Winnipeg’s 2018 civic election, and prior elections, reveal that this is the case even when incumbents fall under the visible minority category. There was only one visible minority incumbent seeking re-election and that individual was re-elected

for a third term. It is also worth noting that the now-former Councillor for the Point Douglas ward, who qualifies as a visible minority, decided not run for re-election after serving four terms across 16 years. The incumbency advantage seems to benefit all incumbents, not just non-visible minorities.

5.3. Open Seats and Opportunity

The incumbency advantage is well documented and is highlighted in the literature as one challenge that visible minority candidate's face during their quest to being elected to office and moving closer towards representation. Unseating an incumbent is extremely difficult. That being said, there were five contests in Winnipeg's 2018 municipal election that were wide open, meaning voters would send five new faces to council. These wards are where visible minority candidates saw electoral success, winning in two out-of-the-five contests. Given the longevity of municipal councillor careers (if one should choose to continue running for re-lection), it would appear that the most opportune time for any person or group that is underrepresented at the elite political level might be limited to contests where there are no incumbents.

5.4. Journeys and Experiences

In addition to attempting to bring attention to the issue of the (under)representation of visible minorities, this study also explored the extent to which the journey and experiences between visible minority and non-visible minority candidates are the same and different. This included looking at various factors related to their decision to run, campaign activities, and political experiences. Although some phases to this study involved data collection and analyses of publically published material, this phase of the study involved research methods that required candidates to participate voluntarily. Participation involved completing surveys and participating in interviews purposed with resolving these research subproblems. Although these tried and

tested data collection techniques had potential, they introduced a shortcoming to the study - a low response rate.

5.4.1. The Impact of a Low Response Rate

Research using surveys has been a popular method of quantitative data collection for several reasons, including: how easy they can be to administer, how efficient they can be in collecting large amounts of data and how cost effective they are when compared to other methods. In a perfect world, researchers would receive responses from all members of their sample population. In practice, this is a rarity. Despite the best efforts of researchers who collect quantitative data via survey tools, issues of response rates can arise, as was the case in this study.

Studies on survey research indicate a number of potential reasons for low response rates. In addition to the examples provided in Chapter 3, other factors known to influence a potential respondent's decision to complete a survey include the length of the survey, a lack of incentive or a lack of value (perceived) in completing the survey. The researcher for this largely exploratory study has identified at least three contributing factors to the low response rate observed.

The first, as noted in Chapter 3, was the timing of the request. A number of candidates running for office in Winnipeg's 2018 municipal election contacted the researcher to express that the request came at a "bad time." They mentioned that they, and other candidates, were in the final stretch of their campaign and needed to focus on campaign activities meant to reach voters. Survey fatigue is the second suspected factor contributing to the low response rate observed. One candidate in particular noted that they (and likely other candidates), were being "bombarded" with requests to complete surveys from other individuals (e.g., researchers) and groups (e.g., interest groups). Third, it is suspected that some candidates ultimately decided not

to complete the survey because the researcher was viewed first and foremost as a voter. A representative for one of the candidates contacted the researcher to ask if they were a constituent in their ward, indicating a potential conflict in completing the survey if it were to be analyzed by one of their constituents during the campaign. It is therefore completely possible that other candidates arrived at the same conclusion and decided not to complete the survey, airing on the side of caution.

Survey response rates have a direct impact on research results. In the case of this study, the low response rate observed resulted in the following limitations:

- Statistical procedures such as the *chi-square goodness of fit test* are one of few analyses that allow for a comparison of “relative frequencies of people in various categories” (Leedy and Ormrod 2013, p.85). However, given that a low response rate would have the potential to decrease the statistical power of the data collected, such statistical procedures were not performed. Results for testing are much more reliable when the sample sizes are sufficiently large enough to produce a suitable level of statistical power.
- A low response rate has also hindered any ability to make inferences about the larger target audience. Therefore any discussions related to observed differences between visible minority candidates and non-visible minority candidates will be limited.
- Low response rates tend to raise concerns of nonresponse bias. With an overall nonresponse rate of roughly 68%, legitimate concerns would likely be raised if any inferences or generalizations were stated.

Simply put, the low response rate and the limitations imposed as a result, have undermined the reliability and validity of the survey results. However, although it is not possible to arrive at any

type of conclusion or state certain inferences, the results stemming from this study have the potential to make several noteworthy contributions to future research efforts.

