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PATHWAYS TO PUBLIC OFFICE:

Canadian Women in the Post-War Years

by

C

M. JANINE BRODIE

A thesis submitted to the Department of
Political Science in conformity with the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
September 1981

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PATHWAYS TO PUBLIC OFFICE:

CANADIAN WOMEN IN THE POST-WAR YEARS

submitted by M. Janine Brodie, B.A., M.A.,
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the political careers of women who make the decidedly uncommon transition from citizen activism to political candidacy. The data employed in this study were derived from a survey of women contesting municipal, provincial, or federal office in Canada in the 1945-1975 period. The research attempts to chart the careers of political women and assess the utility of current recruitment theories in the study of women in politics.

In many ways, the experiences of female politicians appear to parallel those of elected males. Most had an above-average educational and occupational background before trying for public office. Analysis of their early socialization experiences shows that they were initiated to politics in a variety of ways and at almost any stage of life. Most of these female candidates also served an extensive political apprenticeship within voluntary groups and political parties. All these findings suggest a basic similarity in the political careers of female and male political aspirants.

Two distinct pathways to political office emerge from the backgrounds of these political women. One is the voluntary route which streams women into municipal candidacy. Volunteerism appears to be an especially important entry point for women lacking the credentials of

labour force participation or extensive partisan activism. The other route to political candidacy is the partisan pathway which is associated with legislative candidacy. This pathway is marked by a consummate partisanship and a history of party service.

Nevertheless, our findings suggest that the experiences of female candidates do not conform well to current theories of political advancement. The literature suggests that personal credentials, whether educational or occupational resources, are keys to political recruitment. Women with these credentials, however, are neither favoured for recruitment opportunities nor for election to public office. At both the municipal and legislative levels, recruitment opportunities flow most readily to women with a history of local activism - a credential which presupposes both locational and financial security. The thesis concludes that without conscious efforts to recruit women on the part of relevant recruitment agencies such as political parties, there are few immediate or easy solutions to the problem of the integration of women into Canadian decision-making structures.

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Final thanks is reserved for the exceptional women who

participated in this study. I hope that the pages which follow accurately reflect their experiences as political candidates in Canada.

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Chapter 1

Many Participate But Few Are Selected

I Introduction

This thesis charts the pathways that women follow to municipal and legislative office in Canada. Similar to other studies concerned with the political status of women in western democracies, it begins with an apparent contradiction. As political scientists, we are concerned with the unequal distribution of political power and social resources and with the rise and persistence of asymmetrical power relationships. Yet, at the same time, we rarely question perhaps the most enduring and universal manifestation of political domination and subordination; that is, the virtual exclusion of women from positions of political leadership. Many years after their formal admission into the politics of liberal democracies, women remain outside the corridors of political power. The case of women, then, represents perhaps the most prevalent and obvious problem of political integration in liberal democracies. For the most part, however, political scientists have treated this problem as irrelevant to the study of politics, or indeed, as natural and inevitable.¹ This introductory chapter examines how political science has explained the dearth of women in public office, assesses the inadequacies of these explanations, and offers alternative

perspectives which will be explored in the chapters which follow.

Liberal ideology provides that every citizen ought to have a chance to seek elected office. In practice, of course, few citizens actually accomplish this goal. While most citizens have the right to seek public office, subtle social and political practices effectively narrow the potential field of political candidates to a select few. Among the social groups most consistently excluded from the ranks of political candidates (and consequently, elected public officials) are the working class, minority ethnic and religious groups, and women. Statistically speaking, however, women are the most under-represented social group in the elected assemblies of western democracies.² Few aspects of social life are more completely and universally male dominated than politics.³ Indeed, if one observation best describes the political behaviour of women in liberal democracies today, it is that few seek and even fewer achieve public office.⁴

Canada is not an exception to this general observation about the gender-based division of political power in western democracies. Most Canadian women were granted the right to vote and seek public office at about the same time as their British and American counterparts. Due to Canada's federal structure, however, women's suffrage has a rather complex history.⁵ In the provinces west of Ontario, provincial suffrage was granted to women as early as 1917.

The federal franchise was extended to women in 1921 (although some women were allowed to vote in the 1917 federal election as male surrogates).⁶ The right to contest provincial office, however, was withheld from women until 1934 in Nova Scotia and 1940 in Quebec.⁷ In addition, many women could not run for municipal office until as recently as 1970 because of property qualifications for municipal enfranchisement (which effectively discriminated against women who often were not property-owners).⁸

In the several decades since women's suffrage was achieved, they have been integrated only partially into the mainstream of Canadian politics, a pattern shared by all western democracies. Women lagged behind men in the performance of even the least demanding acts of democratic citizenship.⁹ Since the early 1970's, however, the "gender gap" at the level of mass or citizen politics has closed. Women now read about politics, vote, and attend political meetings as frequently as men do, or only minimal gender differences remaining.¹⁰ By most indicators, then, women appear to have achieved equal integration with men into mass political participation.

Nevertheless, although near parity between the genders has been achieved at the mass level, elite politics remains virtually an exclusive male domain. Nation-wide data indicating women's involvement as candidates at the municipal level in Canada are unavailable but records from provincial and federal elections demonstrate that there are

pronounced gender biases in recruitment to legislative office. At the provincial level, for example, only 54 women were elected in the 25 years between 1950 and 1975.¹¹ Similarly, at the federal level, a mere 34 women have become Members of Parliament between 1921 (when the first woman was elected to the House of Commons) and 1980. Women have never exceeded 15% of all the candidates seeking federal office or 5% of those elected to Parliament. Yet, even these modest proportions misrepresent women's real participation in federal politics because the incidence of female candidacies has increased only very recently.¹² For most of the period since women's suffrage (1921-1968), less than 3% of all federal candidates in Canada and less than 1% of those elected were women.¹³ Considering that over one-half of the Canadian population throughout this period has been female, these are striking statistics indeed. They point to a serious flaw in the fabric of representational democracy. They also prompt the obvious question: why are there such pronounced gender biases in liberal-democratic recruitment practices?

II Citizens and Politicians

To the limited extent that political scientists have examined women's participation in politics, they largely have been concerned with mass rather than elite political behaviour.¹⁴ This concentration on female citizens almost to the exclusion of female elites is partially attributable

to the very small number of women in political leadership roles. The paucity of women politicians has been especially limiting for practitioners of the behavioural tradition in political science, for whom there have been simply too few female politicians to study.¹⁵ There are also theoretical reasons, however, for concentrating on women's mass political behaviour. Put simply, evidence of gender differences in rates of mass political participation often is taken as an explanation for the limited involvement of women in elite politics. Both macro-historical and micro theories of the sociology of political participation posit a causal link between mass political behaviour and elite recruitment.

The macro-historical perspective is concerned with the full political integration of newly enfranchised groups into the mainstream of democratic politics. Similar to all newly enfranchised groups, it proposes that the equal integration of women into democratic decision-making structures follows two distinct and necessarily consecutive stages. First, the voting participation of newly enfranchised groups must rise until it matches that of already established groups in the electorate. Second, and only after the first stage has been accomplished, can we expect to find representatives of these late entrants participating in elite politics in any significant number.¹⁶ According to this perspective then, the recruitment of women to public office is dependent upon them having rates of voter turnout equal to those of men -

the already "established group" in the electorate. As long as women lag behind men in rates of mass participation, it is predicted that participation of women in the public offices of liberal democracies will not occur.

Lester Milbrath's hierarchy of political involvement perhaps best exemplifies how the link between mass political behaviour and elite recruitment is hypothesized in micro theories of political participation. Milbrath posits that the citizens of any democratic polity can be ranked on a simple linear continuum of political activities. This hierarchy has essentially four distinct and ordered stages.¹⁷ At the bottom of the hierarchy are the "Apathetics" who neither care about politics nor vote. "Spectators" are placed a step above the "Apathetics" because they take some interest in politics and engage in the least demanding acts of democratic citizenship such as voting or putting campaign signs on their lawn. Transitional activities comprise the next step up the hierarchy of political involvement. Transitional participants may attend political meetings, interact with public officials or contribute financially to a party. Finally, at the top of the hierarchy, are the "Gladiators" - party members, strategists and fundraisers. Candidates for public office and office-holders are at the apex. Elite recruitment, therefore, is viewed as the final and "most active" stage of political involvement in liberal democracies.

Milbrath's model of political involvement makes a number of assumptions about the nature of political participation but only two will concern us here. The first is the assumption of unidimensionality. The wide range of political acts on the hierarchy are not seen as differing qualitatively, that is, they are not treated as essentially distinct forms of human endeavour. Rather, Milbrath suggests that such divergent political activities as voting and office-holding differ only in terms of the time and energy costs invested in each.¹⁸ The major distinction among the four types of political actors discussed above is the amount of effort that they put into politics.

Milbrath also assumes that political participation is cumulative, and thereby, he establishes the link between mass political participation and elite recruitment. In the language of his model, cumulative means that generally one must first be a spectator before engaging in transitional forms of political activity which in turn, act as springboards to gladiatorial or elite politics. The transitional level, in other words, provides the "pool of eligibles" for public office. The existence of biases in liberal - democratic recruitment, therefore, simply reflect the under-participation of certain social groups at lower levels of the hierarchy of political involvement and especially, the composition of the "pool" from which full-time politicians emerge.

Both the macro and micro explanations rely on similar

evidence to explain the dearth of women in public office. Both focus on gender differences in rates of mass political behaviour and both assume that the achievement of higher-order political roles among any social group is dependent on the development of parity between the genders in mass political participation. Thus, when the earliest voting studies reported that women were less likely to vote than men, this finding was taken as evidence that women had not yet achieved the first and necessary stage in the political integration of "late entrants" into the politics of liberal democracies. Similarly, early political participation studies indicated that women were less likely than men to move up the hierarchy of political involvement. From the micro perspective, then, gender biases in elite recruitment could be attributed to the seeming inability of women to enter the ranks of the eligibles for public office at rates similar to men. Both explanations for male dominance at the elite level, therefore, held together only so long as gender differences were apparent in mass political participation.

Recent developments in patterns of mass politics undermine the notion that the equal participation of women in elite politics necessarily follows when the "gender gap" is closed at the mass level. As already noted, in Canada and elsewhere, women now appear to engage in mass or citizen politics as frequently as men do.¹⁷ Nevertheless, this parity between the genders has not been reproduced in

patterns of recruitment to public office. The equal integration of women at the level of mass politics, in other words, does not appear to have dramatically expanded the opportunities for women to enter the elite realm. Thus, it would appear that the models discussed above cannot explain the continuing dearth of women in public office, if they ever did.

The fundamental weakness in arguments which posit a causal relationship between gender differences at the mass level and the recruitment of women to public office appears to be the assumption of unidimensionality discussed above. This issue will be raised again in a slightly different way in Chapter 3. Nonetheless, it should be emphasized here that elite politics is not simply a "more active" form of mass political participation. Each sphere of activity makes quite different demands on the citizen and is characterized by distinct social norms and political practices. Rank-and-file citizens may differ among themselves in terms of the interest, time and resources that they can afford to invest in mass politics. Citizen politics, however, does not make onerous demands on the individual. Moreover, political socialization processes instruct all citizens from a very early age that engaging in citizen politics - voting, being informed, taking sides in partisan debates - is both a necessary and desirable pursuit for all members of a democratic polity.

In contrast, elite politics more closely approximates a

full-time occupation. It shapes the individual's lifestyle and interpersonal relationships and requires special skills and organizational ties. In addition, an individual's entry and progress through the ranks of a political elite are in no small way determined by others. While with sufficient interest, initiative, and most important, resources, citizens generally can determine their own level of involvement in mass politics, interest and resources are clearly not sufficient for advancement in elite politics. Electorates, local notables, party officials, and political structures, to name a few, all intervene to influence who will and will not become political decision-makers in liberal democracies. All of this is to say that citizen and elite politics are essentially distinct forms of political activity. We cannot assume a simple reciprocal relationship between the two.²⁰

The passage of individuals from citizen politics to elected office is the purview of political recruitment studies. Few recruitment studies, however, trace the pathways and experiences of women who cross the threshold from mass to elite politics. As the following sections describe, political scientists, by and large, have rested comfortably with a few general explanations for why women do not become involved in elite politics. Such explanations suggest that women are confronted with both cultural and structural obstacles which impede their integration into the elite politics of liberal democracies.

III The Non-Recruitment of Women

Political recruitment studies shift our perspective from the mass to the elite realm of liberal-democratic politics. Ideally, they are concerned with the social and political processes through which influential political positions are filled.²¹ As such, the study of political recruitment necessarily involves consideration of the social groups from which political officials are selected, by what criteria, how, and to what positions.²² In many ways, it is the study of the development of a political career.

Recruitment studies rarely examine the political careers of women who contest or achieve public office. While admittedly few in number, females generally are ignored as a special category of politicians. For the most part, the recruitment literature has accepted uncritically a few general explanations of why elite politics essentially is incompatible with the female experience. In addition to the explanations based on mass participation discussed above, the literature has emphasized a number of other factors contributing to the dearth of female politicians. For some time, the absence of women in the elected assemblies of western democracies was attributed to physiological factors, although these explanations find little support today.²³

The continued exclusion of women from the ranks of political decision-makers has also been attributed to a male conspiracy designed to withhold political power from

women.²⁴ By and large, however, the "socialization paradigm" and gender role constraints have become the most popular explanations for the sexual division of political power.²⁵

The socialization explanation contends that women do not seek elected office because female apoliticism is deeply embedded in the cultural norms and socialization processes of western democracies. It is argued that girls are inducted into a very different political space than their male counterparts. Females are encouraged indirectly through example and directly through cultural prescriptions and sanctions that politics is better left to the men.²⁶ They are encouraged to abstain from the public world of politics (as for that matter, business or the professions) so that they can better fulfill the responsibilities of private-life, of homemaking and childrearing.²⁷ As a result of socialization processes, men and women alike learn to expect that only men should pursue a career in politics. The cultural exclusion of women in political leadership roles, then, becomes self-reinforcing because pervasive male incumbency creates the expectations of male incumbency. In sum, the cultural or socialization explanation of why women infrequently become elected politicians is that cultural norms both prescribe and sustain male dominance in elite politics. The sexual division of political power is deeply and firmly entrenched and transmitted from generation to generation via the values and expectations of both men and

women.²⁸

The gender role explanation is closely related to the cultural one outlined above, because cultural norms also prescribe ideal gender identities and roles for both men and women. It is different in so much as it concentrates on the effects or situations imposed on women as they perform the traditional female gender roles which have been prescribed by dominant cultural norms. The gender role explanation asserts that women do not abstain from political activism as much as they are inhibited from participating due to the constraints of female gender roles, especially those of wife and mother.²⁹

As a result of the historical interaction among biological functions, social structure, and ideology, all modern societies have a more or less rigid sexual division of labour. The relegation of women to the "private sphere", to the tasks of mothering and homemaking, undermine women's recruitment opportunities in a number of ways. First, since homemaking is not financially remunerated, it is assigned little prestige in industrialized societies where income is a major sorting variable in the social hierarchy.³⁰ Second, homemaking isolates women from the public sphere providing them with ambiguous social skills and denying them the social contacts which facilitate a political career.³¹ Finally, female gender roles are said to put women at a disadvantage in the political world because of the time-consuming nature of the roles themselves.

Childrearing, for example, often delays women's entry into politics until after their children have grown. Since full-time childrearing generally is assumed by females alone, males often get a "head start" in a highly competitive and apprenticeship-oriented recruitment system.³² The gender role or situational explanation, then, suggests that women may aspire to public office but they usually are delayed or fully inhibited from crossing the threshold from private to public life by gender role demands and constraints.

Both the socialization and gender role arguments suggest that men and women are provided with quite distinct social cues and opportunities for recruitment to public office. Neither, however, is a sufficient explanation for the division of political power by gender. Socialization processes may transmit and reinforce the expectation of male dominance in politics but they are not determinant or inclusive. Some women do deviate from these norms by seeking and sometimes achieving public office. Similarly, the constraints on political activism imposed by the performance of female gender roles are not so inhibiting as to prohibit all wives and all mothers from seeking and gaining elected office. Indeed, the few studies examining women's recruitment demonstrate that most female politicians enter elite politics directly from these roles.³³ Each explanation, then, suggests that men and women do not share either the same symbolic or structural environment when they

stand on the threshold bridging mass and elite politics. Nevertheless, these explanations tell us little about those whose experiences do not conform to dominant cultural norms or prescribed female gender roles. In essence, both explanations provide us with underlying perspectives to begin the study of women's recruitment to public office.

Unfortunately, few of the studies concerned with women's recruitment have displayed a sensitivity to the interaction among gender-specific political socialization processes, the division of labour by gender and political recruitment. Typically, women's recruitment experiences have been studied in comparison with those of men. Such comparisons, however, invariably tell us more about how women deviate from men, rather than illuminate how the political careers of women develop. This is so because most of these studies employ models of political recruitment which have a decidedly male bias.

IV Male Theories and Female Politicians

A primary objective of this chapter is to demonstrate that the contemporary approach to political recruitment does not grasp the special problems associated with the integration of women into the elite politics of western democracies. In fact, the literature may distort the process. In order to understand why this is so, we must first turn to the origins and assumptions of the current recruitment literature.

As discussed above, the study of political recruitment ideally is concerned with the social and political processes through which political positions are filled. With a few notable exceptions, however, what are presented as studies of the recruitment process simply profile selected background characteristics of the winners in the electoral process.³⁴ There is no shortage of studies tracing the political socialization and apprenticeship experiences of elected officials and especially their socio-economic backgrounds.³⁵ As a result, most of the field-defining concepts and models of political recruitment in western democracies have stressed the "who" of political recruitment to the neglect of "how".³⁶

The background studies have produced a reasonably consistent picture of "who" is most likely to achieve public office in western democracies. Typically, elected officials are male, white, and members of the dominant religious and ethnic groups of their communities. It also has been demonstrated time and again that they are likely to have an above-average income and occupational and educational status. And finally, elected officials tend to be deeply rooted in their respective communities, long-term residents with an extensive history of political apprenticeship in local political parties and voluntary organizations.³⁷

The above characteristics have been documented repeatedly in studies of western political decision-makers and thus provide the empirical foundations for the dominant

approach to the study of liberal-democratic recruitment processes. Essentially, it is reasoned that since these characteristics are shared by those in authority, they must also be the credentials necessary for the acquisition of public office. In the process, the characteristics of those already in office are enshrined as the qualifications necessary for entry into the ranks of the political elite. The question of "who" is a fundamental component in the study of political recruitment but this approach largely reduces the question of "how" to a discrete set of individual characteristics.

Background studies demonstrate that political recruitment practices in western democracies are biased in terms both ascriptive characteristics such as gender and race and achieved characteristics such as occupation and education.³⁸ In other words, democratic recruitment appears to be more favourably predisposed toward certain categories of individuals on the basis of the characteristics they gain at birth and in terms of what they achieve thereafter. The distinction between ascriptive and achievement biases is an important one, raising the question of whether certain categories of citizens, regardless of their achievements, are systematically excluded from the leadership selection process. The recruitment literature, however, has emphasized the achieved characteristics of elected officials, inferring the "how" or process of recruitment from them. For example, an above-average education often is

interpreted as an indicator of the skills, resources, resourcefulness, ambition, expertise, competence and achievement which thrust certain individuals to the top of the political hierarchy.³⁹ Similarly, high-status occupations are seen as an evidence of the appropriate personality, preparation and lateral entry-point for public service.⁴⁰ Again, the process tends to be "individualized".

The frequently encountered practice of reducing the process of leadership selection to a discrete set of achievement or experiential characteristics of elected officials has resulted in a particular conceptualization of the recruitment process. Put simply, the literature has provided us with a "personal ascendancy" model of political recruitment. It divorces the study of liberal-democratic recruitment from the social and political structure by discounting crucial factors outside the control of the political aspirant. These include political traditions, biases in the electorate and the intervention of relevant political and social organizations in the selection of public office-holders. These factors generally are assumed to be blind to the ascriptive characteristics of the political aspirant. "Personal ascendancy" recruitment models, as the term implies, assume that those with the "proper" skills, experiences and resources which are inferred from the backgrounds of the elected will rise to the top. At the very least then, mainstream recruitment literature often reflects the simplistic assumption that

those with identical qualifications have equal chances for political recruitment.

Less obvious is the male bias inherent in the above approach to political recruitment. This bias stems from the fact that conceptualization of the process of political recruitment has been formulated from observations of elected officials who, as we all know, are predominantly male. Nonetheless, the concepts and generalizations which arise from these observations are assumed to apply to all human beings.⁴¹

The very fact that most elected politicians are male should awaken the researcher's suspicions about the universality of the dominant concepts of political recruitment. In spite of this, most of the research on women's recruitment rests precisely on the assumption of the universal applicability of concepts and theories which have been formulated solely on observations of the male experience. Most typically, women's recruitment experience has been presented in the form of cross-gender comparisons. Male and female party officials have been compared in terms of socio-economic background, political socialization and political experience.⁴² Not surprisingly, these studies invariably find some gender differences and invariably it is concluded that women are not recruited because they do not meet the prescribed criteria for political recruitment.

The male biases in the political recruitment literature, similar to political sociology itself, is often "more

puerile than prejudicial, more accidental than intentional".⁴³ Essentially, it results, in its rawest form, from gender comparisons which begin with the observation that men hold power and proceeds under the assumption that the characteristics of men, as a group, are necessary for obtaining power. Thus, when women are found to differ from men, this difference is interpreted as an explanatory deficiency. It is in this way that the ascriptive biases in democratic recruitment processes, and especially gender biases, are accounted for. If we assume that the achieved characteristics of elected males prescribe the pathways to elected office, then gender biases in democratic recruitment can be attributed to the stronger measure of achievement characteristics among males than females. Gender differences are frequently interpreted as the failure of women to gain the personal credentials which are deemed necessary to ascend to the top of the political hierarchy. This is typically referred to as the "structural" explanation for the under-representation of women in public office. It holds that the most important reason for male dominance in politics is the severe under-representation of women in the socio-economic categories from which candidates for public office usually are drawn.⁴⁴ Put simply, the argument holds that women do not meet the standards of male elected officials. Thus, at the very least, cross-gender comparisons of recruitment experiences may distort women's experience because of the,⁴⁵

... tendency to see sex differences in terms of deviance from the male norm and in its tendency to explain sex differences in pejorative ways without taking into account alternative possibilities.

What is at issue here is not whether women deviate from men in terms of achievement characteristics. In a gender-differentiated society, this observation is virtually assured. Gender-specific socialization processes define appropriate gender identities and roles, and encourage both males and females from a very early age to conform to these ideal behaviours. The resulting division of social, political and economic labour further shapes and limits options of men and women. Men are more likely to enter the labour force on a full-time basis, to achieve the educational and occupational credentials deemed necessary for political recruitment, and to establish roots in the organizational life of the community. Moreover, the genders are hierarchically ranked in western societies such that males are ascribed a higher status than females from birth.⁴⁶ All these factors underlie the observed differences between males and females in the recruitment literature. The issue raised here is whether recruitment concepts which reflect the male experience apply universally. Eichler suggests that they do not.⁴⁷

The models were first constructed with only men in mind. Consequently, such factors as are important to explain why one man has more power, influence or prestige than some other man make up the variables in the stratification model.

In order to further clarify the potential implications of employing concepts formulated solely on the basis of the male experience, one must return to the notion of ascribed and achieved characteristics. As already noted, liberal-democratic recruitment processes display both ascriptive and achievement biases. Nevertheless, current recruitment concepts (and the cross-gender comparative studies which employ them) presume that the experiences of one social category i.e., males, also depict the female experience. In other words, the major concepts in the study of political recruitment have been formulated essentially by holding gender constant. Moreover, it is assumed that those with the "proper" (read male) credentials, are unaffected by the symbolic and structural environment which surrounds them. Thus, the ascriptive biases in liberal-democratic recruitment processes can be accounted for by the distribution of these appropriate credentials among various social categories. The issue raised by the case of women, therefore, is whether ascriptive biases in liberal-democratic recruitment processes can be reduced to statistical averages of achievement characteristics in each gender group. More simply, do the factors which are purported to explain the recruitment of males also prescribe the pathways to political office for women?

A major issue to be explored in the empirical analysis which follows then, is whether the current literature accurately depicts the experiences of women who contest

public office. Obviously, if theories based on the male experience are universal, they should also predict patterns of political recruitment among women. This study, therefore, does not employ cross-gender comparisons, a research strategy which tends to emphasize how women deviate from men. Rather, we will be concerned solely with comparisons among women. In other words, gender will be held constant in much the same way that gender has been held constant in the formulation in many of the current theories about the leadership selection process.

The empirical examination of the experiences of female candidates in Canada which follows also explores an alternative hypothesis. This is, as the cultural and gender role arguments described above suggest, that gender intervenes at each step of the recruitment process, shaping the options and opportunities of women seeking elected office. One of the consequences of a gender-differentiated society may be that most women do not follow the same pathways to political office as men. Each chapter, therefore, reviews the expectations of the mainstream recruitment literature and then, attempts to incorporate considerations of how gender affects the recruitment process. By doing so, it is hoped that we will be better able to explain patterns of political recruitment in Canada.

While the theoretical issue outlined above is an underlying motivation for this research, the primary goal is to describe how women are recruited to municipal and

legislative office in Canada. To this end, the study adopts what has generally been described as the "developmental model" of political recruitment. Essentially, the developmental approach attempts to trace the development of a political career from its origins to its culmination for both winners and losers of electoral contests, and to describe how careers are influenced and shaped by the social and political environment. It is thus necessarily concerned with a broad range of data beginning with the candidate's political socialization and initial political activities, continuing with political apprenticeship experiences and the intervention of recruitment agencies and, finally, culminating with the campaign itself. The body of this thesis will sequentially develop this model. The concerns of each chapter are as follows.

Chapter 2 "Women Candidates in Canada." This brief chapter describes how the data were collected for this study. It also provides a general overview of female candidacies in Canada through comparisons of the sample with the population of women contesting municipal, provincial, and federal office in the 1945-1975 period.

Chapter 3 "Initiation to Politics: Socialization Against the Norms." An intensive examination of the initial political socialization of female politicians is provided here. Of particular interest is the influence of a

politicized childhood environment on the early political socialization and eventual course of political careers among women.

Chapter 4 "Political Apprenticeship I: The Voluntary Group." This chapter moves from the female candidates' initial introduction to politics to the political training they receive through participation in voluntary groups. It is also concerned with the influence of this type of social participation on future types of political candidacy.

Chapter 5 "Political Apprenticeship II: The Political Party." As the title suggests, this chapter is a continuation of the last. It focusses, however, on women's political apprenticeship within political party organizations and the factors influencing the promotion of women to influential positions in party organizations.

Chapter 6 "Marriage and Motherhood: The Constraints of Private-Life." This chapter is devoted solely to the special constraints on political candidacy imposed by the roles of wife and mother. It explores the questions of how traditional female gender roles affect the pacing and direction of political careers.

Chapter 7 "Gates and Gatekeepers: Women Candidates and Recruitment Opportunities." This chapter examines how

relevant recruitment agencies intervene in the political careers of female candidates and by which criteria they distribute their recruitment resources such as sponsorship, support, and financing among female candidates.

Chapter 8 "Winners and Losers." This summary chapter reviews the findings of this study and weighs the importance of personal, experiential and structural factors as determinants of success among women contesting municipal and legislative office.

Footnotes

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2. Robert Putnam, The Comparative Study of Political Elites (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p. 32.
3. Jeane Kirkpatrick, Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 4.
4. Jeane Kirkpatrick, The New Presidential Elite (New York: Sage Publications, 1976), p. 379.
5. For an overview of women's suffrage in Canada see, Catherine Cleverdon, The Start of Liberation: The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950).
6. For a discussion of the circumstances surrounding the 1917 exception see, M. Janine Brodie and Jane Jenson, Crisis, Challenge and Change: Party and Class in Canada (Toronto: Methuen, 1980), Chapter 4.
7. M. Janine Brodie, "The Recruitment of Canadian Women Provincial Legislators." Atlantis, 2 (June 1977), p. 8.
8. Montreal was the last Canadian city with a population

exceeding 100,000 to eliminate property qualifications for municipal voting and office-holding. It did so in 1970. See Donald Higgins, Urban Canada: Its Government and Politics (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977), p. 195.

9. See for example, Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 133-137; William Mishler, Political Participation in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), pp. 101-105.
10. Mike Burke, Harold D. Clarke and Lawrence LeDuc, "Federal and Provincial Participation in Canada: Some Methodological and Substantive Considerations," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 15 (February 1978), pp. 61-75.
11. Brodie, op. cit.
12. M. Janine Brodie and Jill McCalla Vickers, "The More Things Change ... Women in the 1979 Federal Campaign," in Howard R. Penniman (ed.) Canada at the Polls: The General Election of 1979 (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981).
13. Canada, The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), p. 343.
14. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, "A Different Angle of Vision: Notes on the Selective Eye of Sociology." Social Science Quarterly, 55:3 (1974), pp. 645-656.
15. For a general discussion see, Mary L. Shanley and

Victoria Schuck, "In Search of Political Women,"
Social Science Quarterly, 55:3 (1974); pp. 632-644.

16. This two-stage integration process has been proposed by
Ingunn Means, "Scandinavian Women," in Lynne Iglitzin
and Ruth Ross (eds.) Women in the World (Santa Barbara,
Cal.: Clio Books, 1976), pp. 382-383; see also
Melville Currell, Political Woman (London: Croom Helm,
1974), p. 22.
17. Milbrath, op. cit., especially Chapter 1.
18. Sidney Verba, Norman Nie and Joe-on Kim, Participation
and Political Equality (New York: Cambridge University
Press, 1978), p. 52.
19. Burke, et al., op. cit.; Majorie Lansing, "The American
Woman: Voter and Activist," in Jane Jaquette (ed.)
Women in Politics (New York: John Wiley, 1974),
pp. 5-24.
20. James D. Barber, The Lawmakers (New Haven: Yale
University Press, 1965), p. 223.
21. Moshe Czudnowski, "Political Recruitment," in Fred
Greenstein and Nelson Polsby (eds.) Handbook of
Political Science, Vol. 2 (New York: Addison-Wesley,
1975), p. 155.
22. Lester Seligman, Michael King, Chong Lim Kim and Ronald
Smith, Patterns of Recruitment: A State Chooses Its
Lawmakers (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974), p. 14.
23. One recent proponent of the biological approach is
Lionel Tiger, Men in Groups (New York: Random House,

1969). However, as Richardson correctly points out, social and cultural factors cannot be reduced to biology alone. "Doing so not only distorts reality and limits knowledge, but, logically, also roots social change in biology - a notion which is not only radically conservative, but on the face of it, patently false." See Laurel Richardson, The Dynamics of Sex and Gender, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), p. 175.

24. This view generally has been put forward by the radical feminist movement. See, for example, Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution (New York: Bantam, 1970).
25. Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), p. 111.
26. For a review see, Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, op. cit., Chapter 1.
27. Verba, et al., op. cit., pp. 236-237.
28. See Chapter 3 for discussion of the origins of this ideology.
29. This is generally termed the "situational" explanation for women's absence in public office. See Susan Welch, "Women as Political Animals? A Test of Some Explanations for Male-Female Political Participation Differences," American Journal of Political Science, 16 (November 1977), pp. 711-730.

30. Margaret Benson further explains, "In a society in which money determines value, women as a group work outside the money economy. Their work is not worth money, is therefore valueless, is therefore not real work. And women themselves, who do this valueless work, can hardly be expected to be worth as much as men, who work for money." As quoted in Armstrong and Armstrong, op. cit., p. 136.
31. Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, op. cit., pp. 17-19; Cornelia B. Flora and Naomi B. Lynn, "Women and Political Socialization: Considerations of the Impact of Motherhood," in Jaquette, op. cit., pp. 37-53.
32. See for example, Emily Werner, "Women in Congress, 1917-1964," Western Political Quarterly, 21 (March 1968), pp. 40-60.
33. A few examples are, Ibid., Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, op. cit.; Susan Welch, "Recruitment of Women to Public Office: A Discriminant Analysis," Western Political Quarterly, 31 (March 1978), pp. 16-30; Eleanor Main and Beth Shapiro, "The Recruitment of State Legislators: A Comparison of Male and Female Life Experiences," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Gatlinburg, Tennessee, 1979; Elizabeth King, "Women in Iowa Legislative Politics," in Marianne Githens and Jewel Prestage (eds.) A Portrait of Marginality (New York: David McKay, 1977), pp. 284-303.

34. Few studies examine both the winners and losers of electoral contests. The major exceptions are Seligman, et al., op. cit.; Sharon Merritt, "Winners and Losers: Sex Differences in Municipal Elections," American Journal of Political Science, 21 (November 1979), pp. 731-743; Chong Lim Kim, "Political Attitudes of Defeated Candidates in an American State," American Political Science Review, 64 (September 1970), pp. 879-887; Charles Bullock, "Explaining Congressional Elections: Differences in Perceptions of Opposing Candidates," Legislative Studies Quarterly, 5 (August 1977), pp. 295-308.
35. The number of studies here are too abundant to cite. For a review see, Czudnowski, op. cit.
36. Ibid., p. 160.
37. For a comparative review of the literature see Ibid., pp. 178-186; Austin Ranney, "Candidate Selection," in David Butler, Howard R. Penniman, and Austin Ranney (eds.) Democracy at the Polls: A Comparative Study of Competitive National Elections (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981), pp. 76-106.
38. Richardson, op. cit., p. 173.
39. See note 37 of this chapter; also Samuel Barnes, "Participation, Education and Political Competence: Evidence from a Sample of Italian Socialists," American Political Science Review, 60 (June 1966), pp. 348-353.
40. A noteworthy example is, Herbert Jacob, "The Initial

Recruitment of Elected Officials in the U.S. - A Model," Journal of Politics, 24 (November 1962), pp. 703-716.

41. For other elements of sexist social science, see, Margrit Eichler, The Double Standard: A Feminist Critique of Feminist Social Science (London: Croom Helm, 1980), p. 118.
42. Few notable examples are Stephen Brown, "Male Versus Female Leaders: A Comparison of Empirical Studies," Sex Roles, 5 (October 1979), pp. 595-612; Edmond Costantini and Kenneth Craik, "Women as Politicians: The Social Backgrounds, Personality and Political Careers of Female Party Leaders," in Githens and Prestage, op. cit., pp. 221-240; M. Kent Jennings and Norman Thomas, "Men and Women in Party Elites: Social Roles and Political Resources," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 12 (November 1968), pp. 469-491.
43. Thelma McCormack, "Toward a Non-Sexist Perspective on Social and Political Change," in Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Kanter, Another Voice (New York: Doubleday, 1975), p. 11.
44. Welch, "Recruitment of Women to Public Office," op. cit., p. 312.
45. Kay Boals, "Political Science," Signs, 1 (Autumn 1975), p. 168.
46. Rosaldo, op. cit., p. 17.
47. Eichler, op. cit., p. 97.. (My emphasis)
48. Czudnowski, op. cit., p. 155.

Chapter 2

Women Candidates in Canada

I Introduction

This brief chapter describes the data collection for this study, introducing the sample of women candidates whose experiences will be explored in the pages to follow. First the method of data collection is described. Second, possible biases in the data are examined by comparing selected background characteristics of the sample with those of the population of females contesting municipal and legislative office in Canada in the 1945-1975 period.

II The Data

The theoretical discussion of Chapter One accounts for the focus of the research on the recruitment of female candidates for public office. The study of elite women, however, poses a special methodological problem. In a word, the problem is one of numbers. In any election, few women contest political office and even fewer are elected. In consequence, the researcher generally has a limited number of cases on which to base any observations or conclusions. In order to maximize the population under consideration, then, this research project collected information about women contesting municipal and legislative elections between 1945 and 1975.

The data employed in this study were collected in three stages.¹ The process began with an intensive search of newspapers and official electoral and party documents for the names of all women contesting provincial and federal office between 1945 and 1975. Advertisements and letters to the editor requesting information about female candidates were also placed in a number of major newspapers across the country. In addition, the project was described in Chatelaine magazine with a request for information about women contesting office in the 1945 to 1975 period. A similar search was conducted for women contesting local office (alderman and above) in 22 Canadian municipalities. These municipalities include the largest urban centres in Canada as well as at least one city in each province.²

Tracing the candidates to a mailing address, the second stage in the process, proved to be an especially onerous task. Both because of the time-span involved and incomplete source documents, many of the candidates identified at the first stage could not be traced. Some of the candidates had died. In other cases official sources were unable or unwilling to provide the information required. Political parties, for example, rarely update records on the whereabouts of past candidates and the Communist Party refused to release any information about the whereabouts of their candidates. City directories were consulted but this strategy often proved fruitless. Tracing women can be especially difficult because they may change their names

through marriage or divorce or they may be listed under their husbands' names in sources such as telephone and city directories. All of these factors made it impossible to send questionnaires to all of the women initially enumerated.

The mail-questionnaire was the final stage in the data collection process. (The survey items employed in this study are reproduced in Appendix A.) At this point too, many possible respondents were lost. The questionnaire did not reach all the candidates for whom addresses had been found in the second stage. Many envelopes were returned usually because the address proved to be false. Some, however, were returned because the respondent was no longer living. A considerable proportion of the original population of women candidates, then, was lost at each stage in the data collection process. The first enumeration procedure yielded 1003 names. Of these, 466 had contested municipal office in one of the 22 selected municipalities while 243 had contested provincial office. (See Table 2:1) Another 294 were federal candidates. Due to problems associated with the second stage of the process, only 68% of the initial population were issued a questionnaire. Some 130 of the questionnaires, however, did not reach the respondents. In consequence, 55% of the original list received a questionnaire.

While the problems discussed above effectively reduced the population by almost one-half, the response rate among

Table 2:1 Response-Rate of Enumerated Population by Level of Office First Contested

	Municipal	Provincial	Federal	Total
Total candidates enumerated	466	243	294	1003
No address/dead	166	23	133	322
No. questionnaires sent	300	220	164	681
% population surveyed	64.4	90.5	54.8	68%
Returned - dead or moved	47	31	52	130
No. contacted	253	189	109	551
% population contacted	54.3%	77.8%	37.4%	54.9%
No. returned	192	87	44	331*
% response from total	41.2%	35.8%	15%	33%
% response from contacted	75.9%	46.1%	40.4%	60.1%

* 8 questionnaires were returned either without level of candidacy or uncodable.

those contacted was high, even for an elite group. Some 192 of the original 466 municipal candidates returned their questionnaires. (See Table 2:1) This is 41% of the population enumerated and fully 76% of those presumably contacted with a questionnaire. The response rate among provincial candidates was 36% (N=87) of the total enumeration and 47% of those contacted. The response rate among federal candidates, however, was considerably lower than for the other two groups. Only 15% (N=44) of the total population of federal candidates (but 40% of those contacted) returned their questionnaire. In all, 33% of all the women originally enumerated and 60% of those contacted with a questionnaire responded.³

Minor or fringe-party candidates proved to be the major impediment to a higher response rate among federal candidates. Usually less established in their communities than traditional party candidates, they were especially difficult to trace and as already noted, some relevant sources were unwilling to participate in the research project. The combination of these two factors contribute to the under-representation of federal candidates in the sample because minor-party candidates were found in abundance in both the 1972 and 1974 campaigns. In 1974, for example, 73 of the 125 women enumerated were Independents, Communists, Marxist-Leninists, Libertarians, etc. Moreover, these candidates were especially active in the Montreal region. Thus, as we shall see, the problem of locating fringe party

candidates also underlies the under-representation of candidates from Quebec and slight distortions in the party affiliations of the sample as a whole.

The questionnaire was admittedly long, demanding at least one-half an hour of the respondent's time. Nevertheless, most of the candidates responding did complete their questionnaires. More important, many provided quite detailed written comments on a blank sheet appended to the back of the questionnaire. Samples of these comments will appear throughout the chapters which follow. In addition, some of the candidates included newspaper clippings and campaign material in their return envelopes. Thus, one of the first impressions gleaned from the returned questionnaires was that many of these women felt forgotten and were anxious to share their experiences as female candidates for public office. The many "thank you's" for being remembered or included in the survey as well as the "congratulations" for undertaking the research found in the written comments support this impression.

Of course, there was also expressed opposition, but surprisingly little. Only 6 of the respondents returned their questionnaires with an explicit refusal to participate in the research. The reasons they offered for their refusal varied from ill health to distrust of academics to ideological incompatibility. In fact, 3 of the 6 refusals were from minor-party candidates who disagreed either with the questionnaire's focus on women or its concern with

Liberal democratic politics.

The question of refusals draws to the fore one of the major problems associated with the mail-questionnaire technique for data collection. This method is especially appropriate for a small and geographic dispersed population, especially elites who presumably have the skills to cope with a self-administered questionnaire. This technique, however, also yields a sample which is constructed largely on the basis of self-selection. Some people, for whatever reason, select themselves out of a sample, while others, simply by participating, comprise the sample.

Self-selection thus compromises any assumptions about randomization and raises the issue of biased data. The following section, therefore, discusses some of the biases in our data by comparing, on selected characteristics, the enumerated population of female candidates and the sample obtained.⁴ By doing so, it also provides a brief overview of the characteristics of women candidates in Canada.

III. Population and Sample

During the initial enumeration stage, as much information as possible was gathered about each of the candidates contesting municipal and legislative office during the 1945-1975 period. Newspaper clippings, for example, sometimes included information about the educational or occupational status of the candidate while official electoral data sources provided such fundamental

information as the year and party affiliation of the candidacy. These data provide the basis for a general overview of the characteristics of female candidates in Canada in the post-war years as well as a means to check for obvious biases in our sample data.

The distribution of female candidates by province is the first characteristic examined. (See Table 2:2) Most of the women contesting office during the post-war years did so in the largest provinces of Ontario (34%), Québec (16%), and British Columbia (15%). This finding is to be expected, since the number of female candidates is partially a function of population size and the number of offices available. Nevertheless, the distribution of female candidates by province also reflects regional differences. The Atlantic provinces lag behind their western counterparts in terms of the frequency of female candidacies (and election). The more favourable climate for women in politics in the West extends back to the introduction of women's suffrage. The western provinces were first to extend the vote to women and the first to elect female provincial legislators. We cannot determine here why these regional variations exist. Some observers have attributed this tendency to the allegedly greater equality ascribed to frontier women while others have pointed to lower levels of professionalization which has characterized western provincial legislatures.⁵ Whatever the case, the sample data reflect the same regional trends.

Table 2:2 Female Candidacies by Province

	(Percent)	
	Population	Sample
Newfoundland	1.8%	.9%
Prince Edward Island	1.1	.9
Nova Scotia	2.0	3.8
New Brunswick	3.4	3.1
Quebec	16.0	4.7
Ontario	34.0	35.4
Manitoba	6.7	8.5
Saskatchewan	8.1	6.6
Alberta	12.3	17.9
British Columbia	<u>14.6</u>	<u>18.2</u>
Total*	100 %	100 %
	(N = 1003)	(N = 327)

* missing data removed

Candidates from Quebec, however, are under-represented in the sample. Some 16% of the population of women candidates but only 5% of the sample contested election in Quebec. This bias is partially attributable to the large numbers of fringe-party candidates contesting federal office in that province in recent years.⁶

A comparison of the party affiliations of the population and the sample of women candidates further demonstrates how the difficulties of tracing fringe-party candidates have distorted the sample data. (See Table 2:3) While some 15% of the population enumerated ran as Communists (CPC or Marxist-Leninist) and another 9% were other minor party candidates, only 3% of the sample can be categorized by either label. Thus, the sample over-represents women who ran for the more established political parties in Canada, especially the CCF/NDP.

Party affiliation will not be treated as a major variable in this study of political recruitment not so much because of distortions in the sample data but rather because party labels have little reliable meaning in Canada. The label "Liberal", for example, is attached to both federal and provincial Liberal candidates, as well as Liberals running in the 1940's and 1970's. Clearly Canadian parties are sufficiently amorphous that we cannot automatically assume similarities between federal and provincial parties, among provincial parties of the same label or within a party across time. Moreover, previous research suggests that

Table 2;3 Party Affiliation of Population and Sample of Women Candidates

	(Percent)	
	Population	Sample
Liberal	18.2%	23.9%
Progressive Conservative	14.2	19.8
CCF/NDP	28.6	43.1
Social Credit	6.8	6.1
Communist	15.4	2.0
Union Nationale	1.6	2.0
PQ/RIN?	1.7	.5
Independent	4.7	1.0
Other	<u>8.8</u>	<u>1.0</u>
Total*	100 %	100 %
	(N = 537)	(N = 258)

* missing data removed

Canadian parties, whatever their ideological character or rhetoric concerning women, behave in much the same way toward female candidates. The "iron law" appears to be that the closer the party is to power, the less likely it is to nominate women. In recent years, only the federal Liberal party has shown some deviation from this general trend by nominating a few women to "winnable" ridings, especially in Quebec.⁷ Thus, in the following chapters, the party affiliation of the candidate will not overly concern us. Rather, we will focus on the strength of the candidate's party both at the constituency level and in government.

The biases in the sample data discovered so far can be attributed largely to our inability to locate fringe-party candidates. This problem also underlines the under-representation of legislative candidates in our sample data. (See Table 2:4) Fifty-three percent of the enumerated population contested legislative office while only 41% of our sample were legislative candidates. Some of this variation may reflect the particular measures employed here. The population percentage represents the proportion of legislative candidacies among all the candidacies enumerated in the 1945-1975 period. The sample data, however, reflect the distribution of municipal and legislative candidacies for first candidacies only. Indeed, throughout this study, we will only be concerned with the experiences of women candidates during their first attempt for public office.

Table 2:4 Distribution of Municipal and Legislative
Candidacies Among Population and Sample

Level of Office	Population	Sample
Municipal	46.1%	59.4%
Legislative	<u>53.9</u>	<u>40.6</u>
Total	100 %	100 %
	(N = 1003)	(N = 327)

One reason for focusing on the first candidacy is that few women appear to contest a different office in subsequent campaigns. (See Table 2:5) Evidence of a second campaign was obtained for only 32% of the population of women candidates. Moreover, the more detailed career histories obtained from the sample show that while fully 65% went on to try for public office again, few of them contested a different level of public office in subsequent campaigns. Among the population, 87% of those contesting municipal office during at their first candidacy remained municipal candidates in subsequent campaigns. Some 77% of the municipal candidates in the sample did likewise. In addition, 93% of the population and 73% of the sample of legislative candidates continued to contest legislative office in their next campaigns. The proportions for the population and the sample differ somewhat probably because the questionnaire provides a more complete history of political careers than newspaper clippings which were the major source of information for the population of women candidates. Nevertheless, both data sets demonstrate that most women candidates do not move much between municipal and legislative candidacies in their pursuit of public office.

The data shown in Table 2:5 also refute the rather conventional wisdom that municipal candidacy acts as a stepping-stone to legislative office. Only 13% of the population and 23% of the sample contested municipal office before trying for a legislative seat. Moreover, at least

Table 2:5 Cross-level Movement in First and Subsequent Candidacies

Population			Sample			
Second Candidacy	<u>First Candidacy</u>		Last Candidacy	<u>First Candidacy</u>		
	Mun.	Leg.		Mun.	Leg.	
	Mun.	87.0% (181)		6.3% (7)	Mun.	76.9% (110)
	Leg.	13.0 (27)	93.7 (104)	Leg.	23.1 (33)	71.8 (56)
	100 % (208)	100 % (111)		100 % (143)	100 % (78)	

among the sample, more women appeared to shift down from legislative to municipal candidacy in their subsequent electoral bid than moved in the reverse direction. In sum, we have evidence of switching in either direction for only 3.3% of the population of women candidates and 16% of the sample. First candidacies appear to forecast the subsequent political careers of most of the women examined here.

With few exceptions, the sample resembles the enumerated population of female candidates in the post-war years along the other dimensions examined here. (See Table 2:6) Nearly equal proportions of the population and sample contested election before and after 1971. Approximately one-half of the population contested election between 1945 and 1970 while the other half ran in only 4 years between 1971 and 1975. Women's entry into candidate politics has been relatively recent in Canada and this upward trend has strengthened throughout the seventies.⁹ Thus, these data support popular perceptions that there has been a major expansion of activity by women in Canadian politics in recent years.

The data also support another tenet of conventional wisdom; notably, that women have a greater chance for election at the municipal than legislative level of government. Of the 466 women contesting municipal office in one of the 22 municipalities under investigation, 33% were elected. Similarly, some 43% of the municipal candidates in the sample were elected on their first try for local office

Table 2:6 Selected Characteristics of Population and Sample Candidates

<u>Year of Candidacy</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Sample</u>
Before 1970	52.1%	53.2%
1971 and After	47.9	46.8
Total	$\frac{100}{100} \%$	$\frac{100}{100} \%$
	(N = 965)	(308)
<u>Percent Winner</u>		
Municipal	32.6%	42.7%
	(N = 152)	(N = 82)
Legislative	9.4%	11.5%
	(N = 50)	(N = 15)

* missing data removed

as compared to only 12% of those making a bid for legislative office. Women contesting municipal office, then, appear to have a much better chance for electoral success than their legislative counterparts.

The enumeration procedure did not provide much detailed information about the background characteristics of the candidates. Information about educational background was obtained for less than 20% (N=172) of the population. These data, therefore, may not reflect accurately the candidate population as a whole. With this caveat in mind, the limited data available suggest that women candidates are an elite group when compared with all Canadian women. Some 61% of those for whom education was reported had a university degree and another 30% had a graduate degree while only 8% were reported achieving secondary school or less. (Not shown in tabular form) Among women in the general public, however, only 3% had a university or post-university degree in 1971.¹⁰

Sufficient information about the pre-candidacy occupations of the population of candidates were obtained to enable comparisons with the sample. (See Table 2:7) Both the population and sample data suggest that female candidates are also a select group in terms of their occupational backgrounds. Approximately the same proportion of the population (44%) and the sample were professionals, educators or in business prior to their candidacy, while approximately one-third were homemakers. Census data with

Table 2:7 Occupations at Time of Candidacy of Population and Sample

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Sample</u>
Professional	10.0%	11.8%
Educator	13.0	16.7
Business	19.6	14.9
Homemaker	33.4	36.5
Other-Blue Collar-Clerical	<u>23.3</u>	<u>20.1</u>
	100 %	100 %
	(N = 749)	(N = 323)

comparable categories are not available to enable comparisons with Canadian women in general. Nevertheless, it is fairly obvious even to the most casual observer that the occupations of these women do not match those of women in the general population. For example, women candidates are almost twice as likely as women in the general population to be educators.¹¹ Moreover, while 35% of Canadian women in the labour force did clerical work in 1971, less than 20% of the women candidates had either clerical or blue-collar jobs combined.¹² Women candidates also appear to have paid employment more often than Canadian women generally. In 1961, for example, only about 20% of all married women in Canada participated in the labour force although this proportion increased to 33% in 1971.¹³ In contrast, two-thirds of the women candidates were in the labour force prior to their first candidacy.

In summary, although the data are admittedly sketchy, they do suggest that these candidates are a select group as compared to all Canadian women. They appear to be more highly educated, are more likely to participate in the labour force and more often hold prestigious occupations than Canadian women generally.

IV Summary

This chapter has provided a brief introduction to our sample of female candidates for municipal and legislative office in Canada. Although the sample was ultimately

constructed on the basis of self-selection, it generally reflects the characteristics of the enumerated population of female candidates who contested office in the post-war years. Almost one-half of the candidates sought office in the early 1970s, few switched from municipal to legislative candidacy (or vice versa), and they were more likely to be successful at the local than legislative level. Moreover, they were also more likely to have a select occupational and educational background than Canadian women in general. The only recurring biases appear to be attributable to the under-representation of fringe-party candidates in the sample. This factor also contributes to the under-representation in the sample of legislative candidates and of candidates from Quebec. Generalization about fringe-party candidates, therefore, will be avoided in the chapters which follow.

Even after recognizing the above deficiencies in these data, the differences between the population and sample are not pronounced. On the basis of comparisons presented here, it is possible to proceed with confidence that the data are representative of female candidates who contested elections in the post-war years in Canada.

Footnotes

1. Again the author would like to thank Dr. Jill Vickers of Carleton University for access to these data.
2. Included were St. John's, Charlottetown, Halifax, Fredericton, Moncton, Saint John, Montreal, Quebec City, Hamilton, Ottawa, Toronto, Brandon, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Swift Current, Regina, Calgary, Edmonton, Medicine Hat, Kamloops, Victoria and Vancouver.
3. A second round of questionnaires was sent in the spring of 1978 but improvement upon the first round was minimal, yielding only 31 additional responses.
4. Of course, the question of biased sample data can never be fully resolved. We can never know all of the characteristics shared by those not included in a sample. Moreover, even under conditions of complete random selection, the possibility of sampling fluctuations implies that there may be some variations between the characteristics of the population and the sample.
5. The frontier thesis is found in Catherine Cleverdon, The Women Suffrage Movement in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950); See also M. Janine Brodie, "The Recruitment of Canadian Women Provincial Legislators," Atlantis, 5 (June 1977), pp. 8-10.
6. Due to problems in translating the questionnaire into

French, questionnaires to candidates in the province of Quebec were issued almost two years after the candidates in the other provinces had been surveyed. Time-lag^s increase the possibility for both death and relocation and, therefore, may also have contributed to a lower response rate in Quebec.