5.4.2. The Contributions of this Research

The results can be viewed as largely exploratory in nature. Exploratory studies are often characterized by implementing several techniques such as conducting a thorough review of the available literature on the topic as well as carrying out qualitative methods such as interviews. Although the results are not conclusive and cannot be generalized to the target population, there are benefits that stem from exploratory results. One benefit is that the results often aid in gaining insight into an underexplored phenomenon – such is the case on the issue of visible minority representation at the local government level across Canadian municipalities. A second benefit is that any insights gained can not only be used to provide suggestions for future research, they can also inform and guide future research design processes. Additionally, the materials, tools and procedures that were developed to collect data for this study has promise for future research on the subject matter - they have been tested and can either be repeated or modified for use in future studies.

Even though only one study participant was interviewed, the responses made by those who completed the survey can also be categorized as qualitative in nature. Granted, the survey had quantitative elements to it where responses were summarized with percentages. However, the surveys did capture individual attitudes, opinions, and perceptions about particular activities, events and issues. The 17 fully completed surveys can therefore be treated as qualitative in nature, providing a snapshot into candidates' journeys and experiences at one point in time. To that end, there are a few observations worth noting.

5.4.3. General Observations about Candidate Journey's and Experiences

In the absence of appropriate statistical testing, this study could not make any inferences or arrive at any general conclusions. Therefore, no conclusive statements regarding the similarities or differences that might exist between visible minority and nonvisible minority candidates as it relates to their political journey and experiences could be made. However, there are a few observations worth including in this discussion, as it pertains to candidates as an overall group, regardless of status.

The decision to run for an elective position is often viewed as a courageous one. Oftentimes political candidates and elected officials are subjected to a level of scrutiny and rejection (in the case of unsuccessful bids) that are not commonly seen across other professions. With that in mind, there are number of factors potential candidates take into consideration when contemplating a run for office. Some candidates run for personal reasons, where they feel slighted by the current body of elected decision-makers. Others run for altruistic reasons, where they have a genuine desire to make a difference in the lives of citizens.

In their study on the dynamic concept of running for office, Fox and Lawless (2011) note that “potential candidates are more likely to seek office when they face favorable political and structural circumstances” (p.44). Among other factors, the number of open seats and a certain degree of agreement with constituents on important issues appear to be factors potential candidates take into consideration. The results from the 2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election Candidate Survey revealed that candidates run for a variety of reasons, some of which were consistent with reasons and considerations cited in the literature. Open seats were a factor for some candidates as were altruistic purposes. Additionally, the vast majority of respondents (94%) indicated that they were running on local issues, such as community issues, public transit,

and infrastructure, to name a few. This suggests that the candidates' platforms likely saw some level of congruence on issues that were important to voters.

Lastly, it is worth noting the sociocultural responses pertaining to language. Of the five visible minority candidates that completed the 2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election Candidate survey, three respondents indicated being able to speak a combined total of seven languages, in addition to speaking and writing in English fluently. In Canada, more than 200 languages were reported in the 2011 census as a home or mother tongue (Statistics Canada 2011). Although it remains to be seen, the linguistic diversity at city hall may translate into an extended reach and strengthened connections between the elected body and citizens.

5.5. Conclusions and Recommendations

Although the concept of descriptive representation has its skeptics, research on the subject has shown that it increases political participation by groups that tend to be underrepresented. As noted by Uhlener and Scola (2016) in their work on collective representation as a mobilizer, "increased representation increases knowledge about government and interest in politics, both of which increase participation" (p.231). Borrowing from Minority Empowerment Theory, Uhlener and Scola further note other added benefits which include the possibility of an increase in "the perception that political action will benefit oneself, making it more worthwhile" (Uhlener and Scola 2016, p.2231).

This study - with its shortcomings and limitations - is but a snapshot of a mid-sized prairie city in Canada taken at one specific point in time. Looking at municipal politics in Winnipeg, visible minorities are currently better represented than at any point in city councils history. However, this does not negate the fact that underrepresentation is still an issue - not just at the local level but at all three levels of government across most of the country. Canada is

geographically vast, inclusive of communities in the North, South, and those between the Atlantic region and the West Coast. No two communities are alike. Not to mention, the provincial and federal political systems operate quite differently from what has been observed in local politics. If governments are really concerned about improving the way representative bodies function, then further research on the scope and causes of underrepresentation are warranted to fully understand its causes and to be able to identify potential solutions. Further research should ideally assess the phenomenon across numerous jurisdictions and closely examine the intricacies at play at all levels of government.