7. M. Janine Brodie and Jill M. Vickers, "The More Things Change ... Women in the 1979 Campaign," in Howard Penniman (ed.) Canada at the Polls: The General Election of 1979 (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981); See also, Brodie, op. cit.
8. Ibid.
9. 1971 Census, Catalogue no. 92-743-45.
10. Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), pp. 24-33.
11. See Dan Chekki and John R. Hofley, "Women and Inequality," in John Harp and John R. Riley (eds.) Structured Inequality in Canada (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall, 1980), pp. 219-246.
12. Most of these women were married (80% of the sample). Yet, even if we consider the participation rates of unmarried women, women candidates appear more likely to be members of the labour force, than Canadian women in general. In 1961, for example, the labour force participation rate for unmarried women was 55% and in

1971 it was 54%. Armstrong and Armstrong, op. cit.,
p. 152.

Chapter 3

Initiation to Politics: Socialization Against the Norms

I Introduction

The first stage of a political career begins with an initiation to politics. Future politicians may be launched on a pathway to political office in their childhood years by learning about politics within a politically active home or later in life, through peer group relations, organizational participation or political events. Whenever it occurs, special socialization experiences are often held up as a key factor drawing the few who eventually pursue political office from the vast body of rank-and-file citizens who do not.

According to many political analysts, socialization also constitutes the most significant impasse for women's political participation at both the mass and elite levels.¹ It is generally argued that from a very early age, females are encouraged to reject political participation as "ideal" feminine behaviour and thus, abstain from politics, especially at the elite level, in their adult years.² Against the backdrop of this variant of socialization theory, female candidates for public office appear to be "exceptions to the norm." They deviate markedly from general cultural prescriptions which allegedly discourage political activism among women. What special political

socialization experiences, then, are shared by the very few women in the general public who become candidates for elected office? This chapter pursues this question by examining how this sample of women candidates were initiated into politics. Before proceeding, however, the inconsistencies between political socialization theory (as it has been employed in relation to women) and the study of female political elites must be raised and resolved.

To date, explanations of women's political behaviour have emphasized the impact of socialization which transmits to women and men clearly defined roles.³ Students of political participation and recruitment as well as feminist scholars have argued that girls and boys frequently are provided with quite distinct social cues, expectations and sanctions which define for them acceptable and ideal gender roles and goals of adult behaviour.⁴ Most societies arbitrarily categorize a wide variety of personality characteristics, interests and behaviours as the exclusive domain of one sex or the other. From birth, gender role socialization inducts boys and girls into exclusive social spaces which are consistent with traditional notions of masculinity and femininity.⁵ Accordingly, gender role socialization potentially affects all types of social learning, including political learning.⁶

In the realm of politics, it is argued that females are encouraged to abstain from politics and pursue life options such as, for example, wife and mother roles which rarely

intersect with the active political realm. Political and gender role socialization interact in so much as they prescribe from a very early stage in a child's political development that only males should aspire to political activity, especially public office.⁷ Thus:⁸

Politics, it is argued, is a good example of arbitrary cultural exclusion. While legal barriers to women's participation in political life have been abolished, cultural norms have preserved the definition of politics as "man's work".

Of course, there are historical origins to this "cultural exclusion". Women's access to liberal democratic politics as voters has been a relatively recent phenomena. Prior to their enfranchisement politics was unquestionably a male preserve, but male dominance in politics, like all systems of domination and subordination, had to be legitimized with an ideology.⁹ The subordination of females was reinforced by what has been termed "patriarchial thinking" which was especially popular in the late 18th and 19th centuries. The crux of this ideology is a belief in male superiority and female inferiority.¹⁰ Patriarchial thinking prescribed that males were simply better suited and able to control the command posts of political society, or for that matter, all leadership roles. Their supposedly superior strength, endurance, intellect and aggressive nature prepared them to cope with and conquer the hard realities of politics. Women, being gentle and nurturant by nature, were ill-suited for the contingencies of the

political world and better left "unstained" by it.

Patriarchial thinking urged women to stand aloof from the sordid world of practical politics where they could only sully their hands and corrupt their souls in smoke-filled rooms.¹¹ Males, as providers and protectors, would assume political responsibilities in order to protect women's very delicate nature. Through socialization, this thinking was transmitted from one generation to the next such that:¹²

Women became convinced that they did not want to and were unable to handle power because men consistently portrayed power as cruel, inhuman and undesirable - but necessary for social order. Men in a sense played the self-sacrificing role of being willing to control power and do all that was necessary (cheating, lying, killing, etc.) to obtain and keep power in their hands, so that women could live a "good" life, free from base and soul-eroding preoccupations.

Patriarchial thinking may no longer survive in its most blatant and uncontested forms. Nevertheless, the residues of female apoliticism appear to linger on, even among recent generations. The proliferation of childhood socialization studies conducted during the 1950's and 1960's seemed to confirm that the apparent apoliticism of women was deeply rooted in gender-differentiated socialization. As late as 1959, Hebert Hyman's pathbreaking study of political socialization revealed pronounced gender differences in the political orientations of elementary school children. In this and the many political socialization studies to follow, girls were found to be less politically aware and knowledgeable, less politically efficacious and less prone to

identify with political objects or personalities than boys.¹³ Study after study appeared to chart the early elimination of females from the ranks of political participants and ultimately, of elected officials. The puzzle of women's continued exclusion from elected office years after their enfranchisement, therefore, seemed relatively simple to solve. "There is a cultural tradition of feminine non-participation transmitted in childhood."¹⁴

While social norms may continue to dampen political aspirations among women, the findings and conclusions of childhood socialization studies recently have fallen into considerable dispute. In general, they have been criticized for focusing on early political attitudes which are often whimsical and unreal, and for assuming that childhood reactions to politics even matter, an assumption which has never been convincingly demonstrated.¹⁵ More important to the discussion here, research concerning gender differences in the political attitudes of boys and girls has been challenged as being sex-biased. An intensive review of the questionnaires employed in the major childhood socialization studies suggests that they portrayed politics as a male-only world by the unvarying use of the male gender, the pictures chosen and the limited and stereotypic choices offered to the respondents. In effect, the supposedly gender-neutral questionnaires have been criticized for sending distinctly non-neutral messages.¹⁶ It is possible, therefore, that many of the gender differences reported by the childhood

socialization studies of the 1950's and 1960's may have been exaggerated or, indeed, artificially produced.

Of course, it is impossible to turn back the ~~time machine~~ to American elementary classrooms of the nineteen-fifties and sixties to assess the impact of ~~sex~~-biased questionnaires. Did their findings demonstrate an ongoing socialization process encouraging apoliticism among females? Did they reflect a historical lag, the dwindling remnants of 19th century thought described above? Or, were the results a reflection of the immediate post-war period alone when women were actively persuaded to return to the home and aspire to the new consumerism, i.e., ownership of televisions, kitchen appliances and the two-car garage? Whatever the case, most recent political socialization and mass participation studies no longer appear to support the notion of female apoliticism. Yet, while this cultural tradition appears to have broken at the mass level, women remain virtually absent from elected office.

These more recent findings raise some question about whether political socialization theory, as it has been employed, is useful in the study of the political recruitment of women. Two assumptions of the socialization explanation for the dearth of women in elected office appear to be at issue here. The first is that there is a direct causal link between mass and elite political socialization and political participation. The second is that childhood political orientations structure adult behaviour. Both of

these issues will be discussed in the pages which follow.

II Mass and Elite Socialization: An Uncertain Link

Political socialization is perhaps the most popular explanation for the paucity of women in elected office. Nevertheless, the argument is a rather complicated one, leaping back and forth from mass and elite behaviour as well as from childhood orientations to adult actions. Typically, however, political socialization studies have assumed that political habits are formed primarily before adulthood.¹⁷ Thus, for many of the early investigators of childhood political socialization, lower levels of politicization among girls than boys seemed to constitute an explanation for lower rates of political participation among women. The justification for childhood socialization studies was, thus, quite simple, as Greenstein describes:¹⁸

... by describing these pre-adult differences and attempting to explain why they develop, it should be possible to add to our understanding of adult differences.

Greater levels of political apathy among girls were held out as an explanation for lower rates of political participation among women in the general public which in turn, deemed that there were fewer women available in the pool of eligibles for elected office. As already noted, however, gender differences in political socialization and participation, at least at the mass level appear to be

fading away. Moreover, boys and girls no longer appear to differ in terms of their reactions toward politics.¹⁹

Indeed, the apparent erosion of this fundamental link has led one researcher to conclude that:²⁰

Sex differences may or may not come about as these children and others like them grow to adulthood ... but clearly such differences do not emerge in childhood.

Evidence gleaned from recent mass participation studies also suggest that, for whatever reason, gender differences in rates of citizen participation are eroding. Participation data collected in the United States and elsewhere throughout the seventies reveal few remaining differences between men and women in political interest, knowledge or in the performance of less demanding political activities such as voting.²¹ Moreover, some studies have shown that when the effects of factors such as education are taken into account statistically, young, well-educated women appear to be more involved in mass politics than their male counterparts.²² Similarly, in Canada, there appears to have been a rapid politicization of women during the last decade. The minor gender differences in voter turnout observed in the early 1960s have disappeared.²³ By the 1974 federal election, sex was no longer a statistically significant predictor of a variety of types of citizen participation.²⁴ Nevertheless, while women are almost equally as likely as men to perform relatively simple political acts, they are still vastly under-represented in public office in Canada. The links

posited by the early childhood socialization studies appear to have broken.

It would be premature, however, to argue that political socialization is an irrelevant factor in the study of women's passage to political office. The socialization explanation for the ongoing absence of women in public office clearly has been compromised by recent childhood socialization and mass political participation studies.

Nevertheless, what is not clear, nor has it ever been, is whether or not the general political orientations of boys and girls have any relevance in the study of those who, in addition to performing citizen roles in politics thrust themselves or are drawn into the unique subpopulation which seeks public office.

Charting the dimensions of mass and elite socialization demands a somewhat more exacting discussion of what is meant by the concept of "political socialization". The concept has been defined in a number of ways, although, as David Sears has concluded; the variety can be reduced to two streams of thinking. The most frequent definition of political socialization refers to society's encouragement of the child to embrace broad and general political norms.²⁵ Children, either through direct or indirect socialization processes, are led to support the political system and become functioning members of it.²⁶ As such, this stream of thinking is primarily, although not exclusively, concerned with the conformity and continuity of mass political

behaviour and the resulting implications for the stability of the political system.

Sears points out that an alternative way of thinking about political socialization emphasizes the "child's idiosyncratic personal growth" where within broader political and social contexts, "the developing human being attains his own personal identity, meeting personal needs in a personal way."²⁷ In the study of elite recruitment, this perspective stresses the personal factors which encourage a few individuals to seek a career in politics. In other words, it is principally concerned with the personal experiences which effectively discriminate between the politician and the rank-and-file citizen rather than the more pervasive factors which encourage both to take up their role of citizen. The study of the political socialization of political elites therefore,²⁸

... is more specialized and focused than the induction of people into a political culture. Recruitment is concerned with special political role socializations which occur "on top of" general political socialization.

Most studies of gender differences in patterns of political socialization have concentrated on children's general orientations toward the political community, régime and authorities. They have, then, principally explored mass orientations and the system's maintenance aspects of political socialization. The apparent erosion of gender differences at the mass level, therefore, may simply

indicate that women have been equally integrated into politics but only at the mass level.²⁹ In other words, these findings may only relate to one distinct form of political socialization, that being the "molding of the ideal citizen." The vast majority of females still may not be provided with socialization opportunities which encourage the kind of personal growth which leads a few individuals to pursue a political career. Thus, the equal integration of women into mass politics need not be followed by great increases in the number of female politicians.³⁰

The expectation of continuity between the mass and elite political participation of women is founded on a notion that there is a communality between citizen and elite socialization and a simple progression from political participation to elite recruitment. Nevertheless, as James D. Barber correctly contends, there are essentially distinct norms and socialization processes governing mass and elite behaviour. General political norms relate to minor or citizen political participation and need not (and now may not) contradict the prescriptions of gender role socialization.³¹ The specific norms governing office-seeking, however, may not so easily accommodate gender role prescriptions or nurture the development of political aspirations among women. Running for office clearly is not the "normal" thing to do.³²

Women may be wives and mothers and voters and campaign workers without experiencing the social sanctions implied by

full-time political activism. Citizen participation is not too demanding in time or resources and is a socially acceptable and valued thing to do for both sexes.³³ Citizen politics is supportive and communal, but office-seeking is often conflictual and individualistic. Thus, in contrast to participation typologies which posit a simple extension between avocational and vocational politics, there is a clear distinction between citizen participation and office-seeking. As Barber points out, "The aura of risk, danger, temptation and doubt that surrounds this kind of participation contrasts markedly with the clear-cut flavor of citizen politics."³⁴

It is at the level of "specific" norms governing office-seeking that gender role and political socialization are most likely to come in conflict with one another. After all, it is at this level of political activism that women, almost by necessity, must violate certain aspects of the stereotypic image of the "ideal" female. Rather than appearing nurturant, dependent, passive and apolitical, they enter into a political, social and institutional context where they are expected to compete with men for the very positions that cultural norms have assigned to men.³⁵ Women entering such a competition are likely to be judged unfeminine, because women, "according to sex stereotypes, are (and must be) sweet, passive and helpless."³⁶ Moreover, it is at the level of office-holding that the revered roles of wife and mother appear to be compromised or even rejected.

The decision to seek office,³⁷

... represents an interruption or diversion from a relatively long-standing personal identity which the individual has established in his work. In a sense, his candidacy is a public admission that there was something incomplete and unsatisfactory about the course he was pursuing.

Thus, for both men and women, political candidacy implies a specialized political socialization which encourages them to step outside of the ranks of the active citizen and pursue their own path in politics. The political socialization of female elites, however, implies an even more specialized initiation to politics, one which encourages not only office-seeking but office-seeking among women.³⁸ In many respects, they must receive a certain socialization "against the norms", especially the normative expectation of male incumbency to elected office.

III The Exceptions: Socialization Against the Norms

The passage from one's initiation to politics to political candidacy is usually a complicated one with many roadblocks and detours along the way. Nevertheless, studies of elite recruitment suggest a number of similarities in the socialization of politicians which appear to differentiate them from their fellow citizens. The family is often held to be the most important agent fostering the "idiosyncratic" personal growth of would-be politicians, especially female politicians. A politicized home environment, it is often argued, demonstrates to children by intimate example that

political activism is a normal pursuit in adult years.³⁹ This learning and conditioning is a very sophisticated form of political socialization because it not only encourages citizen participation but also inducts certain individuals into the activist subculture where, as in other social realms, children model their identity after that of their parents.⁴⁰

Kenneth Prewitt's "over-exposure" hypothesis is perhaps the clearest example of the importance that some political scientists have attributed to the politicized family in the development of a political career. After examining the merits of stratification, functional and psychological theories of leadership selection, Prewitt concludes that socialization is the most convincing explanation for why only a few pursue a career in politics. He posits that the few who seek public office were often frequently and intimately "over-exposed" to politics prior to their choice of politics as a career.⁴¹ In essence, this explanation holds that some individuals pursue a political career while the vast majority do not simply because appropriate and sufficiently stimulating political cues were abundantly available to them.

Prewitt readily admits that "over-exposure" to politics can occur at any stage in the lifecycle but the influence of the family in the childhood years remains his principal focus. There are essentially two types of political families. First, the family may have a tradition of

office-holding in which case the child is seen as adopting the same occupation as her or his parent.⁴² He or she is an "hereditary politician". More often, however, would-be politicians do not inherit a propensity to public office from their family but rather an intense and enduring interest in politics. Parents actively involved in politics encourage similar patterns of behaviour among their children.⁴³

Study after study of the political socialization of political party activists and elected officials confirm the legacy of the political home in the reproduction of political elites. Among American party activists, for example, Marvick and Nixon conclude that the political family is a crucial training ground for future campaign workers.⁴⁴ Similarly, Kornberg, Smith and Clarke have found a strong incidence of politically active parental models in the backgrounds of Vancouver and Winnipeg party leaders.⁴⁵ This pattern of early exposure to politics within the family is also shared by Canadian legislators. Among a sample of provincial legislators, Clarke, Price and Krause found a high incidence of hereditary politicians with approximately one-third reporting that they had an office-holder in the family.⁴⁶ Federal legislators also frequently report that their parents were active party workers.⁴⁷

The similarity of these findings across an assortment of political contexts emphasizes the importance of the home environment in the development of the initial political

orientations of western political elites but such socialization does not constitute a theory of recruitment in itself. Rather, the political family may familiarize or provide a path to a specialized political subculture which is outside the range of experience of most, including those socialized to embody the characteristics of the ideal attentive citizen. Politically active parents or office-holders may open to experience, however peripheral, a social and political space - the activist subculture of liberal democracies - which is outside the ken of most citizens.

While a politicized childhood environment may only orient certain individuals toward political activity, there are indications that the home environment is especially important in the initial socialization of women. Studies of early political socialization patterns among both American and Canadian party militants report that females more often than males indicate that they had a parent active in politics and that the family had sparked their initial interest in politics.⁴⁸ These findings are also confirmed among various studies of women state legislators.⁴⁹

There are a number of reasons why a high incidence of parental political activism should be expected in the backgrounds of women who eventually seek elected office. The family is, after all, the cradle of gender role socialization and it is initially within this context that cultural constraints against women in politics may or may

not be reinforced.⁵⁰ In addition, while gender role socialization may now allow girls and women to aspire to the role of the attentive citizen, the passage to career politics requires different socialization processes sufficient to stimulate political interest and to encourage women to think of themselves as potential political leaders. Since cultural norms and experience may continue to discourage political careers among women, it might be expected that female candidates more than their male counterparts receive abnormally large dosages of political exposure. Otherwise, they may simply adopt the cultural prescription of the supportive citizen or indeed, the apolitical woman.

The childhood environment appears to be a critical element in the socialization of political women both in terms of the political cues it provides and the timing of this learning in the individual's political development. It is not entirely clear, however, whether the father or the mother is more important in the socialization of women politicians "against the norms." A few studies of women party activists suggest that the mother and father are equally influential in stimulating political interest among their daughters.⁵¹ While emphasizing the importance of the family, Ingunn Means, for example, makes no distinction between mothers and fathers in the political socialization of Norwegian women legislators. She concludes that:⁵²

The example of politically active relatives therefore appears particularly essential, as a compensation for the constraints inherent in traditional role expectations, and the very real difficulties women sometimes face when attempting to transcend these expectations.

Others, however, have argued to the contrary that the political cues necessary to encourage women to seek political leadership positions, in the face of pervasive cultural sanctions requires a female political role model.⁵³ Without an example demonstrating that there need not be a conflict between gender roles and political careers, females may develop an interest in politics without pursuing leadership positions.⁵⁴ Supporting this view, some studies have found a political mother in the backgrounds of political women.⁵⁵

The political family thus may encourage daughters to deviate from gender role and cultural expectations which discourage them from becoming political candidates. Parents and close relatives may provide an intimate forum for girls which contradicts cultural prescriptions, allowing variations from dominant cultural norms to occur. Nevertheless, it would be inappropriate to assume that the family is the sole pathway leading women out of apoliticism. Childhood socialization experiences are undoubtedly important but they need not and do not fully determine the future political potential of women.

IV Child and Adult: Separate Paths

Studies focusing primarily on childhood experiences or the influence of the political family tend to conform to what Heiskanen has referred to as an "oversocialized conception of man."⁵⁶ Political socialization, of course, is a process which continues throughout life. Individuals enter the adult world with a history of social and political learning but this learning need not determine their political values or behaviour. Generally, childhood socialization experiences are not sufficient to meet the demands of later years. History, peers, and marital, educational and occupational experiences, all intervene between childhood orientations and adult behaviour, often forcing individuals to change their previously held beliefs and/or behaviour.

In some ways, the literature's over-emphasis on childhood socialization to the exclusion of adult learning has served to legitimize the continuing absence of women in elective office. The implicit assumption of childhood socialization studies is that women have internalized expectations of female apoliticism. They are, in a sense, then, their own worst enemies. Moreover, since this apoliticism is so firmly entrenched so early, little hope is held out for a change in the political status of women. As a result there is an implicit tendency among socialization studies to "blame the victim" (or her mother) for the dearth of women in public office.⁵⁷ Accordingly:⁵⁸

In this view, the persistence of beliefs and behaviours, learned in childhood and reinforced by socialization in the schools, by peers and mass media, etc., make it difficult if not impossible to change the behaviour of adults easily or drastically ... women's lack of participation ... [is] interpreted as being the result, mainly, of women's internal circumstances.

The life options of adults, male or female, however, are not permanently fixed at childhood. In fact, there are a number of reasons to expect that values cultivated early in life are subject to challenge and change later in life. Adults often form self-initiated ideas or prescriptions for their own behaviour when their personal or historical circumstances change. Moreover, adults have a wider set of reference figures to draw upon. They may transmit cues which conflict with values entrenched in earlier years.⁵⁹ The resolution of this conflict may and usually does induce unique solutions and behavioural change. Childhood socialization patterns may influence adult behaviour but in no way should be considered as the sole force structuring it.

Most studies of party activists and legislators in fact demonstrate that childhood experience, while obviously important, is not the only factor which initiates an abiding interest in politics. Not all politicians are raised in a political family nor are their political interests only developed in childhood. Eulau et al. conclude from their study of state legislators that,⁶⁰

... political socialization - the process by which political interest is acquired - may occur at almost any phase of the life cycle, even among men and women whose concern with public affairs is presumably more intense and permanent than that of the average citizen.

While there are a great many possible factors or agents of socialization, typically these have been reduced to the family, school, adult peer groups and events. The relative importance of each of these factors tends to vary from one study to another but most observers indicate that the adult peer group competes with the family as the most important initiating agent among those who are politically active. A study of Liberal and Conservative party leadership convention delegates in Ontario, for example, reports that while the family is more often cited as the most important agent of socialization by women than by men, more of both gender groups identified their adult peer group as the most important source of their initial interest in politics. Overall, the ranking of the agents of socialization placed the adult peer group first, followed by the family, events and the school.⁶¹ Diverse sources of initial political interest have also been reported by Canadian federal legislators.⁶²

The political family therefore is not a necessary starting point for all those who eventually pursue a political career. Other sources of initial socialization, however, are often defined in an ambiguous manner. For example, it is not clear whether the "adult peer" category refers to an unstructured circle of personal friends or the

relatively institutionalized realm of occupational or organizational activity. Nevertheless, the distinction may be an important one, discriminating between the socializing influences of unpredictable personal experience and the political mobilization characteristics of specific social organizations. Nor is it entirely obvious what range of experiences comprises the "events" category. It may consist of historical ruptures such as depression or war which are experienced by most but spur only a few to political activism. The events category may also refer to a seemingly innocuous or intimate occurrence which is internalized and translated into a political concern by the individuals themselves. In both cases, the terms "events" would seem to indicate that the initial political interest was more self-induced than owing to external stimuli since political interest was engendered by the individual's reaction to the event and not the event itself.

All of these observations lead to the conclusion that a variety of factors must be considered in this examination of the initial development of political interest among women candidates. As will be shown here, however, these factors can be reduced to four broad dimensions - the family, peer relations, group association and personal predispositions.

Agents of socialization will be the focal point of this chapter because there is partial evidence to suggest that they are associated with quite distinct political career patterns. Not surprisingly, those developing an early

interest in politics most often identify the family as the source of their initial political interest and this association tends to grow more pronounced the greater the level of politicization of the family.⁶³ Thus, it might be hypothesized that a politicized family is associated with an early interest in politics as well as an early entry into political apprenticeship structures, particularly the political party.

The very structure of Canadian electoral politics would suggest that early entrants to politics follow a partisan apprenticeship path. The political party provides a ready source of political symbols, loyalties and labels as well as a more or less permanent vehicle for participation. In contrast, Canadian municipal politics, being largely non-partisan, is neither as structured nor as politicized as legislative politics. Municipal elections tend to generate less continuity, fewer long-term loyalties and less citizen participation. They more often are centred around individual candidates than the more enduring and visible party labels and political ideologies of legislative politics. The lack of continuity of symbols and actors in municipal politics provides fewer cues to stimulate an initial interest or a long term identification.

The hypothesis that agents of socialization are associated with subsequent apprenticeship patterns is supported by studies of the political socialization of American local politicians. Generally, they are much less

2

likely than legislators to have been raised in a political family.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the Canadian literature has devoted little attention to the question of whether political socialization and subsequent apprenticeship patterns are related. It might be expected that political careers initiated by the political family commence early and feed into partisan organizations while later entrants whose interest was stimulated by adult sources more often feed into the municipal sphere of electoral politics. We will begin, however, with the incidence of political activity reported in the family backgrounds of this sample of women candidates.

V Findings

The study of elite socialization, of necessity, must rely on the candidates' ability to recall impressions and situations which may have occurred very early in their lifetimes. Recall data can be unreliable because memories of the past, especially of childhood experiences, tend to blur and become selective. The hazards of recall error may be particularly acute here since over one-half of the sample was born before 1930. Thus, two types of measures were employed to assess the impact of political families on the careers of these political women. First, the candidates were asked to enumerate the political acts performed by various members of their immediate family. Second, they were required to assess the importance of the family

relative to other factors in initiating their first interest in politics.

Many of the women candidates reported political activity among their immediate family members. (See Table 3:1) In fact, as many as 136 office-holders were mentioned in the backgrounds of these political women. As in the broader political environment, the majority of these political role models were male family members. Fully, 12% indicated that their fathers were office-holders. Another 10% had office-holding uncles and 8% were married to public officials. These are impressive statistics, indeed, since "the number of citizens who have actively sought either elected or appointed office probably has never exceeded five percent of the adult population and probably has been closer to one percent or less."⁶⁵ In this context, and given the dearth of women in public office, it is also rather exceptional to note that 4% of the women indicated that their mothers were elected officials. Thus, public office-holding and political candidacy appear to be inter-generational phenomena for many of the women studied here.

Even more of the candidates pointed out that members of their family were party activists. Some 4% of the candidates indicated that their mothers were party office holders while 9% indicated that their fathers held similar partisan positions. More than 10% of the candidates indicated that their mothers were campaign workers or

financial contributors to the party while 20% noted that their fathers had been this type of activist. Even greater proportions indicated that their husbands were party executives (11%), campaign workers (24%) or financial contributors to the party (26%).

Whether considering politically active mothers, fathers or husbands, these percentages are highly unrepresentative of the general population. Statistics concerning rates of political party activism are unavailable for periods when most of these candidates' parents were likely to have been involved in party politics. Nevertheless, the 1965 election study indicates that approximately 4% of the general population were political party members and only 3% of the national sample contributed funds to political parties.⁶⁶ The political backgrounds of these candidates, therefore, appear to be highly unrepresentative of the general population in terms of partisan backgrounds.