Whether or not the results of Winnipeg's most recent election will lead to increased participation by certain groups, there are several things that can be done in the interim. First, this study revealed that visible minorities are underrepresented as candidates – further research as to the underlying causes is warranted. Without a solid showing from traditionally underrepresented groups, it is highly unlikely that equal representation will be realized. The second recommendation speaks to the issue of how to get this done and who to involve. It is recommended that municipalities intentionally leverage the networks that exist throughout the communities to educate, inform and raise awareness through initiatives that target underrepresented groups. This includes higher institutions that can engage in formal activities like monitoring, assessing and reporting on issues. This also includes public spaces like schools, libraries and community centres as well as religious institutions – places where many minority groups gather for both educational and social purposes. It is both the hope and opinion of this researcher that while the representational deficit of certain groups in society's political sphere is an ongoing concern, it is something that is solvable by *collectively* naming it as an issue and rallying to solve it through our democratic institutions.

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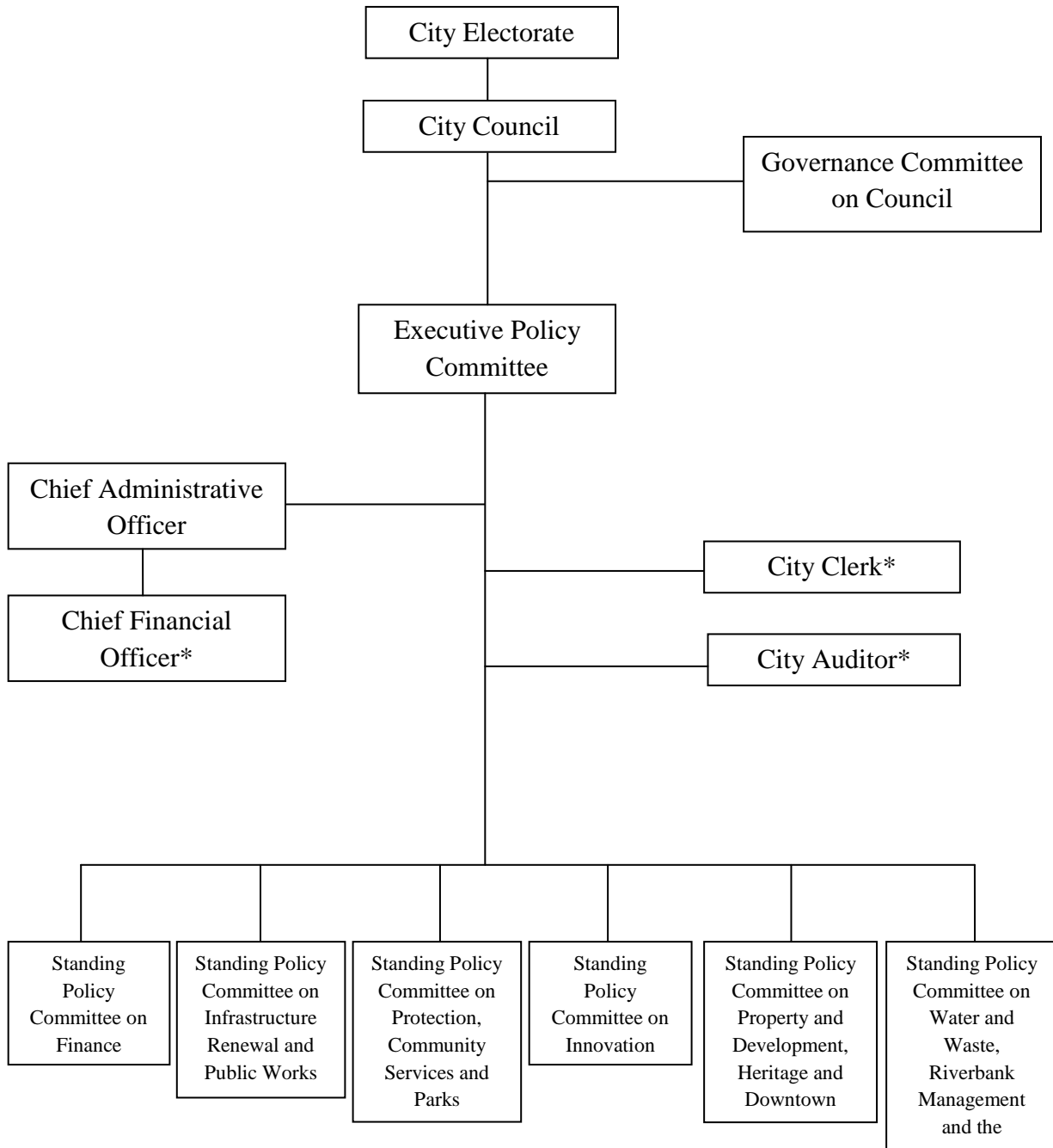
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APPENDIX A: EXECUTIVE AND FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION CHART

Source: City of Winnipeg Municipal Manual 2017



* Chief Financial Officer, City Auditor and City Clerk have statutory reporting relationship to City Council

**APPENDIX B: 2018 CITY OF WINNIPEG MUNICIPAL ELECTION –
CANDIDATE SURVEY**

2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election – Candidate Survey

My name is Janice Edwards and I am lifelong Winnipeg resident and graduate student, currently completing my master’s degree in Community Development at North Dakota State University. For my thesis research, I am conducting a study that seeks to assess the underrepresentation of visible minority groups in municipal government – and what the scope of the problem is in Winnipeg. This survey is intended to collect data about candidates running for Mayor and City Councillor in the *2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election*, and subsequently, those elected to City Council.

You have been selected to complete this survey because you have declared your candidacy for Mayor or City Councillor in the *2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election*. The survey will take no longer than 15 minutes to complete. All responses to this survey will be kept strictly confidential.

Thank you in advance for your taking part in this study.

A. Running

1. For what position are you a candidate?
 - Mayor
 - Councillor

2. Prior to your candidacy for this year’s (2018) election, did you ever consider running as a candidate for office at the municipal level, BUT ultimately decided NOT to run?
 - NO
 - YES

If YES, what factors contributed to your decision not to run?

- Personal / familial reasons
- Ill-prepared
- Lack of information
- Lack of resources
- Lack of confidence
- Incumbent at the time
- Nature of the job
- Compensation
- Other (*Please specify*): _____

3. When did you first think of running for office?
- Less than 1 year ago
 - 1-4 years ago
 - 5-10 years ago
 - 10+ years ago
 - As a youth (under 18 years of age)

4. Did any persons or groups particularly encourage you to present your candidacy for this year's (2018) election?

- NO
- YES.

If YES, who encouraged your candidacy?

- Spouse, partner, or significant other
 - Family member(s)
 - Friend or acquaintance
 - Colleague or business associate
 - Elected official
 - Non-elected political activist
 - Representatives from a civil society organization or interest group
 - Other (*Please specify*)
-

5. Who or what was the single most influential factor in your decision to declare your candidacy for this year'?
-

6. Have you been endorsed by any organization or association? (This means that the organization publically supported your candidacy.)

- NO
- YES

If YES, please specify which organization(s) or association(s) endorsed you: _____

7. Are you running on any local issues?

- NO
- YES

If YES, please specify the local issues on which you are running. _____

8. Are you engaged in any of the following campaign activities? *(Please check all that apply.)*

- Door knocking, canvassing
- Distributing campaign material
- Calling constituents on the phone
- Visiting businesses and social organizations
- Media activities (interviews)
- Public speeches and rallies
- Personal campaign posters
- Direct mailing
- Other *(Please specify)* _____

9. At the start of the campaign, how did you evaluate your chances to win?

- I thought I could not win
- I thought I could hardly win
- I thought it was an open race
- I thought I could hardly lose
- I thought I could not lose

10. Not including yourself, how many people work for you in your personal campaign?

_____ People

11. At the conclusion of the *2018 City of Winnipeg Municipal Election*, how much money do you project spending on your campaign?