Table 3:1 Here

The legacy of a political family was also emphasized in the written comments of many of the respondents.

My father was very active in 'pioneer' politics and my mother was, for a pioneer women, politically conscious. She used to kill dad's vote if she felt like it.

... a politically active mother from early childhood made political life natural. I

Table 3:1 Reported Political Activity Among Candidate's Family

Family Member	Public Office	Candidate for Public Office	Party Office Holder	Campaign Worker	Party Financial Contributor
	(% Mentions in Sample)				
Mother	3.9% (13)	.9% (3)	3.9% (13)	14.4% (47)	11.0% (36)
Father	11.6 (38)	7.9 (26)	8.9 (29)	20.9 (68)	22.9 (75)
Grandmother	.6 (2)	.3 (1)	2.4 (8)	3.4 (11)	1.8 (6)
Grandfather	5.2 (17)	1.5 (5)	3.4 (11)	5.5 (18)	4.9 (16)
Aunts	1.8 (6)	1.5 (5)	.6 (2)	4.3 (14)	3.1 (10)
Uncles	10.1 (33)	5.5 (18)	1.5 (5)	5.2 (17)	5.2 (17)
Spouse	8.3 (27)	9.2 (30)	11.3 (37)	24.2 (79)	26.0 (85)
Total mention of activity among family members	136	88	105	254	245

accompanied my mother campaigning and in committee room work for as long as I can remember. The excitement in the whole family around elections was an important aspect of life. - Sang and recited at Tory meetings in very early childhood.!!!

Growing up on a farm in the depression years my parents were very interested in "The Grain Growers", "United Farmers" and later the C.C.F. Politics and Governmental policies were important topics and well discussed at home.

Even though many of these women were married to political activists or indeed, office-holders, few elaborated on their spouse's contribution to their political socialization. Nevertheless, two commented on how they entered politics through what has generally been termed as "widow's succession." They engaged in electoral politics essentially to pursue the political goals of their deceased partners. This does not mean, however, that their husbands sparked their initial interest in politics.

Husband - Member of ... Legislature at time of death - 1954 - I decided to continue his work.

I wanted the principles that my late husband had stood for during the almost 20 years he was a member of the ... Legislature ... when I made up my mind I had a duty to perform nothing could change it.

While a great many of these women had political role models, male and female, this is not to say that the family was, in fact, the source of their initial interest in politics. Table 3:2 presents the candidates' assessment of the importance of a variety of factors in sparking their initial political interest. Here, as many as 30% and 40% of the candidates indicated that their father and mother, respectively were not important in stimulating their

political interest. Indeed, spouses were more often attributed importance as agents of political initiation than parents. Similarly, adult friends and voluntary groups were also considered important which suggests that for a great many political women, interest was developed during their adult rather than childhood years.

Table 3:2 Here

Both adult peers and voluntary groups appear to be especially important in initiating the political interest of these women candidates. More than 40% indicated that their adult friends were very important in the origins of their political career. Similarly, slightly more than 70% of the sample attributed some importance to community or civic groups.

The data leave us with the initial impression that special female role models are not especially significant in generating political orientations among future female politicians. Mothers, for example, appear less important than fathers or husbands. Similarly, a female politician role model helped spark the initial interest of only one-fifth of the sample. Finally, women's rights groups appear less important than more general types of voluntary groups in the initial political socialization of these candidates.

By and large, the sources of political initiation for

Table 3:2 Attributed Importance of Agents of Political Initiation

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important	Total*
	(Horizontal %)			
AGENTS				
Mother	27.9% (68)	30.3% (74)	41.8% (102)	100% (244)
Father	35.0 (87)	32.3 (80)	32.7 (81)	100% (248)
Spouse	48.6 (120)	25.9 (64)	25.5 (63)	100% (247)
Other Family Members	25.0 (62)	34.3 (85)	40.7 (101)	100% (248)
Adult Friends	42.0 (110)	43.9 (115)	14.1 (37)	100% (262)
School	25.1 (63)	33.9 (85)	41.0 (103)	100% (251)
Observing Women in Politics	23.3 (60)	33.1 (85)	43.6 (112)	100% (257)
Women's Rights Group	19.7 (48)	27.6 (67)	52.7 (128)	100% (243)
Community/ Civic Group	47.8 (130)	24.3 (66)	27.9 (76)	100% (272)
Union/ Occupational Group	13.2 (28)	15.6 (33)	71.2 (151)	100% (212)
Events that exposed to me the injustices in society	66.1 (183)	24.2 (67)	9.7 (27)	100% (277)
The realization that things only could be changed through political activity	79.1 (235)	17.9 (53)	3.0 (9)	100% (297)

* missing data removed

women candidates appear to be varied and multiple. For some, work experience served as an initiation to politics.

My professional work (as a consultant to government) taught me most.

Work and other experiences during and after W.W.2, plus contact with others from all parts of the country and the rest of the world, helped to develop my political awareness and increasing subsequent involvement.

Another attributed her initiation to politics to her relatives through marriage.

A real influence on my original participation was the involvement of both my mother-in-law and father-in-law as elected representatives prior to my marriage.

Yet, for another, educational experience served as the most crucial influence.

My college and university education gave me opportunities to participate in decision-making bodies; later those experiences gave me renewed interest.

Finally, a few attributed their initiation to politics to the women's movement and female role models.

I cannot ignore my parents' influence. However, if politics is defined to mean participation in party action and running for office then the women's movement and particularly 'Women for Political Action' has been the most potent influence in my life.

Again our generation were inspired by persons outside our families - Nellie McClung, Emily Murphy, Agnes McPhail, Charlotte Whitton, Dorothy Hogue, True Davidson, Marie Curtis, Ellen Fairclough - to note a few.

More important, the candidates' responses suggest that political interest is not necessarily sparked by relevant individuals or groups. Fully, 79% of the sample indicated that the "realization that things could only be changed through political activity" was very important in stimulating their interest in politics. (See Table 3:2) Another 66% reported that their interest in politics was a result of events which exposed injustices in society to them. Overall, then, the hypothesis that family is of inordinate influence initiating the careers of political women is not supported here. Rather, as two candidates explain, self-initiation was common.

Three years ago the injustices which exist in our society were forcibly brought home when I realized that a decision to construct a high school in the city was not taken, as stated, based upon enrollment but the fulfillment of a political promise.

After a difficult period of surgery I wanted to devote my new lease on life to a worthwhile cause.

These candidates were initiated to politics in a variety of ways. Nevertheless, further analysis (a rotated varimax factor analysis) indicates that there are four underlying dimensions to the thirteen items displayed in Table 3:2.⁶⁸ The first initiating factor was comprised of two items - events exposing injustices in society and the realization that change is achieved through politics. (See Table 3:3) This personal predisposition or self-initiation factor was selected by 46.5% of the sample as the most important dimension stimulating their political interest.⁶⁹

The second factor consisted of parents, both ~~mothers~~ and fathers, and was selected by 17% of the candidates as the most important influence. The third factor, peers includes a variety of interpersonal influences such as other family members, spouse, friends, school and female political role models. Some 20% of the sample indicated that peers were the most important factor stimulating their political interest. The final factor, group activity, was selected by 16% of the sample as most important in their initiation to politics. Thus, there appear to be four broad types of political initiation of which the family is ranked only second in importance.

Table 3:3 Here

Table 3:4 shows the relationship between the four initiation factors and the timing of political interest. As might be expected, three-quarters of those initiated to politics by their parents indicated that they had developed an interest in politics before or during their high school years. In contrast, a similar proportion of those influenced by groups developed their interest as adults. Later initiation is also more common among those initiated by their peers. Among the self-initiated, however, the pattern is far less distinct. With some 42% developing their interest at an early age, self-initiation to politics is clearly not exclusively an adult phenomenon.

Table 3:3 Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix of Initiation Items

Initiation Items	Factor Loadings For			
	Factor 1 (self)	Factor 2 (parents)	Factor 3 (peer)	Factor 4 (groups)
Mother	.17	.64	.07	.20
Father	.04	.67	.17	.09
Spouse	-.02	.10	.29	.09
Other family	.02	.16	.44	.22
Adult friends	.03	.03	.55	.08
School	.13	.19	.40	.08
Woman model	-.01	.15	.36	.25
Women's rights group	.23	.24	-.01	.72
Community group	-.04	.04	.24	.40
Union/occupation group	.19	.02	.09	.28
Events	.89	-.01	.13	.12
Change through politics	.56	.19	-.09	.06
Eigenvalue	2.7	1.6	1.2	1.0
% Variance Explained	22.6%	13.0%	9.8%	8.3%
Total variance explained	54.1%			
% sample noting				
factor most important initiator	46.5%	17.1%	20.0%	16.4%

Table 3:4 Here

The following chapter explores more fully the career patterns of those initiated to politics in their adult years. Thus, presently, the focus will turn to the consequences of being raised in a politically active family.⁷⁰ As discussed earlier, political parents are said to serve as role models which encourage the early development of similar behaviour among their off-spring. The results partially support this generalization. (See Table 3:5) Some 56% of those with politically active fathers became interested in politics before leaving high school. Only a slightly higher proportion (59%) of those with politically active mothers were early entrants. These findings are similar to those reported by Kornberg about Canadian Members of Parliament.⁷¹ Contrary to the notion of the importance of the female role-model, however, the data suggest that politically active mothers are no more important than politically active fathers in stimulating an early interest in politics among future female politicians.

Table 3:5 Here

It is perhaps more surprising to find that some 40% of those with politically active mothers and fathers were not introduced to politics at an early age. (See Table 3:5)

Table 3:4 Relationship Between Timing of Political Initiation and Agents of Political Initiation

	Parents	Agent of Initiation Peers	Groups	Self
Timing				
Before or During High School	76.0% (38)	34.6% (18)	26.2% (11)	41.7% (55)
After High School	24.0 (12)	65.4 (34)	73.8 (42)	58.3 (132)
Total*	100% (50)	100% (52)	100% (42)	100% (132)

* missing data removed
Cramer's V=.32 p. < .001

Table 3:5 Relationship Between Timing of Political Initiation and Agents of Political Initiation

	Father		Mother	
	Active	Not	Active	Not
Timing				
Before/During High School	56.1% (64)	35.7% (64)	59.1% (39)	39.2% (89)
After High School	43.9 (50)	64.3 (115)	40.9 (27)	60.8 (138)
Total*	100% (114)	100% (179)	100% (66)	100% (227)

* missing data removed
Yule's Q=.39 p. < .001

yule's Q=.38 p. < .01

There are at least two possible explanations for this rather limited success of political parents in developing an early political interest among their daughters. First, some of the women with politically active parents may have simply forgotten about their early interest (although this relationship is not influenced by the candidate's age).⁷²

An alternative possibility is that politically active parents may socialize their daughters indirectly. They may simply influence individuals to seek political solutions to problems which may occur later in life. In this case, we would expect that those reporting self-initiation to politics might also have been raised in a political family. This explanation is not supported by the data. No statistically significant relationship was found between the level of parental political activism and self-initiation to politics (not shown in tabular form). Some of the candidates, however, alluded to this relationship in their written comments. The following are indicative of how some candidates assessed the influence of their parents in their political careers.

I have been influenced by my parents that it is important to be involved and help others for the good of the community and country.

My mother was a concerned person and taught me to remember my responsibilities to future generations.

My mother died when I was six and so I was raised entirely by my father. I think this was a factor in the political view point I bring to most situations.

One final consideration remains about the effects of the political family in the initiation of women politicians to politics. It was suggested earlier that being raised in a politicized home environment should lead to early political activism as well as influence the direction of the political career. The summary statistics (See Table 3:6) moderately support these expectations. Although not statistically significant, those with politically active fathers were more likely to be active in high school and post-secondary school government than those without a similar role-model. Women whose fathers were active partisans were also much more likely to integrate themselves into the party structure at an early age by joining the youth wing of the party. Relatedly, they more often sought a legislative career in politics.

Table 3:6 Here

A politically active mother also appears to have an effect on subsequent career patterns of women candidates, but their influence is far less pronounced statistically than that of the father. Those with politically active mothers were more likely to be involved in post-secondary school government as well as the youth wing of the political party but the association with municipal or legislative candidacy is broken. Those with politically active mothers are no more likely to contest office at the legislative

Table 3:6 Relationship Between Candidate's Early Political Behaviour
and Parental Political Activism
(Yule's Q)

	Mother Active/ Not	Father Active/ Not
Candidate's Behaviour		
High School Government/Not	.18	.19
Post-Secondary School Gov't/Not	.33*	.15
Youth Wing of Party/Not	.18	.38*
Legislative Candidate/Not	.07	.25*
* p. < .05		

level than those without a political mother. In terms of the direction that political careers take among this sample of women candidates, then, fathers rather than mothers appear to have a more discernable influence. This undoubtedly reflects the fact that fathers both in this sample and in the general population, probably hold more prestigious and visible political positions than mothers.

VI Conclusion

This chapter began with a number of expectations about how women elite are initiated to politics. Most of these expectations found varying degrees of support among this sample of women candidates. Nevertheless, our findings about the role of the political family in the socialization of women are not conclusive. The candidates did reveal a great deal of political activism in their family backgrounds. Whether in terms of public office-holding, political candidacy or party activism, the candidates' backgrounds were for more politicized than those of the general population. Nevertheless, less than one-fifth of the women (17%) indicated that their parents were the most important factor initiating their interest in politics. Instead, self-initiation appeared to be more prevalent.

Among those women with partisan parents, many of the expected patterns of behaviour were discernable. They more frequently became interested in politics at an early age and were more likely to move on to legislative rather than

municipal candidacy. The relationship between parental involvement and the streaming of the political career, however, was far more pronounced for women with politically active fathers than mothers. Role models of the same gender do not appear to be essential for female political activism.

The most noteworthy observation emerging from this chapter is that fewer of the women fit the model of the heredity politician than might be expected. Almost one-half of the candidates indicated that their first interest in politics was self-initiated, a tendency which was unrelated statistically to their parents' political activism.

Moreover, a similar proportion of women, influenced by a variety of factors, developed their initial interest in politics in their adult years. Thus, as has been frequently found among elected politicians who are predominately male, the origins and timing of women's political careers appear to be multiple and diverse. No one single starting point can be identified. For a small but significant proportion, careers begin within a political family. For a great many others, however, the pathways to candidacy are more complex.

The findings in this chapter in some ways constitute a critique of the 'oversocialized' view of political women. The seeds of political activism are not necessarily implanted in childhood by the family nor is a female political role model essential. Thus, the political behaviour of women is not necessarily determined in the childhood years as some socialization studies suggest.

One-half of these women were initiated to politics as adults, a finding which underlines the ongoing nature of political socialization. The next chapter examines one way in which this adult socialization may occur.

Footnotes

1. For a general discussion of the cultural explanation for the dearth of women in public office see Jeane Kirkpatrick, Political Woman (New York: Free Press, 1974), pp. 13-16.
2. See for example, Fred Greenstein, "Sex-Related Political Differences in Childhood," Journal of Politics, 23 (May 1961), p. 353; Dean Jaros, Specialization to Politics (New York: Praeger, 1973), pp. 44-45; Robert Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1959), pp. 354-355; S.M. Lipset, Political Man (New York: Doubleday, 1960), pp. 204-206.
3. Mariapne Githens and Jewel Prestage, A Portrait of Marginality (New York: David McKay, 1977) p. 4.
4. The terms "gender role" and "sex role" are often used interchangeably. The former is preferred here to the latter for as Vaughter explains, gender roles are defined by culture. Sex roles, from this perspective, are limited to those associated with biological structures and functions. See Reesa Vaughter, "Review Essay: Psychology," Signs, 2 (Autumn 1976), p. 123.
5. Barbara Bovee Polk, "Male Power and the Women's Movement," in Jo Freeman (ed.) Women: A Feminist Perspective (New York: Mayfield Publishing Co.,

1979), p. 591. Margaret Mead also argues that, "standardized personality differences between the sexes are ... cultural creations to which each generation, male, and female is trained to conform."

Margaret Mead, Sex and Temperament (New York: Mentor Books, 1950), p. 19.

6. Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, Towards A Sociology of Women (Lexington, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing, 1972), p. 29; H.L. Rheingold and K.V. Cook, "The Content of Boys' and Girls' Rooms as an Index of Parents' Behavior," Child Development, 46:2 (1975), pp. 459-463; see also Thelma McCormack, "Towards a Nonsexist Perspective on Social and Political Change," in M. Millman and R.M. Kanter (eds.) Another Voice (New York: Anchor, 1975), pp. 1-33. She argues that men and women live essentially in distinct political cultures.
7. For discussion see Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, Women and Social Policy (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 141-155.
8. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 14.
9. Kirsten Amundsen, A New Look at the Silenced Majority (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977), p. 44.
10. Lynne Iglitzin, "The Patriarchal Heritage" in Lynne Iglitzin and Ruth Ross (eds.) Women in the World (Santa Barbara: Clio Books, 1976), pp. 7-24.
11. Ibid., p. 11.

12. Rothschild, Women and Social Policy, op. cit., p. 142.
13. The more notable studies are Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959); Robert Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine, 1967); Fred Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965); David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969); Dean Jaros, op. cit.
14. Jaros, op. cit., pp. 44-45.
15. David Sears, "Political Socialization" in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby (eds.) Handbook of Political Science, vol. 2 (Don Mills, Ont.: Addison-Wesley, 1975), p. 136; Donald Searing, Joel Schwartz and Allen Lind, "The Structuring Principle: Political Socialization and Belief Systems," American Political Science Review, 67 (June 1973), p. 415.
16. Lynne Iglitzin, "The Making of the Apolitical Woman: Femininity and Sex-Stereotyping in Girls," in Jane Jaquette (ed.) Women in Politics (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p. 33.
17. Anthony Orum, Roberta Cohen, Sherri Graemuck and Amy Orum, "Sex, Socialization and Politics," in Githens and Prestage, op. cit., p. 18.
18. Greenstein, "Sex-Related Political Differences in Childhood," op. cit., p. 353.
19. See Orum, et al., op. cit.; Robert Dowse and John

Hughes, "Girls, Boys and Politics," British Journal of Sociology, 22 (March 1971), pp. 53-67; V.S. Heiskanen, "Sex Roles, Social Class and Political Consciousness," Acta Sociologica, 14 (1971), pp. 53-67; Richard Merelman, Political Socialization and Educational Climates: A Study of Two School Districts (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).

20. Orum, et al., op. cit., p. 31.
21. Maureen Fielder, "The Participation of Women in American Politics," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, 1975.
22. Majorie Lansing, "The American Women: Voter and Activist," in Jaquette, op. cit., p. 22.
23. Aisla Thomson, "Women and Canadian Politics: A Critique of the Adam's Rib Approach," unpublished M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1977.
24. Mike Burke, Harold D. Clarke, and Lawrence LeDuc, "Federal and Provincial Political Participation in Canada: Some Methodological and Substantive Considerations," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 15:1 (1978), Table 10, p. 70.
25. Sears, op. cit., p. 95.
26. For example see Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361 (1965), pp. 1-9.

27. Sears, op. cit., p. 95.
28. Dwaine Marvick, "Political Recruitment and Careers," in David Sills (ed.) Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 12 (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968); p. 227.
29. Githens and Prestage, op. cit., p. 5.
30. Kornberg, Smith and Clarke also point out the distinction between the socialization of the "ideal citizen" and that of political activists. While all Canadians are encouraged to vote, the socialization of activists, they argue, is "largely and almost by default" because of "informal agents such as the family, peer and friendship groups." Allan Kornberg, Joel Smith and Harold D. Clarke, Citizen Politicians-Canada (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1979), p. 10.
31. James D. Barber, The Lawmakers (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 219-222.
32. Ibid., p. 221.
33. Ibid., p. 220.
34. Ibid., p. 220; see also Kenneth Prewitt, The Recruitment of Political Leaders (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), p. 55.
35. Amundsen, op. cit., p. 123.
36. Safilios-Rothschild, Women and Social Policy, op. cit., p. 142.
37. Barber, op. cit., p. 223.

38. - Rita May Kelly and Mary Boutilier, The Making of Political Women: A Study of Socialization and Role Conflict (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1978); Irene Diamond, Sex Roles in the Statehouse (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 36.
39. Some studies which emphasize the importance of the political family in the socialization of political elites are Samuel Barnes, Party Democracy: Politics in an Italian Socialist Federation (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967); Samuel Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964); Allan Kornberg, Joel Smith and David Bromley, "Some Differences in the Political Socialization Patterns of Canadian Party Officials: A Preliminary Report," Canadian Journal of Political Science, 2 (March 1969), pp. 64-68; Robert Salisbury, "The Urban Party Organization Member," Public Opinion Quarterly, 29 (Winter 1965-66), pp. 550-64.
40. Melville Currell, Political Woman (London: Croom Helm, 1974), p. 165.
41. Kenneth Prewitt, "Political Socialization and Leadership Selection," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361 (September 1965), p. 105.
42. Czudnowski, op. cit., pp. 187-188.
43. Prewitt, "Political Socialization and Leadership Selection," op. cit., p. 106.

44. Dwaine Marvick and Charles R. Nixon, "Recruitment Contrasts in Rural Campaign Groups," in D. Marvick (ed.) Political Decision-Makers (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 193-217.
45. Kornberg, Smith and Clarke, op. cit., pp. 44-50.
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48. M. Janine Brodie, "The Recruitment of Men and Women Party Activists in Ontario: A Four Variable Model," unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Windsor, 1976; Kornberg, Smith and Clarke, op. cit., pp. 194-195; Eldersveld, op. cit., p. 130.
49. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 35; Eleanor Main and Beth Shapiro, "The Recruitment of State Legislators: A Comparison of Male and Female Life Experiences," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Gatlinburg, Tennessee,

- 1979, p. 8.
50. Anne-Marie Ambert, Sex Structure, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Longman, 1976), p. 70.
 51. Patricia Kyle, "Socialization and Recruitment Patterns of Women in Party Elite in North Carolina," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, 1974.
 52. Ingunn Means, "Political Recruitment of Women in Norway," Western Political Quarterly, 25 (September 1972), pp. 510-11.
 53. Diamond, op. cit., p. 36.
 54. Kelly and Boutilier, op. cit., p. 323.
 55. Ibid.; Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 35; Kornberg, Smith and Clarke, op. cit., p. 19.
 56. Heiskanen, op. cit., p. 83.
 57. Berenice Carrol, "Political Science, Part I: American Politics and Political Behavior," Signs, 5:2 (1972), p. 306.
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 59. Orville Brim Jr. "Adult Socialization," in John A. Clausen (ed.) Socialization and Society (Boston: Little Brown, 1968), pp. 184-193.
 60. Heinz Eulau, William Buchanan, LeRoy Ferguson and John C. Wahlke eds. Legislative Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press,

1959), p. 312.

61. Brodie, op. cit., Table 2:4, p. 79; see also

Eldersveld, op. cit., Table 6:2, p. 127.

62. A. Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior (Toronto: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1967), pp. 50-1.

63. Ibid.

64. Prewitt, The Recruitment of Political Leaders, op. cit., p. 87.

65. William Mishler, Political Participation in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), p. 47.

66. Ibid., Table 3:2, p. 49.

67. It might be expected that age intervenes in the identification of socialization agents. Candidates may be more likely to forget about how they were initiated to politics and rationalize their political interest in terms of public-serving motives such as correcting social injustices if their initiation to politics occurred in the distant past. This expectation was not supported by the data. In fact, it should be emphasized here that none of the items examined in this chapter were related to the candidate's year of birth.

68. For a discussion of exploratory factor analysis see Joe-On Kim and Charles Mueller, Factor Analysis: Statistical Methods and Practical Issues (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1978). The varimax rotation attempts to simplify the columns of the factor matrix. See also

Norman Nie, C. Hadlai Hull, Jean Jenkins, Karin Steinbrenner and Dale Bent, SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1975) pp. 482-486.

69. In addition to rating each of the socialization items as 1) Very Important, 2) Somewhat Important or 3) Not Important At All, the respondent was requested to indicate which was the most important influence stimulating their initial interest in politics.
70. Politically active parents are defined as all those performing partisan acts such as holding public office, political candidacy, party office-holding and working in campaigns. Since contributing financially to the party is a discrete and passive activity, it was not accepted as criteria for a political activism.
71. Kornberg, op. cit., Table 3:5, p. 51.
72. Control procedures show that those born before 1930 were no more or less likely to identify their parents as agent of political initiation. The same is true among those born before and after 1940.

Chapter 4

Political Apprenticeship I: The Voluntary Group

I Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrates that political women are introduced to politics in a variety of ways and at almost any age. Some women appear to have inherited their political inclinations early in their lives within a politically active home but many more did not. How, then, are women drawn into politics when they have not been influenced in their formative years by intimate political role models? Moreover, once initiated to politics, how do future politicians acquire the specialized interests and skills necessary to launch a political career? This chapter examines one possible avenue of adult politicization - the voluntary association. It outlines 1) the history of volunteerism in the backgrounds of this sample of women candidates, 2) the importance that they attribute to group activity in the acquisition of political skills and, 3) the relationship between volunteerism and the level of office contested.

II Volunteerism, Political Participation and Political Apprenticeship

Political scientists often have emphasized the beneficial contribution of voluntary associations to the politics of liberal democracies. The pluralist school, for example,

suggests that these social organizations are a necessary channel through which otherwise isolated individuals are integrated into political society and able to make their preferences known to government.¹ These organizations may expose their membership to political stimuli, cultivate political skills and mobilize political activity.² Thus, voluntary groups also are lauded for enhancing the quality of democratic politics because they allegedly raise the political awareness, competence and participation of appreciable segments of the mass public.³ Moreover, it is suggested that volunteerism helps to place all citizens on a more-or-less equal footing in the process of democratic decision-making. Generally, those with the greatest measure of personal resources, i.e., education, status and income, are best able to compete for and secure from government their preferred policy options. Volunteerism, empirical evidence suggests, engenders political skills even among those initially ill-equipped (whether because of a lack of education, social contacts or income) to influence the actions of government.⁴

Most of the theoretical speculation concerning the relationship between voluntary associations and political behaviour has been limited to mass political participation.⁵ Nevertheless, involvement in voluntary associations also is described as an essential stage in the training and selection of political leadership.⁶ Some students of political recruitment contend that voluntary

Table 4:1 Volunteerism Among Women Candidates by Level of Activity and Group Type.