\$ _____

12. In approximate percentage terms, how much of your financial resources have you allocated to each of the following? *Circle the closest percentage.*

Advertising	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
Brochures	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
Consulting Efforts	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
Meetings, Social Functions & Rallies	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
Signs	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
Travel	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100%
Other											

(Please specify) 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100%

B. Political Experience

13. Including this election (2018), how many times have you run as a candidate at the municipal level in Winnipeg?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 or more

14. Regarding political experience, which of the following have you ever done? (*Check all that apply.*)

- Worked on an election campaign – unpaid / volunteer
- Worked on an election campaign – paid
- Declared yourself as a candidate for office at the provincial level
- Declared yourself as a candidate for cabinet at the federal level
- Been elected to city council (municipal)
- Been elected to the legislative assembly (provincial)
- Been elected to parliament (federal)
- Other (*Please specify*) _____

15. Regarding political participation, which of the following have you ever done? (*Check all that apply.*)

- Donated to a political campaign or group
- Signed petitions
- Worked with groups to affect political outcomes
- Attended community meetings about a local issue
- Participated in a demonstration or protest march
- Sought or exchanged political information online
- Other (*Please specify*) _____

C. Democracy and Representation

16. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Canada?

- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Neutral - neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- Somewhat dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied

17. Thinking about how municipal elections work in practice, how well do you think they ensure that the views of City Council accurately reflect the views of voters?

- Very poorly
- Somewhat poorly
- Neutral -neither well nor poorly
- Somewhat well
- Very well

18. There are different opinions about whom an elected councillor should *primarily* represent. In your view, how important is it for you to represent the following groups?

	Very important	Somewhat important	Neither important nor unimportant	Somewhat unimportant	Very unimportant
All voters in your constituency	5	4	3	2	1
All citizens in your constituency	5	4	3	2	1
All citizens throughout the city	5	4	3	2	1
Members of specific social group (e.g., young or elderly people)	5	4	3	2	1

D. Demographics

Note: The purpose of this section is to collect key demographic data about study participants and will be used solely for comparative purposes. Any findings and subsequent reports will not include names or indications of identity. As a reminder, your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

19. What is your age?

____ years old

20. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Other

21. Do you speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation? (Check one.)

- English only
- French only
- Both English and French
- Neither English nor French

22. Highest level of education achieved. (Check one.)

- Less than grade 12
- High school diploma or equivalent
- Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma
- Some university
- Completed university degree – bachelors or higher (e.g. MA, doctorate)
- Other (Please specify) _____

E. Sociocultural Information

Note: The purpose of this section is to collect key sociocultural data about study participants and will be used solely for comparative purposes. Any findings and subsequent reports will not include names or indications of identity. As a reminder, your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

23. Where were you born?

- Born in Canada
 - Specify province: _____
- Born outside of Canada.
 - Specify country: _____

24. Is there another language besides English or French that you can speak well enough to conduct a conversation?

- NO
- YES
 - If YES, please specify: _____

25. Do you identify as an Indigenous Person? (An Indigenous person is a member of First Nation, Métis, or Inuit. First Nation includes status, treaty, or registered, as well as non-registered people.)

- NO
- YES

26. With which of the following groups do you identify?

- White
- A member of a visible minority group. (A person in a Visible Minority group in Canada is someone, other than an Indigenous person, who is non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour, regardless of their place of birth.)

- South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)
- Chinese
- Black
- Filipino
- Latin American
- Arab
- Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Thai, etc.)
- West Asian (e.g., Iranian, Afghan, etc.)
- Korean
- Japanese
- Multiple visible minorities
- Other (not included elsewhere). (*Please specify*): _____

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your answers are a valuable part of this study. In an effort to understand in more detail the candidate experience, a second phase to this study will entail follow up interviews. If you are willing to participate in a short interview, you may be contacted after you have completed this survey. Please indicate your interest below.

Note: You can decline the request when contacted.

- NO, I would not be interested in participating in a follow up interview
- YES, I would be willing to participate in a follow up interview
 - Phone:
 - Email:

APPENDIX C: NORTH DAKOTA STATE UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW

BOARD APPROVAL LETTER



October 3, 2018

Dr. Gary Gorham
Sociology and Anthropology

Re: IRB Determination of Exempt Human Subjects Research:
Protocol #HS19063, "Political Representation of Visible Minorities at the Local Level: A Case Study"

Co-investigator(s) and research team: Janice Edwards
Date of Exempt Determination: 10/3/2018 Expiration Date: 10/2/2021
Study site(s): online
Sponsor: n/a


The above referenced human subjects research project has been certified as exempt (category #2b) in accordance with federal regulations (Code of Federal Regulations, Title 45, Part 46, Protection of Human Subjects). This determination is based on the original protocol submission (received 9/26/2018) and recruitment/consent materials (received 10/3/2018).