Level of Activity	Group Type						
	Community Improvement	Union/ Occupational	Institu- tional	Women's Rights	Civil Rights	Women's Social	Religious
National Executive	8.0% (26)	20.5% (67)	8.9% (29)	22.9% (75)	24.8% (81)	22.3% (73)	19.6% (64)
Provincial/ Regional Exec.	11.6% (38)	12.2% (40)	10.7% (35)	8.3% (27)	10.1% (33)	12.2% (40)	15.3% (50)
Local Executive	9.5% (31)	3.7% (12)	4.3% (14)	7.0% (23)	7.6% (25)	1.2% (4)	3.1% (10)
Activist	31.5% (103)	10.4% (34)	37.3% (122)	6.7% (22)	4.3% (14)	15.9% (52)	19.9% (65)
Member	11.3% (37)	4.9% (16)	10.1% (33)	4.6% (15)	2.8% (9)	5.6% (16)	5.8% (19)
Not Involved/ No Answer	28.1% (92)	48.3% (158)	28.7% (94)	50.5% (165)	50.4% (165)	43.4% (142)	36.3% (119)
Total	100% (327)	100% (327)	100% (327)	100% (327)	100% (327)	100% (327)	100% (327)

to serve in elected posts".¹³ More important to the focus of this chapter, however, apprenticeship structures also help those who are eventually selected for public office to develop the political skills and recognition necessary for political recruitment.

Of course, voluntary associations are not the only possible apprenticeship structures in liberal democracies. Future politicians may develop their political skills in the practice of law, in the bureaucracy, in trade unions and most obviously, within political parties. Partisan and voluntary-associational activity are, however, quite distinct forms of apprenticeship. The principal difference between the two is that partisan apprenticeship presupposes a certain level of political interest whereas volunteerism does not. Indeed, as reported in the previous chapter, some 16% of the women candidates studied here indicated groups were the most important agent sparking their initial interest in political matters. In other words, they became interested in politics only after their contact with groups and not before. The opposite would be the more likely pattern for the active partisan.

Regardless of how or when the political candidate is introduced to politics, the concept of political apprenticeship stresses the ongoing nature of political learning, especially during adulthood. The history of a political career does not end with the initial development of an interest in politics.¹⁴ Rather, future candidates

grow progressively more politicized, sometimes after long periods of political dormancy. More important, their political skills and acumen are fine-tuned. In a sense, then, the development of a political career is a continuing learning process which commences with an initiation to politics and continues in a "never-ending sequence of apprenticeship roles".¹⁵ The study of voluntary groups as apprenticeship structures, therefore, provides an avenue for tapping the adult politicization process. Moreover, as discussed below, voluntary group apprenticeship has been considered an especially important factor in the recruitment of political women.

III Women, Volunteerism and Political Apprenticeship

Female volunteerism is very prevalent but, it is perhaps one of the least studied and understood subcultures of advanced industrial, and especially North American societies.¹⁶ Women, particularly those from the middle class, constitute a core, if not the exclusive, membership of many types of voluntary associations ranging from social and religious groups to philanthropic and service organizations to community and school associations. There are a number of possible explanations for this pattern of social interaction. One superficial notion is that many women, as homemakers and not fully employed in the workforce, have more time to devote to associational activities. Similarly, these women may have a greater need

for the social contacts that voluntary groups provide. Others contend that women become active volunteers to gain status outside the home. Another view is that volunteerism is an extension of the prescriptions of gender role socialization which encourages women to devote their energies to supportive and unpaid tasks.¹⁷

Whatever the reason for women's activity in voluntary associations, it is not immediately obvious how volunteerism serves as a political apprenticeship for women. In fact, as Kirkpatrick suggests, one could just as easily suspect the opposite.¹⁸

Traditional roles permit, even encourage, women to focus attention on people, on duty, service and the "higher" aspects of life ... but traditional roles also orient women's attentions to churches, schools, community service - institutions other than politics.

The usual argument, however, is that volunteerism is crucial for female political aspirants because it can be a "functional analogue to occupational success".¹⁹ As we know, the virtual absence of women in public office is frequently attributed to the fact that women have less prestigious occupations and lower levels of education than men. Fewer women than men achieve public office, the argument goes, simply because fewer women are able to match the credentials of elected males, particularly their occupational expertise. Some analysts suggest, however, that volunteerism serves as a type of political apprenticeship for women because it enables them to develop

political skills that they would otherwise be unable to acquire.²⁰ Thus, not uncommonly, something similar to the following explanation is encountered.²¹

Voluntary community service and voluntary political work alike provide women, without specialized professional or educational training for a legislative career, an opportunity to acquire experience, skills and reputation that qualify them for political office.

A number of studies have documented extensive associational ties in the backgrounds of elected women, often much more extensive than those of their male counterparts.²² These findings seem to support the contention that many women follow the volunteer route to public office. Too frequently, however, this conclusion is simply based on counts of the number and types of memberships possessed by elected women. Few studies inquire into whether women politicians actually attribute their political learning to voluntary group activity.

The general argument that volunteerism serves as a political apprenticeship for women, however, requires three refinements. First, as is clearly evident from the above passage, the volunteerism argument often rests on the blanket assumption that all women are homemakers or, at least, lack any relevant occupational skills. Clearly, this assumption is unwarranted. Many of the women in this sample, as illustrated in Chapter 2, have extensive educational and occupational resources. Thus, we should expect to find that voluntary groups are attributed greater

importance as apprenticeship structures by women lacking educational or occupational resources and among those isolated from the political world while performing the roles of homemaker and mother.

The kinds of groups to which women belong is an equally important consideration in the study of the political consequences of women's volunteerism. It is generally taken for granted that all groups politicize even though, clearly, some groups are much more involved in politics than others. Should it be assumed that women's social groups, for example, provide as effective a politicizing environment for women as community action groups? On the face of it, it seems unlikely. Moreover, can we ignore that voluntary groups, like most other forms of social organization, are stratified on the basis of gender?

Groups in the closest proximity to politics, and thus, most likely to directly politicize their membership, have been termed "instrumental groups".²³ Research indicates, however, that men rather than women are mostly likely to belong to these types of voluntary organizations. Women more commonly join "expressive groups" which tend to be socially-oriented and may have only peripheral, if any, contact with political affairs.²⁴ Each group type is characterized by quite distinct organizational goals and politicizing potential. Thus, it is expected that women candidates will have a history of instrumental group membership and that instrumental group members are most

likely to attribute their political learning to voluntary activity.

A third factor frequently overlooked in studies of the effects of volunteerism among political elites is the distinction between voluntary group membership and leadership. Not all volunteers are likely to develop their political skills through voluntary activity or, at least, in equal measure. Group leaders rather than the rank-and-file, most frequently practice the politically useful skills of negotiation, oratory and organization. Again, however, American research indicates that male volunteers are more likely than females to gain this experience.²⁵ Gender is a major variable identifying who holds leadership positions in most organizations.²⁶ Although leadership of instrumental groups might be expected to have the greatest influence in nurturing political skills, women are less likely than men to secure these positions. The major question to be explored here, then, is whether women candidates differ from non-elite women in terms of the positions they have held within voluntary groups, especially instrumental groups.

To this point, our discussion of voluntary organizations as apprenticeship structures has focused on political learning. It has been hypothesized that women lacking other means of developing their political skills (e.g., education and occupation), that members of instrumental groups and that group leaders are more likely to attribute their politicization to voluntary groups than to other

politicizing agents. Another important consideration about the role of apprenticeship structures in the recruitment process, however, is the notion of channelling. As already noted, there are a number of potential political apprenticeship structures for would-be politicians. Nevertheless, any given apprenticeship structure generally has a closer relationship with some political offices than others. Apprenticeship structures are, at once, training grounds and informal social networks with specific interests and foci of activity. They, therefore, tend to channel the energies and ambitions of their membership toward specific political offices.²⁷ Generally, as Czudnowski summarizes, the specific apprenticeship structure underlying a political office tends to vary considerably across political contexts.²⁸

...whether political apprenticeship positions are located in a party or in a civic, ethnic, or economic organization is a matter of structural differences between systems.

In Canada, the obvious apprenticeship structure underlying legislative office is the political party. Study after study of Canadian legislators indicate that most legislators served an apprenticeship within a political party prior to their election.²⁹ It is less apparent which apprenticeship positions, if any, train and channel individuals into the largely nonpartisan realm of Canadian municipal politics. Several studies of American local politicians suggest that nonpartisan office-holding is

generally preceded by extensive political apprenticeship within voluntary organizations.³⁰ Little research examines this relationship in Canada but given the virtual absence of political parties at the municipal level of Canadian government, candidates for municipal office also might be expected to emerge from the ranks of community volunteers.³¹ Canadian municipal politics is, by and large, nonpartisan and some voluntary groups frequently attempt to influence decisions within the local jurisdiction. Community improvement groups, hospital boards and parent-teacher associations are only a few examples of the types of groups which are likely to interact in some way with municipal government and thus, to serve as potential apprenticeship structures for municipal politicians. In summary, then, the concept of political apprenticeship suggests that there are distinctive routes to municipal and legislative office. Whether these political career patterns are common among female candidates is the final focus of this chapter. We begin, however, with an enumeration of the associational ties in the backgrounds of candidates.

IV Findings

It has been observed that "politicians must be great joiners" and the evidence gleaned from the candidates' reports of their group activity appears to fully endorse this view. (See Table 4:1) A large proportion of the candidates indicated that they were active within

instrumental groups before their first candidacy. Over 70% were associated with community improvement and institutional groups such as parent-teacher associations. Nevertheless, instrumental group activity appears to have a more local than a national focus. One-half of the sample was associated with instrumental groups with an extra-local focus such as women's and civil rights groups. Thus, the pattern of volunteerism among political women appears to differ from that of women in the general public who are reported to be more likely to associate with expressive than instrumental groups.³³ The distinction, however, is not perfect since extensive expressive group activity also characterizes the candidates. Two-thirds reported involvement in religious groups while 60% participated in a women's social club. In summary, we must conclude that women candidates are prodigious joiners of both instrumental and expressive groups.

Table 4:1 Here

Perhaps what is more striking about the candidates' reports of their voluntary activity is the incidence of group leadership. Over one-quarter of the women reported that they were on the executive of a community improvement or institutional group. Moreover, one-third of the candidates were on the national or regional executives of a union or occupational group, a women's or civil rights

group, or a women's social or religious group. Thus, from all indications, these women are great joiners but more importantly, prestigious joiners who frequently serve as national and provincial leaders of both instrumental and expressive groups.

The rate of volunteerism among these women candidates is much higher than would be expected in the mass public, male or female. For example, the 1965 election study shows that some 24% of the Canadian public surveyed were members of trade unions, 17% belonged to a professional group and 21% were members of other types of voluntary associations. Another study of mass participation rates in Winnipeg and Vancouver indicates that only 21% of all those sampled had held any office - local, regional or national - in any type of voluntary association.³⁴ Group leadership appears to be an important factor discriminating between women candidates and the general public.

Those studying volunteerism from an elite socialization perspective frequently argue that group activities stimulate political interest among women and nurture their political skills. As already observed in the previous chapter, some 16% of the sample indicated that groups were the most important factor initiating their interest in politics. But what of political learning? The questionnaire provided an opportunity for the candidates to indicate which of the thirteen initiating items discussed in Chapter 3 taught them "the most" about politics. The relationship between agents

of political initiation and political learning is displayed in Table 4:2.

Table 4:2 Here

Chapter 3 revealed four separate paths through which political women are initiated to politics - parents, peers, groups and self-initiation. The factors responsible for introducing women to politics, however, are not always identified as the most important source of their political learning. (see Table 4:2) In fact, there is considerable diversity among agents of political interest and learning. Those initiated by their parents, for example, identify peers and groups as the most important influence on their political learning. Groups are also particularly important in the political instruction of those self-initiated to politics. Overall, groups were identified as the most important agent of political learning by more women (one-third of the sample) than any other source. This finding supports the assertion that apprenticeship within voluntary groups plays a crucial role in the development of political skills of many female politicians, regardless of how they are initiated to politics. Indeed, one of the respondents indicated that the group was "the only place to get political training".

According to the argument presented earlier, apprenticeship within voluntary groups should be especially

Table 4:2 Relationship Between Agents of Political Initiation and Agents of Political Learning

	Parents	Initiator Peers	Groups	Self	Row Total
<u>Teacher</u>					
Parents	29.4% (15)	3.4% (2)	4.3% (2)	6.1% (8)	(27)
Peers	25.5 (13)	40.7 (24)	8.5 (4)	16.9 (22)	(63)
Groups	25.5 (13)	23.7 (14)	70.2 (33)	38.5 (50)	(110)
Self	19.6 (10)	32.2 (19)	17.0 (8)	38.5 (50)	(87)
Column Total*	100% (51)	100% (59)	100% (47)	100% (130)	

* missing data removed Cramer's V=.28 p.<.05

Table 4:3 Relationship Between Group Initiation and Learning and Candidates' Background Characteristics

(Yule's Q)

	Group as Most Important Initiator	Teacher
<u>Background</u>		
Children/not	.40*	.12
Child under 10 years/not	-.20	.04
Homemaker/not	.23*	.04
University/not	.00	.03
Active in party/not	-.44*	-.35*
Party experience (5 yrs.+)/not	-.29*	-.27*

* p.<.05

important for women lacking other sources of political training. Women with lower levels of education or lacking outlets for social and political interaction should benefit the most from the politicizing atmosphere of voluntary associations. In addition, it might be hypothesized that women who are not active partisans and therefore, unable to develop their political skills within political party organizations also attribute their political learning to volunteerism. The data, however, only partially support these expectations. (See Table 4:3) First, the group was selected as the most important agent of political initiation by women with children, (but not necessarily women with young children), homemakers and especially those not associated with a political party. Nevertheless, those with a university education were no more likely than those with less education to select voluntary groups as the most important factor introducing them to politics. The voluntary association, therefore, appears to be especially important for drawing into politics those isolated in the home and those without a partisan background. As it will be recalled from the previous chapter, nonpartisans also were least likely to have been raised within a politically active home environment.

Table 4:3 Here

The data distinguish less clearly the candidates most likely to select the group as the most important agent of their political learning. (See Table 4:3) Indeed, political party involvement appears to be the only factor discriminating between those who are likely to identify the group as the most important source of their political learning and those who do not. The negative relationships indicate that only those not active in a political party or without at least five years of partisan involvement select the group as the most important political apprenticeship structure contributing to the development of their political skills. These findings are particularly noteworthy because they lend evidence to the notion that there are two distinct channels for women to build their political credentials - the voluntary group and the political party.

In their written comments, many of the women candidates attributed their political activity to voluntary activity. For one women, volunteerism provided a path to office after her family responsibilities had subsided.

My husband died in June, 1973 and because I had been involved in volunteer activities in relation to supportive services to seniors for a number of years and had learned a considerable amount of information re funding and other government involvement, I felt I could be more effective as an elected official, as well as being able to

contribute my experience to the community. I had some income from my husband's estate and my son and daughter were 25 and 18.

Another candidate for municipal office indicated that volunteerism should be a requisite activity for all candidates for public office.

I believe strongly that one should be involved in community voluntary work prior to seeking office and the more varied the better! I fail to see how one can understand "the grassroots" if one has not been knowledgeable about social agencies.

Finally, another candidate emphasized the importance of instrumental groups as political apprenticeship structures for women.

I know several women elected representatives in Ontario and social action groups have been the initial springboard for each one - their initial training ground. I refer to YWCA - Elizabeth Fry Society - Assoc. for Mentally Retarded - B. & P. - Local Councils of Women, etc.

It has been hypothesized that all types of groups are not equally influential as agents of political education and, moreover, that group membership and leadership yield different dividends. The types of group members and leaders who are most likely to select the group as the most important source of their political education are shown in Table 4:4. It appears that membership alone, (except perhaps in institutional groups such as parent-teacher associations) has little relationship with the selection of the group as a political educator. In contrast, leaders of almost every group type stress the importance of the group in their political careers. Unexpectedly, both expressive

and instrumental group leadership are attributed some importance.³⁵ Leadership in community improvement groups is most strongly related to group-sponsored political learning but leaders of expressive groups such as women's social and religious groups also emphasized the crucial role of volunteerism in their political learning. As expected, then, leadership rather than membership alone appears to be the key source of politicization for women volunteers but the type of group is of less importance.

Table 4:4 Here

In addition to political learning, political apprenticeship structures such as voluntary groups also may channel political careers toward one level of office or another. In Chapter 3, it was reported that those with politically active parents more frequently launch a legislative career than those without politically active parents. Those initiated and educated by groups overwhelmingly gravitate toward municipal candidacy. (See Table 4:5) Among those initiated to politics by groups, fully 84% contested their first candidacy at the municipal level. A smaller percentage, but still 70% of those educated politically by groups sought office for the first time as municipal candidates. In an electoral system such as the Canadian, where political parties usually abstain formally from municipal contests, those drawn into politics

Table 4:4 Relationship Between Group as Most Important Teacher and Type of Group Membership and Leadership

(Yule's Q)

	Member/not	Leader/not
<u>Group Type</u>		
Community Improvement	.16	.53
Union/Occupational	-.19	.21
Institutional	.31*	.28*
Women's Rights	.05	.15
Civil Rights	.03	.06
Women's Social	.04	.40*
Religious	.06	.32*

* p.<.05

Table 4:5. Relationship Between Level of Candidacy and Group as Most Important Agent of Political Initiation and Learning

	Agent of Initiation		Agent of Learning	
	Group	Other	Group	Other
<u>Level of Candidacy</u>				
Municipal	83.7% (41)	53.2% (132)	70.3% (78)	52.9% (99)
Legislative	16.3 (8)	46.8 (116)	29.7 (33)	47.1 (88)
Total*	100% (49)	100% (248)	100% (111)	100% (187)

* missing data removed

Yule's Q=.64 p.<.05 Yule's Q=.36 p.<.05

through group activity tend to direct their political aspirations toward local nonpartisan government.

Table 4:5 Here

Again, these statistical findings were supported by many of the written comments of the respondents. One municipal politician pointed out that there is a certain compatability between volunteerism and municipal candidacy.

I have retained my involvement in a number of volunteer organizations and find that these activities complement my municipal activity and visa versa.

For another, a specific type of group activity led her to municipal candidacy.

I have been very active in housing for the aged and low income families since 1946. Later in providing educational and residential accommodation for the Mentally Retarded. It was only when more action was required by a lethargic municipal government that I became politically interested as a candidate.... It was only when "pressure" failed that I decided to enter politics.

For another municipal candidate, volunteerism remains her preferred activity.

I ran as an individual concerned with problems in local government. Thankfully I was not elected; I say this because as President of the Association of Women Electors of, we observe all Council and committee, boards, meetings, reporting and printing a regular newsletter, I find my input much greater than had I been elected and handicapped as many are.

Finally, do all types of group activity channel women toward municipal candidacy? The data support our expectation that only certain types of group activity are associated with municipal candidacy. In fact, only community improvement group leaders appear especially likely to seek municipal office. Although not statistically significant, members and leaders of institutional (e.g., school, hospital, etc.) and religious groups also appear to favour municipal candidacy. Union, occupational and rights groups members and leaders, however, more frequently contest legislative office while women's social group activity is unrelated to the eventual course of a political career. Thus, community improvement groups appear to be the principal apprenticeship structure for women contesting municipal office.

Table 4:6 Here

V Conclusion

This chapter suggests that voluntary groups do indeed play an important role as political apprenticeship structures for women, particularly for those seeking municipal office. The women candidates in this sample were found to be great joiners and leaders of a variety of groups and they often attributed their political learning to this type of activity. Certain types of volunteerism, however,

Table 4:6 Relationship Between Municipal Candidacy and
Membership and Leadership by Group Type
(Yule's Q)

<u>Group Type</u>	Municipal Candidacy of	
	Member/not	Leader/not
Community Improvement	.16	.21*
Union/ Occupational	-.40*	-.32*
Institutional	.15	.17
Women's Rights	-.28*	-.27*
Civil Rights	-.09	-.13
Women's Social	-.08	.09
Religious	.17	.15
* p.<.05		

appear to more effectively cultivate a pool of women aspirants for municipal office than do others. Leaders of groups with a local focus most often direct their political aspirations to municipal government.

This chapter suggests that there are distinct apprenticeship patterns for municipal and legislative office among women candidates, patterns which largely are defined by the presence or absence of apprenticeship within political party organizations. Group activity instructs the political careers of many women politicians but group-induced political learning was most important for women without political party experience. Moreover, those politicized by groups disproportionately pursue election at the municipal level of government.

Both voluntary groups and political parties nurture the political skills of their membership, but in many ways the similarities end here. Political parties tend to be more complex organizations than voluntary groups because their stake in politics is higher. In contrast to the voluntary group, which may or may not be directly involved in politics, one of the principal activities of the political party is to ensure the election of their candidates to legislative office. As organizations geared to manipulate the electoral process, they provide a diversity of apprenticeship positions which can be ranked in terms of influence, prestige and apprenticeship for legislative candidacy. The next chapter provides a more detailed

examination of the types of apprenticeships served by women candidates within political party organizations.

Footnotes

1. See for example, William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 39-43, 74-101; Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little Brown, 1963), Chapter 11.
2. Sidney Verba, Norman Nie and Jae-on Kim, Participation and Political Equality (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 81.
3. See for example, Almond and Verba, op. cit., pp. 252-265; N. Nie, G.B. Powell and K. Prewitt, "Social Structure and Political Participation: Developmental Relationships, I," American Journal of Political Science, 63 (June 1969), pp. 361-378; N. Nie, G.B. Powell and K. Prewitt, "Social Structure and Political Participation: Developmental Relationships, II," American Journal of Political Science, 63 (September 1969), pp. 803-832; Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston, Little Brown, 1969), pp. 198-199; Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 17-19; Robert Lane, Political Life (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), pp. 191-193; S. Verba and N. Nie, Participation in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 180-186.

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34. Mishler, op. cit., Table 3:2, p. 49.
35. It is difficult to assess the independent impact of each group-type because most of the candidates reported multiple group memberships. Tabular control procedures were employed to investigate this problem but proved unsatisfactory because the number of cases in many cells were insufficient for reliable measures of association. Nevertheless, some types of group membership are associated with one another. For example, community improvement group membership is associated with institutional, women's social and religious group membership while union/occupational and women's or civil group membership provide an opposite pattern. A rotated equimax factor analysis confirmed these two dimensions of voluntary group membership.

The factor matrix is presented below.

Group Type	Factor 1	Factor 2
Community improvement	<u>.47</u>	.19
Union/Occupational	.06	<u>.44</u>
Institutional	<u>.53</u>	.06
Women's rights	.15	<u>.73</u>
Civil rights	.01	<u>.60</u>
Women's social	<u>.59</u>	.02
Religious	<u>.70</u>	.03
% Variance explained	31.4%	21.9%

Chapter 5

Political Apprenticeship II: The Political Party

I Introduction

This chapter is a continuation of the previous one, although it is concerned with slightly different issues and provides a more detailed analysis of pre-candidacy political career patterns. Its focus is the political apprenticeship experiences of female candidates within Canadian political party organizations. Chapter 4 traces the influence of volunteerism on the political careers of female candidates for municipal and legislative office. Voluntary groups, however, are neither the exclusive nor perhaps the most obvious political apprenticeship structures shaping recruitment process. Our findings suggest two distinct types of apprenticeship structures in the backgrounds of these candidates - voluntary groups and political parties. Moreover, volunteerism appears to be an important apprenticeship experience only for those lacking a significant association with a political party. Political parties, then, are an alternative channel for developing and directing the political skills and aspirations of female candidates.

Political communities, as Prewitt observes, have relatively institutionalized, although not necessarily legally prescribed, processes determining who is likely to

become a political leader. Not all routes will take one to a specific political office.¹ In largely nonpartisan systems such as Canadian municipal government, voluntary groups may serve as training grounds for and channels to municipal office. In parliamentary systems, however, analysts assume that political party organizations are a necessary channel to legislative office. Except for the occasional high-profile candidate who is co-opted by the party hierarchy, most candidates for legislative office serve some sort of apprenticeship within a political party organization.

Data obtained from Canadian provincial and federal legislators testify to the importance of partisan apprenticeship as a prerequisite for legislative recruitment. Almost all backbench MLA's surveyed in 1972 were experienced party workers (88%) and over 50% had held party office before securing their party's nomination for legislative office.² Federally, the same syndrome is apparent. In a study of the 25th Parliament, for example, Kornberg reported that the majority of MPs surveyed held party office prior to their election to public office.³ Similar backgrounds also were reported in a study of backbench MPs conducted in 1974.⁴ In sum, these findings suggest that the integration of women into Canadian legislatures is in no small way dependent upon their apprenticeship experiences within political party organizations.

It is obvious, even to the most casual observer of politics, that women are an integral component of party organizations.⁵ It is equally apparent, however, that far fewer female than male partisans move up through the party ranks to capture the types of positions which act as springboards to legislative office. A few female party activists hold party offices, even fewer reach the provincial or federal executives of their party organizations. The preponderant majority of female party activists, however, perform the routine "housekeeping" chores of party organization. Women, especially at election time, readily are found licking stamps, minding campaign offices, waitressing fund-raisers and marching door-to-door with campaign literature. Meanwhile, the strategic roles of party leader, campaign organizer and political candidate are disproportionately assumed by male party activists. While differing in so many other ways, most party organizations in advanced industrial societies share one simple characteristic: only a very small proportion of female party activists gain positions of influence and authority within them.

Not surprisingly, the apparent lack of upward mobility among female partisans is often used as an explanation for the dearth of women in legislative office. Moreover, it is sometimes argued that this immobility is a reflection of differences in the personal resources, experiences and motivations of female and male party activists.⁶ Of course,

it cannot be determined here whether these factors discriminate between those who reach the upper echelons of the party and those whose political experiences are limited solely to the mundane chores of partisan organization. The women studied here, as candidates for public office, have already entered the ranks of the "chosen few". As such, however, their experiences should lend perspective to the partisan apprenticeship patterns associated with legislative recruitment, as well as, the promotion of women within political party organizations more generally. We begin this analysis of partisan apprenticeship with a brief overview of the status of women within Canadian political party organizations.

II Female Partisans: The Perennial Menials

Women have long served as the personnel of party politics, comprising a substantial proportion of the workers although rarely the leadership of most political party organizations. Studies of selected Canadian constituencies disagree somewhat about the actual proportion of women in local party organizations. Scarrow, for example, observed that almost all Liberal and Conservative poll captains in his anonymous "Urban Riding" were women, while Kornberg et al. reported that less than 19% of a sample of party activists in Vancouver and Winnipeg were women.⁷

Whatever the exact ratio of women to men in Canadian party organizations, there seems to be little disagreement

about the distribution of power between them. Study after study demonstrates that women less often control positions of official party leadership or are identified as reputational elites within the party.⁸ In Canada as elsewhere, women appear to the perennial menials of party organizations.⁹

The literature concerning women in party organizations is sketchy and usually presented in the form of comparisons between male and female party activists. The rationale for employing this comparative method seems apparent enough. Patterns of political promotion and consequently, the distribution of power within political party organizations display a decidedly male bias. Cross-gender comparison studies, therefore, attempt to isolate the characteristics (other than gender alone) of men and not shared by women, reasoning that these factors account for the unequal allocation of power and position between male and female partisans.