Please also note the following:

- If you wish to continue the research after the expiration, submit a request for recertification several weeks prior to the expiration.
- The study must be conducted as described in the approved protocol. Changes to this protocol must be approved prior to initiating, unless the changes are necessary to eliminate an immediate hazard to subjects.
- Notify the IRB promptly of any adverse events, complaints, or unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others related to this project.
- Report any significant new findings that may affect the risks and benefits to the participants and the IRB.

Research records may be subject to a random or directed audit at any time to verify compliance with IRB standard operating procedures.

Thank you for your cooperation with NDSU IRB procedures. Best wishes for a successful study.
Sincerely,


Kristy Shirley, CIP, Research Compliance Administrator

For more information regarding IRB Office submissions and guidelines, please consult http://www.ndsu.edu/research/integrity_compliance/irb/. This institution has an approved FederalWide Assurance with the Department of Health and Human Services: FWA00002439.

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
NDSU Dept 4000 | PO Box 6050 | Fargo ND 58108-6050 | 701.231.8995 | Fax 701.231.8098 | ndsu.edu/irb

Shipping address: Research 1, 1735 NDSU Research Park Drive, Fargo ND 58102

NDSU is an EONA university

APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWS

NDSU

North Dakota State University
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
NDSU Dept. 2350
PO Box 6050
Fargo, ND 58108
701.231.8657

Title of Research Study: Political Representation of Visible Minorities at the Local Level: A Case Study

Dear _____:

My name is Janice Edwards. I am a graduate student currently pursuing my Master's degree in Community Development at North Dakota State University (NDSU) and I am conducting a case study that seeks to assess the underrepresentation of minority groups at the local government level in Winnipeg. The two-fold purpose of the study is to (a) determine what the scope of the problem is in Winnipeg and (b) learn about the journey and experiences of candidates for Mayor and City Councillor in Winnipeg's 2018 civic election (prior to and during the campaign period) – the latter is to determine to what extent, if any, are the journey's and experiences of visible minority candidates unique. It is my hope, that with this research, we will gain a better understanding of the factors that may encourage or impede political engagement of visible minority groups at a formal level.

Because you are a nominated candidate in the 2018 City of Winnipeg municipal election, you are invited to participate in this phase of the research project. You will be one of up to 25 people being interviewed for this study.

You may find it interesting and thought provoking to participate in the interview. If, however, you feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, you have the right to decline to answer any question(s), or to end the interview.

It should take about one hour to complete the interview. I will ask you approximately 10 questions aimed at better understanding your political journey up to the time of this interview. Questions will attempt to capture information related to your experiences and influences in formal politics as well as your thoughts and perspectives related to political participation in general. The interview will be audio recorded. I will keep private all research records that identify you. When the interview is transcribed, you will be given a pseudonym, and other potentially identifying information will be left out of the transcripts. In any written documents (including publications) regarding the study, only the pseudonym will be used.

Audio files will be stored on a password protected computer in a password protected file that only I can access. Electronic copies of the interview transcripts will be saved and protected in the same fashion. After the data has been analyzed, the audio recordings will be deleted.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact me by telephone at 204.229.9722 or by email at janice.edwardsatkins@ndsu.edu. You may also feel free to contact my advisor Dr. Gary A. Goreham, Department of Sociology and Anthropology at NDSU, by telephone at 701.231.7637 or by email at gary.goreham@ndsu.edu.

You have rights as a research participant. If you have questions about your rights or complaints about this research, you may talk to the researcher or contact the NDSU Human Subjects Protection Office at 701.231.8995, toll-free at 1-855-800-6717, by email at ndsu.irb@ndsu.edu, or by mail at: NDSU HRPP Office, NDSU Dept. 4000, P.O. Box 6050, Fargo, ND 58108-6050.

Thank you for your taking part in this research. If you wish to receive a copy of the results, please let me know at any point during the interview. If you decide at a later date that you would like to receive a copy of the results, please contact me at the telephone number or email address indicated above.