One such study of Ontario Liberal and Progressive Conservative leadership convention delegates, for example, reports only minimal differences in the backgrounds, political socialization and attitudes of male and female party activists. As in Canadian society as a whole, female convention delegates were less likely to be gainfully employed outside the home and exhibited slightly lower levels of income and education than their male counterparts. In comparison with the general population, however, both

male and female party activists had privileged social backgrounds. Female party activists were also slightly more likely than males to indicate that they had been exposed to politics at an early age by politically active parents and to indicate that they joined the party for partisan reasons.¹⁰ Overall, however, most men and women had similar backgrounds, motivations for engaging in party work, and attitudes toward partisan politics. Convention delegates may not be entirely representative of the core of the party organization. Nevertheless, the few gender differences which were uncovered certainly could not account for the apparent inability of most female party activists to move up through the party ranks to party office or political candidacy.

Another study comparing male and female party activists focuses on all party officials holding positions above the level of poll captain in Winnipeg and Vancouver. Kornberg et al. found that women had a lower social status than men, but both gender groups clearly were part of the middle class. Moreover, these western party women were more likely to have been raised in politicized childhood environments than either male party activists or their neighbours who were not involved in party work. Again, females more frequently reported joining the party for partisan reasons while men more often cited personal, career-related motivations for their active partisanship.¹¹

Both the Ontario and Winnipeg-Vancouver studies found

few statistically significant gender differences in the backgrounds and attitudes of party activists. Nevertheless, Körnberg et al. found substantial differences in the tasks that male and female party activists performed and in the influence ascribed to them within the party organization. They found that women spent more time between elections on party work, performed less prestigious tasks and were ascribed less influence in the party organization by fellow party members than their male co-workers. Most of the women were thus termed party "stalwarts" because they occupied the bottom and middle ranks of the party organization while the "elites", those holding the most prestigious party positions, were disproportionately male. The actual ratio of stalwarts to elites, itself a good measure of gender inequality in local parties, was 3:1 for men and 14:1 for women.¹² Gender differences in power and influence, therefore, appear to an important part of the internal dynamic of Canadian party organizations.

The few studies which have attempted to explain women's inability to move up the party ladder at the same rate as their male counterparts generally have employed cross-gender comparisons of selected characteristics associated with political promotion. The unequal allocation of power and position between the genders has been attributed to three factors in particular. These are 1) resource deprivation 2) motivations for engaging in party work and 3) a gender-based division of labour within the political party organizations.

The following section discusses these themes and introduces our expectations about partisan apprentice patterns among female candidates.

III Patterns of Partisan Promotion

i) Resource Deprivation

Resource deprivation is probably the most popular explanation for women's inability to gain positions within partisan organizations and political power more generally. A variant of stratification analysis, the resource-deprivation argument is well summarized by Putnam's "law of increasing disproportion". Put simply, the law states that socio-economic status and political promotion are so closely related that the status of a party apprentice increases concomitantly with each step up the party ladder.¹³ Thus, according to this perspective, women are not promoted at rates comparable to men because most do not have the resources to compete effectively for leadership positions.

Stratification studies rarely spell out explicitly why socio-economic status should be so strongly related to the acquisition of political power. Most avoid drawing conclusions about the class biases inherent in liberal democratic recruitment. Rather, socio-economic resources are generally treated as indicators of preparation for

public life. Education and certain professional experiences are said to better equip individuals with the capacity to cope with complicated political issues, to speak in public, to organize and negotiate - in short, to be effective political leaders.¹⁴

Studies demonstrate time and again that female activists, like women in the general population, have lower levels of education and less prestigious occupations than their male counterparts. Of course, gender differences in the status of party activists are usually only a matter of degree. For example, fewer female than male party activists hold professional or graduate degrees but the majority of women have more abundant personal resources than both men and women in the general public.¹⁵ Nevertheless, variations among party activists are said to put women,¹⁶

... at a disadvantage in the political world ...
[they] cannot compete for leadership with men
because of poorer educational background, lack of
experience, and lower total economic levels.

The resource-deprivation argument suggests that political parties promote certain activists to influential positions according to the finest traditions of the "equal opportunity" employer. Women consistently perform the menial tasks within political party organizations, not because of any deeply rooted biases against women in leadership positions, but simply because few are "qualified" to do otherwise. The corollary of this argument presumably

is, then, that if a woman has the appropriate credentials, she too will advance through the party ranks. Clearly, if personal resources rather than gender alone are keys to political promotion, they should predict patterns of partisan promotion among women. The question of whether occupational and educational resources enhance the position of women within party organizations, therefore, will be tested below.

In a roundabout way, the resource-deprivation argument also has provided a handy rationalization for why female party activists spend more time on party work than their male colleagues. Cross-gender comparisons have shown repeatedly that female rather than male party activists devote the most time to party work. Taken together with slight status differences between the genders, some authors have interpreted this devotion to mean that women can compensate for their "personal deficiencies" and gain the experience necessary for partisan promotion by working harder for the party than the more "qualified" men do. Both Means and Dubéck have interpreted the higher incidence of party service among female party activists in this way. Means, for example, writes that party apprenticeship for women,¹⁷

... may compensate for lack of more formal availability criteria such as education and occupation.

Dubeck stresses the necessity of party service especially

for the political promotion of women with few personal resources.¹⁸

... men, as a rule, are judged on promise, or their potential for success, while this may be true only for women who have attained a higher level of education; otherwise, women are judged on more proven criteria.

The resource-deprivation argument, therefore, suggests that two sets of credentials govern the promotion of women within party organizations - social status and party service. Among this sample of candidates, then, we should expect to find that women with educational and occupational resources are promoted with greater frequency than those lacking them. Presumably like their male counterparts, women with personal resources should also devote less time to party work. For those lacking educational and occupational resources, mobility within the party should be more limited and the time devoted to party work more generous. These hypotheses will be examined below.

ii) Motivations for Partisan Activity

Similar to the resource-deprivation argument, the motivational approach to political promotion among women both relies on cross-gender comparisons and tends to "blame the victims" themselves for their status within political party organizations. Gender-based comparisons of the motivations of party activists attempt to demonstrate that women do not achieve prestigious apprenticeship positions

within the party, or, for that matter, become the party's candidate, because (for unspecified reasons) they are not motivated to do so. Women do not move up the party ladder, the argument goes, because they are usually motivated by an abiding devotion to the party which underlies their apparent willingness to perform "housekeeping" tasks within the party. Men, in contrast, are more often motivated by desire for personal advancement, and this observation seems to justify their superior status within party organizations.

Any review of the literature concerning the motivations of political party activists admittedly risks opening the proverbial "can of worms". First, it raises the seemingly unresolvable question of whether survey techniques can realistically hope to touch upon the full complexity of human motivation.¹⁹ Can motivational studies reveal why people really become active in partisan politics, if indeed they know themselves, or do they simply measure socially acceptable rationalizations for party work? A second problem with studies of partisan motivations is the time component. Party activists are often expected to recall why they initially became involved in a party organization when the decision occurred in the very distant past. It is quite likely, in fact, that survey questions measure the activists' motives for remaining within the party rather than their initial motivations for becoming involved. Finally, and perhaps most serious is the tendency of motivational analysis to reduce the totality of politics to

a matter^{of} personality. Seligman's observation about the use of personality factors in the study of political recruitment often typifies the study of political motivations.²⁰

When interrelating political contexts with personality factors, there ~~is~~ an omnipresent danger in using personality factors alone to explain the recruitment process.

Unfortunately, cross-gender comparative studies of political motivations generally have not been sensitive to these problems. In fairness, few of these studies claim to reveal the inner-most motivations of party activists in the way that a psychoanalytic study might. Generally, the studies have employed a check-list of incentives for becoming involved in party work.²¹ Most studies agree that there are "some" differences in the reasons that men and women cite for becoming active partisans.

In his pioneering study of amateur Democrats in California, James Q. Wilson revealed gender differences in the initiating motives of party activists. He found women more likely to become active partisans for reasons of ideology and policy while their male co-workers were more concerned with career advancement.²² Although employing slightly different measures, Costantini and Craik found that female party workers in California were motivated by a sense of civic duty and partisanship while men displayed stronger power orientations.²³ Similarly, in an analysis of American convention delegates, Farah and Sapiro noted that Republican

men were more power oriented than women.²⁴ Stronger power motivations among male than female party activists have also been reported in the United States by Kirkpatrick and Kyle and in Canada by Brodie, Clarke et al. and Kornberg et al.²⁵

Overall, the motivational literature arrives at a certain concensus about the incentives which men and women cite for their party work.. Male party activists are more likely to indicate that they became active for reasons of personal advancement while women more often cite seemingly selfless motivations such as party loyalty or civic duty. The conclusion drawn from these data, then, is that women do not move through the party ranks at rates similar to their male co-workers or to similarly prestigious positions because they are not motivated to do so. For these studies, the fact that more male than female party activists become candidates for public office is accounted for by the larger pool of male power-seekers within party organizations. Moreover, this finding is sometimes taken to mean that there are gender-specific orientations toward party work. Consider, for example, the conclusion that Constantini and Craik draw from their analysis of California party activists.²⁶

Politics for the male leader is evidently more likely to be a vehicle for personal enhancement and career advancement. But for the woman leader it is more likely to be a "labor of love", one where a concern for the party, its candidates, and its programs assumes relatively greater importance. The female party leader, like the wife, tends to

specialize in expressive functions or those concerned with "the internal" affairs of the system ... In general, she is relegated to, or relegates herself to, a supportive role of more or less selfless service to her family or party, while the male partner or copartyist pursues a career in the outside world:

Studies comparing the motives of male and female party activists essentially argue that power or career-related motivations are somehow necessary for political advancement, especially to candidate status. If this is so, we should expect to find a high incidence of this type of motivation among candidates for public office. Nevertheless, there are two fundamental problems with the motivational explanation for political promotion which warn against pursuing this hypothesis.

Perhaps, the most troubling aspect of cross-gender motivational studies is the question of numbers: how much of a gender difference makes a difference in patterns of partisan promotion? We are often left with the impression that gender differences in initiating motives are absolute when they are simply a matter of degree. For example, Costantini and Craik appear to be so confident about their findings that they propose gender-specific orientations toward party activism - orientations which bear a striking resemblance to the prescriptions of gender-role socialization. Nevertheless, for the initiating item, "A search for power and influence," the mean score for men was 1.9 and 1.3 for women.²⁷ Similarly, in the Kornberg et al. study the gender differences reported are not

absolute.²⁸ In fact, all of the studies cited here report that few male party activists specify career-related initiating motives and that there are only minimal gender differences on these items.²⁹ Clearly, then, both of these findings taken together are hardly sufficient to support the argument that women's immobility within party organizations can be reduced to motivation alone.

The second major problem with this type of analysis is the assumption, and it is only an assumption, that power-related motivations are necessary for political promotion. Most party organizations are not so porous that individuals can simply "will" their way to the top. Neither can we assume that all of those who achieve positions of authority are initially motivated by a desire for self-advancement. Indeed, if data derived from elected officials are any indication, there is little evidence to suggest that power motivations are necessary for political promotion.³⁰ Thus, even though many of the women in this study achieved the status of legislative candidate, it is unlikely that all were initially drawn into the party to launch a career in politics. As among politicians more generally, we should expect to find considerable diversity in the incentives that these candidates cite for their active partisanship. Motivational pluralism should be the norm rather than an overwhelming drive for personal advancement.

iii) The Sexual Division of Labour

Both the resource-deprivation and motivational explanations for the status of women within party organizations stress that the confinement of women to supportive and routine party tasks can be attributed to the personal characteristics of female party activists themselves. Compared to their male co-workers, they do not appear to "measure up" for political promotion. In contrast, the sexual division of labour explanation for women's immobility within political party organizations concentrates on structural impediments to women's political promotion. The sexual division of labour, it is argued, is reproduced in all types of social organizations, including political parties. In consequence, women's status in the party has to do less with the credentials of individual female party activists than with broader cultural norms and practices which effectively keep women out of leadership roles.

The operation of structural prohibitions against women in leadership positions is difficult to demonstrate empirically. Moreover, they are not analytically distinct from experiential or motivational factors. The sexual division of labour within the home, for example, underlies the observation that fewer female than male party activists have recognized occupational expertise. Moreover, the finding that fewer women than men engage in party work for career-related reasons may be attributed to gender-role

socialization which prescribes that politics is a masculine pursuit. Nevertheless, empirical observations indicate that the actual allocation of party tasks among men and women reflects gender-role prescriptions. Women are generally assigned the party's housekeeping chores while men assume the more strategic roles of party organization. In fact, many aspects of life within the political party are gender-related in that men and women are differently employed.³¹

The implications of the sexual division of labour within party organizations for women's partisan promotion are two-fold. First, it suggests that women are preordained, on the basis of gender alone, to perform the menial tasks of party organization and thus, do not gain experience in the types of party positions which are most likely to act as springboards to legislative office. Second, this explanation suggests that women will be assigned menial roles regardless of their personal qualifications. Gender and not merit, in other words, determines patterns of political promotion within party organizations.

The above explanation for partisan promotion suggests an opposing hypothesis to the one posed by the resource-deprivation argument. If gender and not merit establishes patterns of partisan promotion then, occupational and educational resources should have little effect on patterns of partisan promotion among women. The partisan careers of these candidates should not be related

to their achieved status.

The above hypothesis is an admittedly indirect way of testing for the effects of a sexual division of labour within political party organizations. Perhaps, a more direct approach toward testing these effects is provided by the very structure of many Canadian party organizations themselves. Shortly after women's suffrage, both the federal and many provincial wings of the two major parties essentially institutionalized a sexual division of labour with the formation of women's partisan auxiliaries. The following provides a brief overview of these organizations and suggests our expectations about the effects of participation within them.

Women's auxiliaries were initially formed at the constituency, provincial and federal levels of the two major parties (the CCF/NDP has never had a separate women's organization although women's caucuses do exist) to integrate newly enfranchised women into the party structure and to act as vehicles for political education. The first women's auxiliary was established as early as 1913, some years before women's suffrage but the first national organization, the Federation of Liberal Women in Canada, was actually launched in 1928, seven years after all women were granted a vote in federal elections.³² Shortly after, a similar body was formed as an appendage of the Conservative Party.

While women's auxiliaries have and continue to serve as

social groups for their membership between elections, they are perhaps most visible and active during elections. They are thus often credited, albeit in a paternalistic manner, with the maintenance of Canada's major parties between elections as well as for successful electoral campaigns. As one former federal cabinet Minister attests:³³

All political parties in Canada operate by and through women. Look into any committee room and you will find perhaps a man or two, but dozens of women. Most parties hold together as an entity only because women's groups meet regularly ... they are the muscle of all political parties. Without them no candidate would attempt to campaign.

Although rarely researched, women's auxiliaries also have been indicated for excluding women party activists from important political tasks which may provide the recognition, skills and contacts necessary for political candidacy. Because many women party activists are isolated within a separate "support" organization, it is argued, the essential tasks of developing elections strategies, party policies and advertising campaigns, as well as, the collection and dispersal of party funds remain outside the range of experience of a great many women party activists.

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women summarizes the negative consequences that women's auxiliaries often have for women's recruitment.³⁴

Within the party, women's groups are seen as auxiliary to the main associations. The decision-making powers are vested in what for many

years were, and in some places still are, referred to as the men's associations. The activities of women's groups are directed predominately to study sessions and to servicing the party, staffing committee rooms, canvassing, organizing meetings, sponsoring special functions to raise funds and performing many necessary but routine chores and not specifically allotted to the women's groups ... The women's associations constitute basically a group of volunteers dedicated to getting the party's male candidates elected.

Many women may be active within party organizations as auxiliary members or leaders but their partisan apprenticeship may not serve as springboards either to strategic roles within the mainstream of the party or to legislative candidacy. This suspicion, in fact, is partially supported by data obtained from women elected in both Canada and Norway. They attributed little significance to women's auxiliaries either in their political training or recruitment to public office.³⁵ Thus, if activity in these groups does inhibit movement through the party ranks, few women in this sample of candidates should have served in them. For women candidates who have been active auxiliary members or leaders, evidence of their integration into important apprenticeship positions in the party mainstream should be minimal.

In summary, the foregoing discussion has raised a number of expectations about partisan apprenticeship experiences among female candidates. The concern of this chapter, as in the last, is to demonstrate the connection between certain apprenticeship experiences and the streaming of women into municipal and legislative candidacy in addition to the

impact of experiential, motivational, and structural factors on patterns of partisan promotion among women.

IV Findings

To begin this examination of apprenticeship in party organizations, we will survey the types of apprenticeships served by this sample of female candidates. Table 5:1 shows that most of the women, whether candidates for municipal or legislative office, served some sort of political apprenticeship within a political party prior to their first campaign. Only 20% of the sample indicated that they were not party members while more than one-third had been party members for ten or more years before contesting public office. (Only one of the non-party members was a candidate for legislative office.) Moreover, 40% of the sample rated themselves as very active in the party organization. This intense partisan activity can also be seen in the amount of time that they report devoting to party work.

Approximately, one-third had spent some time every week on party affairs prior to their first candidacy while another one-third devoted some time every month. Thus, for many, partisan apprenticeship was continuous rather than intermittent. Moreover, these women were also likely to work for the party at both the federal and provincial levels. Given that most Canadian political parties are dormant between elections, these findings suggest that many of these women were part of the party core prior to their

first campaign.

As predicted, most of the candidates appear to have served their partisan apprenticeship within the mainstream of the party. The majority of the candidates (62%) were neither members or leaders of a women's auxiliary or caucus although 22% did indicate that they had served as a leader of such a group. Of course, the extent of auxiliary and caucus activity varies by the candidates' party affiliation. A full 65% of the Conservative candidates reported that they were involved in this type of party group, compared to 52% of the Liberals and 29% of the CCF/NDP candidates. (Not shown in tabular form) The consequences of auxiliary membership will be discussed later in this chapter. Here, it is sufficient to note that a long and intense partisan apprenticeship within the mainstream of the party appears to characterize the pre-candidacy political careers of the majority of this sample of female candidates for municipal and legislative office.

Table 5:1 Here

Many of the women in this sample also held prestigious positions within the party although not in proportions similar to those found among Canadian legislators. (See Table 5:2) Fully, one-third had held party office prior to their first campaign but a much smaller proportion performed other types of strategic apprenticeship roles within the

Table 5:1 Party Apprenticeship Patterns Among Municipal and Legislative Candidates

<u>Party Membership</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>
Always same party	60.9	199
Changed parties	19.5	64
Not party member	19.5	64
Total	100%	327
<u>Years in Party</u>		
Less than 1	12.7	26
2-5	25.4	52
5-10	24.9	51
10 and more	37.0	76
Total*	100%	205
<u>Self-rating of Activity</u>		
Very active	39.1	128
Somewhat active	32.4	106
Not very active/N.A.	28.5	93
Total	100%	327
<u>Time on Party Work</u>		
Some time every week	31.4	79
Some time every month	34.9	88
About once a year	6.3	16
Election time only	27.4	69
Total*	100%	252
<u>Level of Electoral Work</u>		
Federal and provincial elections	78.1	192
Provincial	15.4	38
Federal	6.5	16
Total*	100%	246
<u>Women's Association Activity</u>		
Attended some meetings	35.4	81
Member	15.3	35
Leader	22.7	52
No women's association/caucus	26.6	61
Total*	100%	229

* missing data removed

party organization. Only 7%, for example, indicated that they had collected funds for the party while similar proportions had acted as a campaign manager or an official agent. Thus, the table presents a mixed picture of the types of partisan apprenticeship roles served by female candidates. While as many as one-third had been elected to party office, most did not serve other crucial apprenticeship roles. In fact, following party office, the most frequently mentioned partisan activities were working on the hustings and attending political meetings. Like women party activists generally, many of these women performed mundane tasks within their respective party organizations.

Table 5:2 Here

Although subject to most of the criticisms of motivational analysis discussed above, for comparative purposes the questionnaire included a check-list of incentives for initiating party work. Confirming our expectation of motivational pluralism, the candidates cited a number of incentives for their initial party involvement. (See Table 5:3) Moreover, few appear to have engaged in party work for power and career-related reasons, or, at least, were willing to admit it. A slightly higher proportion than has been found among female party activists in other studies, but still only 13% of those responding,

Table 5:2 Highest Party Apprenticeship Positions Held

	%	N
Attended political meetings	23.9	78
Spoke for the party	15.0	49
Worked in party office	14.1	46
Worked on hustings	22.9	75
Collected party funds	7.3	24
Held party office	33.0	108
Campaign Manager	7.3	24
Official Agent	6.7	22
None or missing data	23.6	77

indicated that "building a personal career in politics" was a very important reason for their party activity.³⁷ Only 4.5%, moreover, indicated that this was the most important reason for their partisan activity. In addition, only four women saw their activity as a means of making business contacts, one of whom considered this the most important incentive for her party work. Nor was "seeking recognition in the community" selected as the most important incentive by many (N=4). A higher proportion of those responding endorsed social incentives as a consideration in their party activity but few suggested that friendships or the fun of campaigning were the most important reasons for their involvement.

Most of the women, then, indicated that partisan-related incentives drew them into active party work. Fully 64% reported that a very important reason for their involvement was achieving a means to influence the policies of government and 45% indicated that this was their most important incentive. Habitual partisanship also was a very important reason for their party work. Over one-third of the women responding to the motivational items indicated that the most important reason for becoming a party activist was an attachment to party or to politics more generally. Thus, while a certain degree of motivational pluralism does characterize the partisan careers of these women, partisan motives clearly predominate.

Table 5:3 Here

The dominant influence of partisanship for stimulating the partisan careers of these women is more clearly seen in Table 5:4. A varimax factor analysis was applied to the ten motivational items discussed above and as the factor matrix shows, three broad motivational dimensions emerged.³⁸ The personal factor (which includes building a career in politics, making business contacts, being close to people doing important things, and gaining recognition in the community) was selected by only 8.6% of the candidates as the most important factor motivating their party work. In contrast, 79% stressed a partisan incentive (that is an attachment to politics or party or a desire to influence government). Finally, 16% isolated social incentives (fun and friendships) as the most important incentive for their active partisanship. Thus, whether taken as separate items or broader factors, evidence from this sample of female candidates tends to refute the notion that power or career-related motives are necessary for political candidacy. In most general terms, the data examined to this point indicate that these women, whether candidates for municipal or legislative office, were active party workers prior to their first candidacy and that this activity was motivated more by partisan than power-related or social factors.

Table 5:3 Incentive For Becoming Active in a Political Party

Incentive	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important	Most Important
I had a personal friendship with the candidate.	16.3 (37)	22.5 (51)	61.2 (139)	5.8 (14)
Political work is part of my way of life.	46.6 (114)	36.7 (90)	16.7 (41)	17.3 (42)
I am strongly attached to my political party.	56.4 (141)	26.0 (65)	17.6 (44)	16.8 (.41)
I enjoy the friendships and social contacts I have with other members.	30.3 (74)	46.7 (114)	23.0 (56)	3.3 (8)
I like the fun and excitement of the campaign.	29.8 (73)	41.6 (102)	28.6 (70)	3.3 (8)
I am trying to build a personal position in politics	12.8 (29)	17.5 (40)	69.7 (159)	4.5 (11)
I see party work as a way of influencing the politics of government.	64.1 (164)	27.0 (69)	8.9 (23)	44.9 (109)
I like the feeling of being close to people doing important things.	28.0 (67)	37.7 (90)	34.3 (82)	2.1 (5)
Party work helps me make business contacts.	1.8 (4)	6.7 (15)	91.5 (206)	.4 (1)
Party work gives me a feeling of recognition in the community.	9.7 (23)	33.1 (78)	57.2 (135)	1.6 (4)

Table 5:4 Here

In the previous chapter, party involvement was identified as one of the most important factors distinguishing between those who followed the voluntary-group route to municipal office and those who did not. Nevertheless, many of the municipal candidates in this sample were also involved in a party organization. Thus, the question to be examined presently is which of the apprenticeship experiences and motivations already discussed in this chapter most effectively characterize those who move on to legislative candidacy?

As might be expected, legislative candidates basically differ from their municipal counterparts in terms of the intensity of their partisan apprenticeship. (See Table 5:5) Prior to their first candidacy, legislative candidates were more likely to have never changed their party affiliation, to rate themselves as very active in the party organization, to devote at least some time every month to party work and to be a party elite.³⁹ Both years of party membership and involvement in a women's auxiliary or caucus were unrelated to the eventual course of the candidate's political career. Thus, the intensity rather than the duration of apprenticeship within the party mainstream appears to distinguish the partisan apprenticeship experiences of female candidates for

Table 5:4 Varimax Factor Matrix of Incentives for Party Activism

	Factor Loadings for		
	Factor 1 (personal)	Factor 2 (partisan)	Factor 3 (social)
Building Political Career	.64	.13	.03
Near Influential People	.55	.19	.30
Business Contacts	.44	.06	.19
Recognition	.77	-.03	.16
Politics Way of Life	.10	.62	.08
Party Attachment	.00	.74	.19
Influence Government	.13	.52	-.0
Candidate Friend	.08	-.09	.11
Social Contacts	.15	.38	.83
Fun of Campaigns	.32	.29	.52
Eigenvalue	3.2	1.6	1.1
% Variance Explained	31.9%	16.2%	10.7%
Total Variance Explained	58.8%		
% Sample noting factor as most important	8.6% (21)	79.0% (192)	16.9% (40)

legislative office.

Table 5:5 Here

While differing in terms of their apprenticeship experiences, municipal and legislative candidates do not appear to disagree much about why they initially became involved in a political party. (See Table 5:5) In fact, of the ten initiating incentives discussed above there were only two statistically significant differences between municipal or legislative candidates. Both differences reflect the stronger ties to party which have been observed already among legislative candidates. The legislative candidates were more likely than their municipal counterparts to indicate that an abiding partisanship was an important incentive drawing them into active partisanship. In contrast, municipal candidates more often indicated that they became involved because they were once friends with a candidate. Personal rather than party loyalty, in other words, drew them into the party. By all indications, then, legislative candidates appear to have been more consummate partisans than their municipal counterparts prior to their first campaign.

Given the intense partisanship in the backgrounds of the legislative candidates, it is curious that few elaborated in their written comments upon party work as an apprenticeship experience. In fact, most of the comments about party

Table 5:5 Relationship Between Level of Office First
Contested and Partisan Apprenticeship Patterns
(Yule's Q)

	Legislative Candidate/Not
<u>Party Apprenticeship</u>	
Never Changed Parties	.80*
Very Active/Not (self-rating)	.37*
Active Monthly/Not	.30*
5 yrs..+ in Party/Not	.03
Women's Association/Not	.05
Activity Cross-level/Not	.12
Party Elite/Not	.20*
<u>Incentives</u>	
Candidate Friend/Not	.27*
Party Attachment/Not	.38*

* p. < .05

organizations and partisan apprenticeship came from municipal candidates. Moreover, these comments were decidedly negative, perhaps reflecting the anti-party tradition of both municipal politics and early Canadian feminist thought or indeed, their own experiences within party organizations. The following provide a few examples of the anti-party sentiments expressed by municipal candidates.

My experience in the "backroom" of politics discouraged me from making it a career. I had been reared on a firm foundation of integrity and honesty and what I discovered at this level was "win at any price" ... It is not a pretty sight to see people you once respected behave in a most irresponsible manner. This behaviour can become infectious. P.S. I am no longer active in a political party.

Regardless of the PARTY a candidate represents I deeply regret that outstanding individuals are not elected and very mediocre individuals are ONLY because of party affiliation. Morale, belief, are sacrificed for PARTY support.

Politics can be a dirty business - I think that is what offended me most. Perhaps this is why I didn't win - But I sure sleep well at night.

Yet, for another respondent legislative candidacy was not an attractive option precisely because of the appeal of the backroom.

I ran only once - the idea being I would run once for alderman and win or lose I would then run provincially in the same constituency. I didn't. I discovered I preferred the backroom politics - where I had an opportunity to influence policies rather than being a candidate.

In summary, our findings to this point largely reinforce those of Chapter 4. Voluntary groups and political parties appear to have an important influence on the careers of political women. Both stream the energies and aspirations of their apprentices toward a particular level of government. Not unexpectedly in a parliamentary system such as Canada, party apprenticeship appears to be a necessary credential for legislative recruitment, but, it is an apprenticeship of a particular sort. The pre-candidacy careers of legislative rather than municipal candidates are marked by an abiding partisanship, whether viewed in terms of stated incentives for party work, party service or status within the party. Thus, the factors influencing apprenticeship experiences within party organizations are of considerable importance in the study of women's recruitment, especially to legislative office. The following section, therefore, addresses the question of the promotion of women through the party ranks.

V Partisan Promotion

Earlier in this chapter, status, motivational and structural factors were discussed as possible explanations for why few women are promoted to the ranks of the party elite. The relative importance of each of these factors in the partisan promotion of women candidates will be examined below. First, however, we will test one of the hypotheses derived from the resource-deprivation argument. This

explanation, as it will be recalled, claims that women are less frequently promoted within the party than their male counterparts because they lack the credentials necessary for political promotion. Nevertheless, it is also argued that women often make up for their personal inadequacies by devoting more time to party work.

The notion that female party activists compensate for their lack of credentials with party service does not find support among this sample of candidates. Neither occupational or educational status identifies those likely to be the most devoted party workers. (See Table 5:6) Women without a profession are slightly although not significantly more likely to consider themselves as very active party workers.⁴⁰ Otherwise, professionals and the university-educated are as likely as those without these personal resources to do party work at least once a month and to serve in both federal and provincial election campaigns. In sum, women with "proper credentials" tend to work for the party at rates similar to those without them. This finding, therefore, lends some skepticism to the status argument for the unequal distribution of power among men and women in political parties. Men may devote less time to party service than women but status does not account for differences in the time devoted to party work among this sample of female candidates.

3

Table 5:6 Here

Further evidence of the weakness of the resource-deprivation explanation for political promotion among female candidates is found in Table 5:7. The table presents the strength of association between various indicators of the resource-deprivation, motivation and structural explanations, and promotion to party elite status. In fact, the data indicate that women with professional expertise are less likely to advance to party offices or the roles of campaign organizer, official agent and fund-raiser than those with lower-status occupations and homemakers. Similarly, those with university degrees do not appear to disproportionately rise through the party ranks, although there is a weak but insignificant relationship. Personal resources, whether measured by occupational or educational achievement, therefore, do not predict patterns of partisan advancement among these candidates.

Table 5:7 Here

Too few candidates indicated that they became involved in party work for career-related reasons to examine directly the relationship between ambition and partisan promotion. Partisan motivations, however, are related to political promotion. (See Table 5:7) Those engaging in party work

Table 5:6 Relationship Between Party Activity and Social Status

(Yule's Q)

	Professional/ Not	University/ Not
<u>Party Activity</u>		
Very Active/Not (self-rating)	-.15	-.11
Active Monthly/Not	-.06	-.01
Activity Cross-level/Not	-.01	.02

* p. < .05

Table 5:7 Predictors of Partisan Promotion

	Party Elite/Not
Professional/Not	-.27*
University/Not	.19
Partisan Motive/Not	.30*
Social Motive/Not	-.53
Same Party/Not	.72*
5 yrs. +/Not	.14
Activity Cross-level/Not	.23
Women's Association/Not	.40*

* p. < .05

because of an attachment to a party or political life or to influence government policy were promoted while those endorsing social incentives, the excitement and friendships associated with party work were not. Moreover, partisan motives appear to be better predictors of partisan promotion than years in the party or cross-level activity.⁴¹

Finally, involvement in women's associations is positively related to promotion within the party. This finding was not anticipated by the structural argument and is questioned in the comments of at least one of the candidates.

Women's party organizations ... still bake the cakes for the men to eat with their coffee. I don't want to belittle their contribution. I just don't spend much time baking cakes.

On further examination, it appears that the apparent relationship in Table 5:7 between auxiliary membership and political promotion is misleading. The questionnaire item employed here did not distinguish between office-holding within the mainstream of the party and in women's associations. Thus, it is possible that the category of "party office-holding" used as an indicator of party elite status also includes leaders of women's associations. If so, both the dependent and independent variables would be measuring the same qualities. This appears to be the case. When the association between membership and leadership in a women's association and other elite tasks such as

fund-raising, managing a campaign or acting as an official agent is examined a negative relationship emerges (Yule's $Q = -.21$ p. > .05).⁴² In other words, those actively involved in women's groups are not promoted to other strategic party roles. While not statistically significant, this finding does lend some support to the notion that women's associations inhibit the integration of female party activists into the party mainstream and its important apprenticeship tasks.

VI Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to describe the partisan apprenticeship patterns most commonly associated with legislative candidacy and second, to test the utility of the resource-deprivation, motivational and structural explanations for political promotion among female candidates. First, the findings indicate that partisan apprenticeship is not exclusively confined to legislative candidates. While Canadian municipal politics is generally considered to be nonpartisan, most of the municipal candidates in the sample had some experience of party activism. Political parties serve as an apprenticeship structure for a great many political women regardless of whether or not they eventually contest legislative office.

The types of apprenticeships that municipal and legislative candidates serve within party organizations vary substantially, however. In a word, by all indications

legislative candidates can be characterized as consummate partisans. They were more likely to have always been faithful to one party, to work for the party continuously, to serve in strategic party roles, and to have first become involved in party work for partisan reasons. Intense and continuous party service, therefore, appears to be an important credential for legislative recruitment among women. Chapter 7 will examine whether this partisan devotion also brings women candidates dividends in the form of party support and resources to conduct an electoral campaign.

Patterns of partisan promotion among women candidates was the second theme developed in this chapter. Of course, care must be taken here not to overstep the scope of these data. This is, after all, a sample of candidates and not party activists. Our examination of their partisan promotion, however, does not support many of the conclusions of cross-gender comparative studies. The factors which these studies allege explain why men and women do not share power equally within party organizations do not predict patterns of partisan promotion among females alone.

Although we are unable to pursue this finding further with the data at hand it raises the possibility that gender alone accounts for much of the unequal distribution of power among male and female party activists.

Partial evidence of a division of party tasks on the basis of gender rather than merit is also found in our

finding that women with recognized personal credentials are not favoured in partisan promotion. Moreover, "qualified" and "unqualified" women do not differ in the amount of energy that they devoted to the party organization. All of these findings are suggestive of a sexual division of labour within party organizations but the evidence is admittedly incomplete. Nevertheless, the findings presented here are sufficiently consistent to suggest that the sexual division of labour should be considered as a key variable in studies examining the internal dynamics of party organizations.

Perhaps the most convincing demonstration of the consequences for women's recruitment of a sexual division of labour is provided by the very structure of Canada's major party organizations themselves. Our findings show that participation in women's organizations is not a common apprenticeship pattern among female partisans who move on to political candidacy. More important, however, those serving this type of partisan apprenticeship do not advance to strategic positions within the party mainstream. Our findings, therefore, lend support to the call issued over a decade ago by the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. It recommended that these groups be disbanded because they limit the potential of women in politics. They institutionalize a sexual division of labour within the very structure of the party organization. For many, however, the sexual division of labour within the home remains the major obstacle to the equal integration of women

into the politics of liberal democracies. This is the concern of the next chapter.

Footnotes

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2. Harold D. Clarke, Richard Price and Robert Krause, "Backbenchers," in David Bellamy, Jon Pammett and Donald Rowat, The Provincial Political Systems (Toronto: Methuen, 1976), pp. 214-236.
3. Allan Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior (Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 54.
4. Richard Price, Harold D. Clarke and Robert Krause, "The Socialization of Freshman Legislators: The Case of Canadian M.P.'s," in Jon Pammett and Michael S. Whittington (eds.) Foundations of Political Culture (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976), p. 216.
5. For an overview of women in political parties see, Allan Kornberg, Joel Smith and Harold D. Clarke, Citizen Politicians - Canada (Durnham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 1979), Chapter 8; Kirsten Amundsen, A New Look at the Silenced Majority (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977), pp. 75-77; M. Kent Jennings and Norman Thomas, "Men and Women in Party Elites: Social Roles and Political Resources," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 12 (November 1968), pp. 469-492; Dianne Fowlkes, Jerry Perkins and Sue T. Rinehart, "Gender Roles and Party Roles," American

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6. See above. Also, M. Janine Brodie, "The Recruitment of Men and Women Political Party Activists in Ontario: A Four Variable Model," unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Windsor, 1976; Edmond Costantini and Kenneth Craik, "Women Politicians: The Social Background, Personality and Political Careers of Female Party Leaders," Journal of Social Issues, 28:1 (1972), pp. 217-36.
7. Howard Scharrow, "Three Dimensions of a Local Political Party," in John Meisel (ed.) Papers on the 1962 Election (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 53-61; Kornberg et al., op. cit., p. 186.
8. See note 5 of this chapter. Also, Samuel Eldersveld, Political Parties: A Behavioral Analysis (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964).
9. Naomi Lynn, "Women in American Politics: An Overview," in Jo Freeman (ed.) Women: A Feminist Perspective (Palo Alto, Cal.: Mayfield Publishing, 1975), p. 370.
10. Brodie, op. cit.
11. Kornberg, et al., op. cit.
12. Ibid., p. 208.
13. Robert Putnam, The Comparative Study of Political Elites (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976);

pp. 33-37.

14. Moshe Czudnowski, "Political Recruitment," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby (eds.) Handbook of Political Science Vol. 2 (New York: Addison Wesley, 1975), pp. 178-180.
15. See for example, Brodie, op. cit., Chapter 2; Kornberg, et al., op. cit., Chapter 8.
16. Patricia Kyle, "Socialization and Recruitment Patterns in Party Elite in North Carolina," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of The American Political Science Association, Chicago, 1974, p. 12.
17. Ingunn Means, "Women in Local Politics: The Norwegian Experience," Canadian Journal of Political Science, 5 (September 1972), p. 388.
18. P.J. Dubeck, "Women and Access to Political Office: A Comparison of Female and Male Legislators," Sociological Quarterly, 17:1 (1976), p. 44.
19. Melville Currell, Political Woman (London: Croom Helm, 1979), p. 51.
20. Lester Seligman, M. King, C.L. Kim, and R. Smith, Patterns of Recruitment: A State Chooses its Lawmakers (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974), p. 23.
21. For studies which have employed a check-list of incentives for joining party organizations see, Eldersveld, op. cit.; M. Margaret Conway and Frank B. Feigert, "Motivation, Incentive Systems, and the Political Party Organization," American Political

Science Review, 62 (December 1968), pp. 1159-1173.

M. Margaret Conway and Frank B. Feigert, "Incentives and Task Performance Among Party Precinct Workers,"

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pp. 693-709; Tom Garvin, "Local Party Activists in

Dublin: Socialization, Recruitment, and Incentives,"

British Journal of Political Science, 6 (July 1976),

pp. 369-380. While strictly speaking these are studies of incentives, the term motivation generally is used interchangeably.

22. James Q. Wilson, The Amateur Democrat (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 62-66.

23. Costantini and Craik, op. cit.

24. Barbara Farah and Gina Sapiro, "New Pride and Old Prejudice: Political Ambitions and Role Orientations Among Female Partisan Elites," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Nashville, 1975.

25. Jeane Kirkpatrick, The New Presidential Elite (New York: Sage, 1976), p. 434; Patricia Kyle, op. cit., Brodie, op. cit., Chapter 3; Kornberg, et al., op. cit., p. 208; Harold D. Clarke, Marianne Stewart, Richard Price and Robert Krause, "Motivational Structure and Participation in a Minority Party," paper presented at the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, East Lansing, 1976.

26. Costantini and Craik, op. cit., p. 230.

27. Ibid.
28. The item "lauching a political career" was the most important incentive for 3.7% of the men and 1.7% of the women. Kornberg, et al., op. cit., p. 200.
29. Brodie, op. cit.; Farah and Sapiro, op. cit.
30. Rufus Browning and Herbert Jacob, "Power, Motivation and Political Personality," Public Opinion Quarterly, 26 (Spring 1964), pp. 75-90.
31. Folkes, et al., op. cit., p. 772.
32. Little research exists on women's party auxiliaries. See Jean Cochrane, Women in Canadian Politics (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1979), pp. 59-62; Canada, op. cit., p. 346.
33. Judy LaMarsh as quoted in Cochrane, op. cit., p. 62.
34. Canada, op. cit., p. 346.
35. Ibid., p. 346; Ingunn Means, "Political Recruitment of Women in Norway," Western Political Quarterly, 25 (September 1972), p. 518.
36. The candidates were asked to check-off their highest party activity. Most of the respondents, however, checked more than one activity. Thus, the two highest activities were recorded. The table summarizes the percentage of candidates that indicated a particular party task as either their first or second most highly ranked party task.
37. While these percentages are low they are higher than has been reported among party activists. For example,

among Ontario Liberal party convention delegates only 1.6% of the women saw this motive as most important. See M. Janine Brodie and Richard G. Price, "The Motivations of Men and Women Party Activists in Ontario," unpublished paper, University of Windsor, 1975.

38. Notice in the matrix that "friendship with a candidate" only loads weakly on the social factor. Nonetheless, since this factor analysis is largely exploratory and this item did not load on the other two factors it was included in the social factor. Intuitively it is more social than partisan or ambition-related.
39. Of course, it is difficult to determine with certainty who are members of the party elite. Prestige and influence within any type of organization can be informal rather than positional. Given the method of data collected employed here, however, it is impossible to assess the influence ascribed to these candidates within their respective party organizations. Thus, we will rely on positional measures to operationalize party elite status. Hereafter, party elite is defined as fund raiser, office-holder, campaign manager or official agent. We recognize as well that these positions may be more important in some party organizations than others depending on the party's proximity to power. Nonetheless, whatever the strength of the local organization, these are strategic and not

rank-and-file party roles.

40. Included in the professional category were professionals, educators, business managers and executives and nurses.
41. The respondent's self-rating of their party activity as well as the time spent on party work were also positively related to partisan promotion but it is unlikely that a causal relationship exists. Rather, the intensity of party work is undoubtedly a reflection of the responsibilities of party elite status.
42. Control procedures too quickly reduce cell sizes to enable us to examine with confidence the relationship between the characteristics shown in Table 5:7 and promotion to positions other than party office. Nevertheless, it should be noted here that control procedures did not reverse or reduce the negative relationship between professional status and party promotion (Yule's $Q = -.30$ p. > .05).

Chapter 6

Marriage and Motherhood: The Constraints of Private-Life

I Introduction

The foregoing chapters have focused on special socialization and apprenticeship experiences which encourage women to cross the threshold from citizen politics to political candidacy. The development of a political career, however, is influenced by many factors, some facilitating this transition and others impeding it. The factors constraining political candidacy are varied and numerous, beginning with the legal requirements which define who may and may not hold public office. Across time, western democracies have progressively relaxed these formal criteria, ever expanding the pool of citizens legally eligible to seek public office. Nevertheless, while few legal barriers to political candidacy remain, private-life situations continue to constrain the political involvement of many. Indeed, it is widely argued that the paucity of women politicians can be attributed to the constraints imposed by the private-life roles of wife and mother. This chapter, therefore, assesses the importance attributed to gender roles as constraints on women's political candidacy and discusses some of the ways that they have been dealt with.

It is generally agreed that being born female imposes

both internal and external constraints on women's political participation and recruitment to public office.¹ Through a gender - specific socialization process, females may internalize general social norms which discourage their active political involvement. This socialization process has prescribed that the role of full-time politician is an appropriate male behaviour while the roles of homemaker and childrearer have been assigned to females.² Accepting either one or both of these roles may give rise to an additional set of constraints on women's political activism.³ Moreover, these external or situational constraints on female political behaviour are relevant regardless of whether or not a homemaker or mother has herself internalized the cultural prescription of male dominance in politics. Onerous reproduction functions coupled with the sexual division of labour means that women assuming traditional female gender roles generally are less available than men for political candidacy. Isolated within the home, females are encouraged to give priority to their gender role responsibilities, either by giving up any political aspirations entirely or postponing them until their children have grown. Nevertheless, most women politicians are also wives and mothers and thus must attempt to harmonize the demands of both gender and political roles.

II Private-Life Constraints and Political Candidacy

Students of political recruitment have devoted little attention to the constraints on political candidacy imposed by family life.⁴ This inattention is particularly perplexing because these models claim to apply to the recruitment of both sexes but, at the same time, fail to explicitly recognize that women's political activism (or more accurately, lack thereof) is frequently attributed to the situational constraints imposed by gender roles.

Rather, these models have attempted to incorporate the specific case of women under the broad rubric of concepts such as "political risk" or "candidate availability".

Seligman et al., for example, contend that political candidacy will not be undertaken if the costs or risks of that political adventure outweigh the perceived benefits.⁵

One could argue that mothers do not make themselves available for political office because of the costs, the psychological and emotional strains that candidacy presumably imposes. In a gender differentiated society where the norms defining what constitutes a good wife and a good mother are firmly entrenched, the costs of violating these norms, as Currey argues, may be enforced cruelly, arbitrarily and unexpectedly.⁶ Seligman et al., however, identify financial and occupational instability rather than gender roles as the principal risk associated with political candidacy.⁷

Reducing private-life constraints to those most clearly

associated with gainful employment is also apparent in Barber's notion of candidate availability. According to Barber, those free from private-life constraints and therefore "available" for political roles have flexible occupations which allow them to postpone or pass on their current duties and/or give up what they are doing without financial sacrifice.⁸ Thus, both Seligman's and Barber's general concepts largely reduce private-life constraints on political recruitment to those imposed by labour force participation. As such, each more readily applies to the situational constraints of males who are more likely to be in the labour force than females and according to their gender role prescriptions, more likely to be constrained by the necessity of maintaining a family income.

What is at issue here, however, is not whether occupational and financial factors constitute effective situational constraints on political recruitment. Clearly they do. Financial constraints cross-cut gender lines and perhaps, more than anything else, help explain the middle and upper class biases in liberal democratic recruitment. Obviously, too, women are not immune from these constraints. With the increased incidence of single parent families headed by women and dual career families, these constraints also apply to many women political aspirants. The point to be made here is that women in the labour force are likely to be subject to occupation-related constraints in addition to the constraints imposed by the traditional female gender

roles of wife and mother.

It might be argued that Barber's concept of candidate availability need not simply apply to participation in the labour force. Within the parameters set by the sexual division of social tasks, the concept could be used to help explain why more elected officials are fathers than mothers. If we assume that women cannot easily "pass on" their childrearing tasks, then they are unlikely to be unavailable for political candidacy, at least until their children have grown. It is with such assumptions, however, that the sex biases inherent in these broad conceptualizations of private-life constraints are most apparent. As the following explains, equating gender roles with labour force participation either accepts the sexual division of labour within the home as natural and inevitable or entertains a biological fallacy.⁹

First, the exclusion of gender roles as a separate category of private-life constraints in general recruitment models suggests that they are irrelevant in determining candidate risk and availability. This assumption, of course, stands in stark contrast to popular explanations for the paucity of elected women. To accommodate this fact, we are often forced to adapt general concepts such as risk and availability to reflect gainful employment for men and gender roles for women. By doing so, however, assumptions about the sexual division of labour are entrenched into recruitment research. The effects of family constraints on

men and occupational constraints on women are ruled out of consideration on apriori grounds.¹⁰ It is assumed that family constraints are irrelevant for male candidates but relevant for females. Males are expected to act in the outside world of business or politics while family constraints are managed by significant yet unnamed others, presumably the candidate's spouse. A stable support system is assumed for male candidates while the spouse's special contribution to the candidacy is simply presumed or ignored. Obviously, family constraints cannot be so easily minimized for most female candidates because few have a similar support system within the home.

Equating gender roles with labour force participation also encourages the false assumption that all women are affected by them. Motherhood can be categorized as a non-flexible occupation which limits or delays the availability of women for full-time public service. This argument has found empirical support and is a major focus of this chapter. Too often, however, it takes the form of a biological fallacy, that is, social facts are explained with biological ones. Women do have children (a biological fact) and childrearing responsibilities may inhibit political careers (a social fact). Yet, not all women are mothers. Therefore, we cannot assume that the political careers of all women are similarly affected by gender roles. Neither can we assume that all mothers delay their careers because of childrearing responsibilities. Such assumptions only

reinforce the prescriptions of traditional gender role socialization. ~~The~~ task of a general recruitment model is not to assume the gender role constraints implied by the sexual division of labour but rather to explain how gender roles expand and contract the availability of both men and women for political office.¹¹

III Marriage, Motherhood and Political Candidacy

Lower rates of political participation and election to public office among women than among men is often attributed to the constraints imposed by marriage and motherhood or more simply, traditional female gender roles. Nevertheless, this generalization is frequently based on preconceptions about what women are expected to do in a gender-differentiated society rather than supported empirically. In much of the research concerning sex and politics, men and women are compared as mutually exclusive categories, a process which conceals differences within and similarities across the two groups. While comparing the behaviour of men and women has its utility, this method is particularly inappropriate if explanations for the observed differences revert back to assumptions about the behavioural effects of gender roles. Not all women fully embody the traditional female gender role prescriptions of wife, homemaker and mother. Within the female category are included women in the labour force, mothers and nonmothers and the married, divorced, single and widowed. Without

comparing the specific political consequences of these gender roles among women, therefore, the research risks (and often achieves) a biological fallacy. We cannot assume that the political behaviour of all women is similarly affected by gender roles.

Some of the more recent research concerning sex differences in politics has been sensitive to the differences among women and has demonstrated that the constraints of gender roles on women's political behaviour vary substantially from one private-life situation to the next.¹² Moreover, the findings indicate that, contrary to conventional wisdom, the roles of homemaker and mother no longer appear to inhibit political activism, that is, short of office-holding.¹³ When the focus shifts from the mass level to the elite realm (which is governed by different norms and political skills) the roles of homemaking and childrearing, generally reserved for women alone, continue to constitute an effective barrier to women's equal integration into the politics of liberal democracies.¹⁴

The transition from housewife and/or mother to full-time politician has been regarded as difficult, and therefore, infrequently achieved, because the two roles are neither convergent nor congruent. Eulau and Sprague emphasize the importance of role convergence in political recruitment in their explanation of why lawyers are disproportionately represented in elected assemblies. They judged law and politics to be convergent pursuits because both require

similar orientations, skills, and interpersonal networks.¹⁵ Private-life roles are considered to be convergent with political roles when they are so similar that moving from one to another does not require developing different credentials or new social networks. Private and public roles are said to be congruent when the two roles harmonize well with one another. Role congruence enables an individual to accommodate both roles without suffering the role strain which necessarily arises when the demands of one role interfere with or fully impede the performance of another. Thus, not unlike Barber's notion of a flexible occupation, private-public role convergence and congruence should enhance the development of a political career.

According to most observers, the role of homemaker does not converge with politics. It forces its practitioners into the isolation of the home where political skills are neither developed nor exercised.¹⁶ Moreover, it inhibits the growth of the types of interpersonal networks which are so crucial in the fashioning of a public career. Perhaps more important, it is also suggested that homemaking deprives women of the self-confidence that they need to break from the isolation of the home and develop the skills necessary for a successful transition from private to public life.¹⁷ In consequence, some argue that the social organization of the sexes, structured by gender roles, ultimately is incompatible with one of the professed goals of democratic society - equal access to political office.¹⁸ Many women

may experience a conflict between their gender roles and democratic recruitment because,¹⁹

... even though they have not recently been legally prevented from voting and running for office, their segregation into homemaking and childrearing occupations has served to exclude them from public life where political skills are learned. Thus, many women may not feel confident in active political roles because they have not had a chance to practice behaviour appropriate for candidates.

The apparent incongruence between the gender roles assigned to females and potential political roles has both practical and culturally engrained dimensions. In the practical sense, the role of maintaining a home and family does not harmonize well with a political role if politics takes the homemaker away from the home for extended periods of time. This may induce role strain among many women legislators who usually must travel to capital cities to carry out their political duties. Role strain, however, may be minimized if, in Barber's terms, household tasks are "passed on" to the spouse, other family members or domestic employees.

Nevertheless, the notion of incongruence between female gender and political roles usually cannot be reduced with such practical life-style adjustments. In fact, what is judged to be disharmony between these private roles and a public role at the level of practice generally is informed by the prescriptions of gender role socialization.²⁰ In other words, the supposed incongruence between the roles of homemaker or mother and politician is imposed as much by the

idealization of the private role as its actual demands. It reaches to the core of gender role socialization processes. From a very early age, girls are inculcated, directly and indirectly, with messages about ideal feminine behaviour. They are encouraged to accept the roles of wife and mother in their own futures and to judge other women by how well they conform to prescribed standards of acceptable feminine behaviour. "Good women" are wives and mothers and "good wives" and "good mothers" do not abandon their husbands, homes or children to pursue a political career.²¹ The system of gender role socialization encourages females both to accept and propagate the prescription that for females, family obligations must take precedence over all others; a view which we shall see is articulated by some of the candidates in this study.

The demands of female gender roles, then, imply at least three constraints on their practitioner's availability for political candidacy. Bristow summarizes these constraints as they relate to associational activity but they are equally relevant to political recruitment.²²

Firstly, during the time that women do not have children they will often see themselves as prospectively playing the roles of wife and mother. They will be encouraged through their childhood and adolescent socialization to do so. This orientation is not generally conducive to involvement in public associational activities. Secondly, whilst they are primarily responsible for the nurture of young children they will have neither the time nor, in most cases, the opportunity to become involved in extensive

associational activity. Finally, by the time they are in a position to play such a role, they will have acquired few of the politically-useful and organizationally - relevant skills which their male contemporaries will have learned (often instinctively and unconsciously) during their work experience.

IV Harmonizing Gender and Political Roles.

The potential constraints imposed on women's political activism by female gender roles appear to be sufficiently encompassing to ensure complete male dominance in politics. This conclusion, however, should be tempered with the caveat that not all women share the same private-life situations and therefore, potential gender role constraints. In fact, fewer and fewer women fit the stereotypic image of housewife and mother. Even fewer still actually have private-life situations which, according to the argument presented above, are convergent, congruent and therefore, conducive to political recruitment. A single female lawyer might be an example. In the data analysis which follows, therefore, we should expect to find significant differences in the degree to which the behaviour of these candidates has been affected by gender role constraints, differences which are related to their private-life situations.

A far more important consideration is that the pre-election careers of many female politicians appear to contradict the gender role explanation for the paucity of women candidates presented above. Background studies of elected women show that many came to full-time politics directly from the roles of mother and homemaker.²³ Gender

role constraints may effectively shape the lifestyles of the great majority of women who are not deeply involved in politics, let alone run for political office. This issue cannot be resolved among a sample of women candidates, who, after all, have already crossed the threshold into intense political involvement. Nevertheless, the fact that many women move into public roles directly from traditional female gender roles suggests either that gender role constraints and role strain arising from role incongruence are not as pronounced as originally suspected or that these constraints and strains are minimized through other means. As the following explains, starting a political career after childbearing and rearing years have past and/or contesting municipal office and/or gaining spouse support, all have been identified as means by which women have harmonized gender role demands with political aspirations.

In some ways, gender roles structure the options and behaviour of women from the proverbial 'cradle to grave' but the potential role constraints and strains applicable to women's political candidacy are less often continuous than discontinuous and situational.²⁴ For mothers in particular, the conflict between private and public roles is likely to be most pronounced when their children are young.

Confronted with the strain implied by harmonizing maternal and political roles, many women may simply postpone their political careers until their children have matured.²⁵ In this case, it may be inappropriate to argue that delay

harmonizes the two roles since one has been given priority over the other and the other is played in succession. Nevertheless, political candidacy is only delayed until the most demanding tasks of the maternal role are accomplished. The maternal role continues: Mothers do remain mothers after their children have grown.

Much of the empirical research concerning women's political recruitment does appear to support the proposition that the constraints of motherhood delay political careers. Moreover, the constraints of childrearing appear to delay the political careers of females more often than males. Generally, however, this conclusion risks a biological fallacy because it is based on the mean age of women legislators which consistently is found to be higher than that of male legislators.²⁶ If delay is a mechanism to reduce the gender role strain implied by motherhood, we should expect to find pronounced differences between mothers and nonmothers, both in terms of their age at first candidacy and the reasons, if any, they cite for delaying their first political candidacy.

There are a number of factors, however, which may reduce the association between motherhood and delayed candidacy. One hypothesized factor is the option of contesting municipal office.²⁷ More abundant female candidacies and election at the municipal than at higher levels of political office have been attributed to larger numbers of offices available as well as to less intense competition. Another

stream of explanation suggests that municipal office is more congruent, that is more easily harmonized with both the political interests and private-life constraints of homemakers and mothers. The notion that women's political interests should somehow be structured by their gender roles, however, often reflects stereotypic, if not sexist assumptions about women. The following passage embraces the dubious flavour of the argument.²⁸

... women are extremely well-equipped for local government. They have a vested interest in, and immediate knowledge of, the schools, services, housing, care of children and environment which are the responsibility of the local authorities...

The above rationale may or may not be accurate, but, it will concern us here. In terms of gender role constraints, however, municipal candidacy may constitute a way of harmonizing private roles and aspirations for public office. Elected office at the municipal level is often part-time and does not demand that the politician work in another city. Therefore, while we cannot assume that traditional gender roles structure the political concerns of women, we might expect that they impose fewer and less intense constraints on municipal than on legislative candidacy. This hypothesis will also be examined below.

Some of the most recent literature examining women's recruitment has suggested that spouse support is another crucial variable contributing to women's availability for political candidacy.²⁹ Perhaps, it is because spouse

support is simply assumed for male candidates that this variable has been notably absent from general recruitment models. Whatever the case, a supportive spouse appears so crucial, especially among homemakers, that few appear to launch a political career without it.³⁰ Indeed, Kirkpatrick found that all of the married state legislators that she interviewed "agree that a cooperative husband is the first requirement for successfully juggling family and career."³¹ Thus, among this sample, we should expect to find strong evidence of spouse support and this support, in turn, should be related to fewer anxieties about accommodating both gender and political roles.

The potential of education to reduce gender role constraints will also be considered since there is tentative evidence to suggest that university education prepares women to cope with conflicting role demands.³² Nevertheless, there is another factor which has not been examined in this context previously, probably because most recruitment studies concentrate on the winners of election campaigns. This factor is the lost-cause candidacy. It cannot be presumed that all candidacies actually pose similar degrees of strain on women in traditional gender roles because in any given election, most women candidates are, of course, losers. Why women offer themselves as lost-cause candidates is a question of considerable importance. One hypothesis which will be explored here is that lost-cause candidacies enable women to play political roles but only in a

short-term and limited way. Playing the role of an extra on the political stage should not give rise to intense role conflict because the candidacy does not hold the possibility of changing roles and harmonizing gender and political roles, at least on a long-term basis. Lost-cause candidacies require only a intermittent balancing of potentially conflicting roles but, at the same time, may serve as a vent for political aspirations or facilitate the development of political skills and connections. Therefore, it is expected that lost-cause candidates are less likely than those with a chance of winning to delay their first candidacy for reasons related to gender roles and less likely to feel role strain because of their political activities.

The foregoing discussion has raised a number of expectations about the relationship between traditional female gender roles and political candidacy. First, it is expected that gender roles do act as significant constraints on women's political candidacy but the importance attributed to these constraints will vary considerably from one private-life situation to the next. Second, it has been hypothesized that age, municipal candidacy, spouse support, education and lost-cause candidacies are all potential factors reducing the constraints and strain implied by the political candidacy of most women. We begin with a brief survey of the pre-candidacy private-life situations of these candidates.

V Findings

Although political candidacy is a very unconventional endeavour for females, women candidates tend to be very conventional women by most other indicators. The pre-candidacy backgrounds of this sample of women candidates are very similar to those found in other western settings. (See Table 6:1) Fully four of five were married. Moreover, this percentage may underestimate previous marriages in the backgrounds of these women candidates because it does not include those widowed or divorced at the time of their first candidacy.³³ A lower proportion of this sample than has been reported in some American settings performed the roles of wife and homemaker before entering politics. Slightly over one-third indicated that their principal pre-election occupation was that of homemaker while two-thirds were involved in occupations outside of the home.³⁴ Thus, many of the women in this sample did not enter politics through "the kitchen door" but rather from the workforce. Political candidacy, then, reflects a willingness to consider a "third job".

Table 6:1 Here

For most of these candidates, the demands of marriage and occupation were also coupled with childrearing responsibilities. Fewer than 20% of the women were

Table 6:1 Private-Life Situations at First Candidacy

Marital Status

Married	79.2 (259)
Not	20.8 (68)
Total	100% (327)

Pre-Candidacy Occupation

Homemaker	36.1 (118)
Not	63.9 (209)
Total	100% (327)

No. of Children

# 0)	18.5% (61)	3)	18.4 (60)
1)	13.5 (44)	4)	13.2 (43)
2)	26.9 (88)	5)	9.5 (31)
			100% (327)

Age of Youngest Child

Less than 10 years	37.7 (97)
More than 10 years	62.3 (160)
	(257)

childless when they first contested election but large families were not the norm. Forty percent had only one or two children while less than 10% had five or more children. Moreover, slightly more than one-third of the mothers undertook their first candidacy with a young child at home, that is, with a child under ten years of age.³⁵ Overall, then, these data raise the familiar question about the relationship between political recruitment and traditional female gender roles. Gender roles may impose significant barriers against women's political activism but many women who do offer themselves for candidacy take on the stereotypic gender roles of wife and mother, and to a lesser extent, homemaker.³⁶ Our task is to ascertain how important gender-related constraints on women's candidacy are and explore the ways they are resolved by women candidates.

The constraints of motherhood on political candidacy can be seen, at least indirectly, by the candidate's age at first candidacy. The data appear to support the proposition that childcare responsibilities lead mothers to delay their political careers until their children have grown. (See Table 6:2) Non-mothers were almost twice as likely to contest their first election before the age of forty while mothers more frequently entered the electoral field between forty and sixty years of age. Motherhood, thus, is strongly related to delayed political careers ($\gamma = .81$). As one candidate for provincial office explains:

I was asked many times to run as a candidate for both provincial and federal [office] while my children were young. I decided to wait until they were launched.

Table 6:2 Here

Other candidates saw this waiting period as a constraint which effectively inhibited them from switching from municipal to legislative candidacy. This sentiment was expressed by two municipal candidates in the following ways.

... at this point I would consider seeking a provincial nomination but fear my age would be against me, although I am energetic, vigorous.

My family is grown now, my youngest graduating from high school this year and mother, nearly fifty has to put aside her dream - I was born too soon!

While the age of fifty seems to be a rather premature qualification for the "political graveyard", the initial evidence does suggest that municipal office presents fewer barriers than legislative office for women performing traditional gender roles. (See Table 6:3) Homemakers and mothers were more likely to contest municipal than legislative office although mothers with young children did not demonstrate a preference for municipal office. Initial impressions from these data, therefore, suggest that motherhood does delay the careers of political women but that traditional gender roles are more easily harmonized with municipal than legislative candidacy.

Table 6:2 Relationship Between Candidate's Age at First Candidacy and Motherhood

<u>Candidates Age</u>	<u>Mothers</u>	<u>Non-Mothers</u>
20-30	3.4% (9)	42.4% (25)
31-40	28.3 (75)	18.6 (11)
41-50	46.8 (124)	22.0 (13)
51-60	19.6 (52)	11.9 (7)
61+	1.9 (5)	5.1 (3)
Total	100% (265)	100% (59)

Table 6:3 Selected Characteristics of Municipal and Legislative Candidates

	% of Municipal Candidates	Legislative Candidates
Mother	87%	72%
Young Children	39%	40%
Homemaker	41%	26%

Table 6:3 Here

Of course, one cannot assume that gender roles are, in fact, the most important types of constraints acting on the political careers of these women. Aspirations for political office may not be immediately realized for any number of reasons including inadequate finances, self-doubts or insufficient support within relevant recruitment agencies such as political parties. With a sample of women who have contested election, factors which fully inhibit political careers cannot be assessed. Rather, the concepts of gender role constraints as well as a number of personal and community-related constraints will be operationalized as potential delays on political candidacy. The candidates were required to assess how important a number of items were in delaying their first candidacy for elected office. Before proceeding to examine the relative importance of personal, community and gender-related delays, however, some attention should be given to those who did not delay their bid for public office.

Less than 10% of the women in this sample (9.8% N=32) indicated that they entered the electoral fray without hesitation or delay. This small proportion clearly suggests the importance of examining both the factors which constrain political candidacy and those which encourage it. Fewer than one in ten of these candidates rejected the idea that

her candidacy was delayed. Thus, for most of the candidates surveyed here, their initial entry into active politics was the result of, for want of better terms, centrifugal forces pulling them away from an electoral contest and centripetal forces drawing them into it.

According to the gender role perspective, wife and mother responsibilities may be considered centrifugal forces acting on women's candidacy. Therefore, the non-delayers in this sample should not be characterized by these roles.

Table 6:4 isolates the association between gender roles, the major variables that have been discussed as facilitating women's recruitment and an unconstrained political

candidacy. Few of the measures are particularly strong but, with a few exceptions, they reflect the anticipated

relationships. Homemakers were more likely to delay their candidacies as were mothers, although unexpectedly, women with young children were no more likely to delay their

candidacies. The four variables discussed earlier as factors likely to minimize constraints also characterize the non-delayers, but with varying degrees of success. Those making only a limited foray into legislative politics, the lost-cause candidates, were less likely to delay their candidacies as were those seeking municipal office.³⁷

Similarly those with university education were less likely to hesitate. Nevertheless, what appears to be the most commonly shared characteristic among the non-delayers is a supportive husband. Most of these candidates, as we shall

see, indicated that their husbands were very supportive of their political activities. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that only one of the thirty-two non-delayers indicated that her husband was either indifferent or did not support her political candidacy. (Not shown in tabular form) Thus, although these relationships are not as pronounced as they might be, overall, they are consistent with our expectations about the role of the type of candidacy (lost-cause or municipal) as well as private-life situations (gender roles and spouse support) in facilitating or inhibiting female political candidacy.

Table 6:4 Here

Most of the women surveyed for this study indicated that their candidacies were constrained or delayed in some manner. As already noted, there are any number of conditions which might constrain a political candidacy, some idiosyncratic and private, others pervasive and structural. Here, fourteen potential delays are considered under the broader categories of personal, community-related, and gender-related delays.³⁸ Tables 6:5 through 6:7 show the proportion of the sample assessing each item as very important, somewhat important or not important in delaying their political careers as well as the percentage of the sample selecting each item as the most important constraint on their candidacy. A comparison of the subtotals for each

Table 6:4 Characteristics of Those Not Delaying Their
Candidacies
(Yule's Q)

Homemaker	-.12	Lost-Cause Candidate	.24
Children	-.21	Municipal Candidate	.22
Young Children	.01	University Education	.38*
Under 40 Years	.05	Supportive Husband	.61*

* $p < .05$

table indicate that gender roles are not perceived to be the most important type of candidacy constraint. While partially a reflection of the number of items in each category, nevertheless, a full 64% of those responding suggested that personal factors delayed their candidacies while 15% stressed community-related delays. Only 19% of the candidates emphasized the primacy of gender-related constraints.

Six items were considered as potential personal constraints on a political candidacy. (See Table 6:5) Slightly more than forty percent noted that they delayed their candidacy because they thought an electoral victory would disrupt their lives while another one-quarter noted that fear of failure, career constraints and voluntary group participation delayed their political careers.³⁹ Among these personal delays, however, two were most widely endorsed by the candidates. First, financial constraints were important for over one-half of the sample and the most important delay for seventeen percent, more than the three community-related items combined. What is more striking is the importance attributed to self-doubts as a delay for these candidates. Whether reflecting a critical self-evaluation of their political credentials or simply insecurity, some 60% indicated that they delayed their candidacy because they didn't think they had the experience to do the job. Moreover, fully 25% indicated that this was the most important delay in their political careers; more

than any other factor and more than all the gender role items combined. This finding will be further examined below.

Table 6:5 Here

Recent research among American political women has suggested that fear of sex discrimination, whether experienced personally or not, discourages political activity among women at the elite level.⁴⁰ A similar apprehension was also shared by many of the candidates examined here. (See Table 6:6) Over one-half delayed their candidacies because they thought that their community would be unreceptive to them because of their sex and 10% indicated that this was the most important reason for holding back from an electoral contest. Nevertheless, fear of sex discrimination does not appear to involve violent undertones. Few felt that they would come to physical harm during a campaign. Neither can this delay be assigned wholly to the party organization. Less than five percent saw the party organization's nomination as the most significant barrier. Rather, this fear of sex-discrimination appears to reflect a recognition of the more pervasive cultural norms which prescribe traditional female gender roles as well as male dominance in politics.

Table 6:5 Personal Items for Delaying First Candidacy (Horizontal %)

	Importance			Total*	% as most important delay
	Very	Somewhat	Not		
1. I feared that if successful my life would be disrupted	10.7 (28)	30.9 (81)	58.4 (153)	100% (262)	8.9 (21)
2. I did not want to risk the possibility of failure	6.2 (16)	16.5 (42)	77.3 (197)	100% (255)	2.5 (6)
3. A political career would interfere with my career	9.5 (24)	17.0 (43)	73.5 (186)	100% (253)	5.1 (12)
4. I felt I would be of more service in voluntary groups	11.6 (29)	17.5 (44)	70.9 (178)	100% (251)	6.3 (15)
5. I thought it would be difficult to get the funding to run a campaign	22.1 (57)	31.0 (80)	46.9 (121)	100% (258)	16.9 (40)
6. I was afraid that I did not have the experience to do the job	20.4 (54)	38.9 (103)	40.7 (108)	100% (265)	25.3 (60)
Subtotal: % delayers noting personal item as most important delay				64.7% (154)	

* missing data excluded

Table 6:6 Here

Compared to personal apprehensions about qualifications, adequate funding to launch a campaign and sex discrimination in the community, the candidates did not attribute an inordinate weight to the constraints imposed by traditional female gender roles. (See Table 6:7) Only 8% noted that young children were the most important consideration in their delayed political activism but almost forty percent indicated it was consideration. The question of maternal responsibility appears to outweigh those related to marriage, even though as many as one in four indicated that they delayed because their husband were opposed. Lack of spouse support appears to be a constraint on women's candidacy, although not necessarily the most important one.

Table 6:7 Here

That gender role constraints should be attributed less importance than personal or community-related constraints was not anticipated. Nevertheless, it may be that gender roles receive less critical evaluations as candidacy constraints than the other factors examined here because they are given unquestioned priority over all other roles and therefore, are not judged to be conflictual. This notion of the unqualified priority of gender and

Table 6:6 Community-Related Items for Delaying First Candidacy
(Horizontal %)

	Importance			Total*	% as most important delay
	Very	Somewhat	Not		
1. I was apprehensive of real physical harm during the campaign	5.5 (14)	7.1 (18)	87.4 (221)	100% (253)	.3 (1)
2. I felt it would be impossible to secure the party nomination	9.8 (23)	15.8 (37)	74.4 (174)	100% (234)	4.6 (11)
3. I felt that the community would be unreceptive to a women	16.8 (44)	35.7 (94)	47.5 (125)	100% (263)	10.6 (25)
Subtotal: % delayers noting community-related item as most important delay				15.6% (37)	

* missing data excluded

Table 6:7 Private-Life Items for Delaying First Candidacy (Horizontal %)

	Importance			Total*	% as most important delay
	Very	Somewhat	Not		
1. My children were too young	13.9 (32)	23.8 (55)	62.3 (144)	100% (231)	8.0 (19)
2. I felt my candidacy would hurt my children	12.2 (28)	20.1 (46)	67.7 (155)	100% (229)	3.8 (9)
3. My husband was opposed	10.0 (22)	14.9 (33)	75.1 (166)	100% (221)	4.2 (10)
4. My political career would conflict with my husband's	7.4 (17)	8.7 (20)	83.9 (193)	100% (230)	1.7 (5)
5. I felt candidacy would hurt my marriage	9.9 (22)	13.8 (31)	76.3 (171)	100% (224)	2.1 (5)
Subtotal: % delayers noting family-related item as most important delay				19.7% (47)	

* missing data excluded

particularly maternal roles over politics was raised by many of the candidates in their written comments. The following provide a few examples.

I happen to believe that for young children to have a parent at home is very important.

I feel very strongly that women must first dedicate themselves to their family, and when that job is well done, then their contribution to politics would be most welcome.

I believe that good parenthood is still the most important vocation in our society.

Personal self-doubts appear to take priority over gender roles as a delay on political candidacy but the two may not be mutually exclusive constraints. One of the central threads running through the gender role argument for the under-representation of women in elected assemblies is that traditional gender roles diminish the self-confidence of women. Dependent and deprived of an appropriate milieu to develop political skills, women lose the self-reliance required for a political career. If this is the tendency, we should expect that women performing traditional gender roles are more likely to delay their candidacies for reasons for self-confidence than those who do not.

Traditional female gender roles, in fact, do appear to be related to personal anxieties about competing for political office among the women surveyed here. (See Table 6:8). Nevertheless, women in traditional gender roles were not always most likely to experience self-doubts. Mothers and homemakers were more likely to have delayed their

candidacies because they feared they would fail in their electoral bid. This would seem to be a peculiar constraint for homemakers since they should be able to return to their pre-candidacy occupation with more ease than those in the labour force. If fear of failure reflects anxieties about undertaking new ventures, then the finding is consistent with the gender role argument. Mothers and wives, however, did not appear to delay their candidacies because they feared they lacked the experience for the job but these tendencies are not statistically significant. Mothers with young children, however, were significantly more likely than mothers with older children and nonmothers to delay for this reason. These conflicting tendencies raise the possibility of a spurious relationship, perhaps owing to the candidate's age since having a young family is related to age. This suspicion was not supported by the data, but the relationship is, nonetheless, a conditional one. Although not shown in tabular form, fear of inexperience was an important delay only for mothers under forty with young children.⁴¹ Delays due to self-doubts about qualifications were largely confined to young mothers with young families; those involved in the most demanding years of childrearing and too young to have gained much experience or contacts outside the home.

Table 6:8 Here

While fears of failure and inexperience are more common among women performing traditional gender roles, this is not the case for those who delayed their candidacy because they doubted that they could muster the financial support for a campaign or that the community would accept women candidates. (See Table 6:8) Married women were significantly less anxious about financial support than unmarried women. This finding undoubtedly reflects the security of a more or less stable source of family income or perhaps even the spouse's financial support for the campaign. Husbands have been reported to be frequent financial backers for women's candidacies in the American milieu.⁴² Marriage and homemaker status also appears to buffer perceptions about sex discrimination in the community. Maternal status appears to have little to do with whether or not the candidate was anxious about pervasive sex discrimination but for homemakers, in particular, this was not an overriding concern. It cannot be determined here why homemakers are less likely to perceive cultural constraints against women's candidacy than women in the workforce. Possibly, it is that the homemaker's isolation denies her the job-related experiences and social contacts which may expose her to and make her more aware of sex discrimination. Generally, this has been

Table 6:8 Relationship Between Doubt-Related Delays and Gender Roles
(Yule's Q)

	<u>Gender Roles</u>			
	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Young Children</u>	<u>Marriage</u>	<u>Homemaker</u>
Risk of failure	.34*	**	**	.17*
Fear of inexperience	-.17	.38*	-.15	**
Perceived funding problems	**	**	-.28*	-.14
Community unreceptive	**	**	-.20*	-.33*

* $p < .10$

Table 6:9 Perceived Levels of Spouse Support for Political Candidacy

Spouse	
Very positive	69.5% (180)
Somewhat positive	15.8 (41)
Indifferent	6.2 (16)
Somewhat negative	5.8 (15)
Very negative	2.7 (7)
Total*	100% (259)

* missing data excluded.

a popular rationale among feminist groups for establishing consciousness-raising groups among homemakers.

Earlier, it was suggested that four factors - spouse support, education and lost-cause and municipal candidacies - should reduce constraints and strains on women's political candidacy. We have already seen some support for this notion. Each of these factors were related to undertaking a political candidacy without delay. Whether these situations also reduce the personal, community and gender-related constraints on candidacy examined here is the next task of the analysis. Spouse support is our first concern.

The contribution of spouse support to women's candidacy can be inferred from the fact that so very few of the married women indicate that they were denied it. (See Table 6:9) Fully 70% of the candidates indicated that their husbands were very positive about their political endeavour while another 16% saw their spouses as being somewhat positive. In contrast, only 8% noted any resistance from their spouses. This apparent consensus among these women candidates supports both American and British studies of elected women and suggests that marriage is a significant constraint on women's recruitment. As Mezey concludes from her study of gender differences among state legislators in Hawaii:⁴³

The husbands of these female politicians appear to be tolerant and understanding; however, if women politicians must be assured of their husband's

support and cooperation before entering politics, women are less likely to be able to commit themselves to political careers. Women forced to choose between politics and their families would be hardpressed to opt for politics, thus greatly limiting the available supply of female political activists.

The personal strain and indeed, resentment, evinced among the women candidates whose husbands did withhold their support is emphasized by their written comments.

My first husband was a chauvinist making my first attempt at municipal elections pretty rough. I was defeated and still feel he helped to do this.

While I have always been turned on by politics and had hoped to make a career of it, it was impossible as I had no resources to enable me to have help to run the household and had no support from my husband. Subsequently we were divorced (not because of politics) and then it was even more out of the question.

He resents my present involvement and considers it divisive in our marriage. He ... takes alot of flack from the 'guys' at the office I think rather than taking pride in my achievements my husband feels diminished by them.

There are mixed results concerning the effects of university education and municipal and lost-cause candidacies as factors minimizing candidacy constraints.

(See Table 6:10) Women with a university education were less likely to feel constrained by their children but more likely to fear their inexperience, lack of financing and sex discrimination in the community. The results are less mixed in relation to municipal candidacy. Women competing at the municipal rather than legislative level were less often delayed by considerations of children's age, inexperience or sex discrimination. Finally, although not significant

statistically, lost-cause legislative candidates felt fewer constraints than those with an outside chance of winning.⁴⁴ Playing a bit part does not appear to raise as many doubts about children or failure, perhaps because the latter is a foregone conclusion. Neither were there as many reservations about lack of experience for the job, again perhaps because lost-cause candidates have no chance of filling the position. Overall, however, none of these relationships are particularly strong and few are statistically significant. These results, therefore, should be interpreted with some caution.

Table 6:10 Here

Role strain is the final concept to be explored in this examination of the relationship between traditional female gender roles and political candidacy. Everyone plays a number of roles at any point in and across their lifetimes. Role strain is said to emerge when the demands of two or more roles do not harmonize well together, making it difficult to perform one without compromising the other.⁴⁵ In other words, role strain is the product of role incongruence and causes anxieties, tensions and perhaps even the resignation of one role to satisfy the other. The gender role explanation for the paucity of women in politics, in fact, rests heavily on the notion of private-versus-public role strain. It is generally argued

Table 6:10: Factors Minimizing Candidacy Delays
(Yule's Q)

	<u>University Education</u>	<u>Municipal Candidacy</u>	<u>Lost-Cause Candidate **</u>
Delays			
Children to young	-.26*	-.17*	-.25
Risk of failure	-.08	.07	-.34
Fear inexperience	.17*	-.13	-.22
Fear funding	.10	.04	-.03
Community unreceptive	.13	-.12	.01

* $p < .10$

** legislative candidates only

Table 6:11 Least Favourite Things About Running for
Political Office

1) Compromising convictions	16.0 (43)
2) Time it took from family	27.9 (75)
3) The possibility of losing	8.9 (24)
4) The expense	22.3 (60)
5) Competition and conflict	19.7 (53)
6) Losing friends	5.2 (14)
Total*	100% (269)

* missing data excluded

that female politicians, not unlike female professionals, are much more likely to suffer private-versus-public role strain than their male counterparts.⁴⁶ Because of their "breadwinning role" males generally benefit from unambiguous norms apportioning their time between public and private roles. Except in very unusual circumstances, the demands of work come first. The female, however, often has to resolve her private role demands before she can even consider adopting a public role.⁴⁷ Otherwise she is likely to suffer from private-versus-public strain.

Some manifestations of gender role strains have already been observed here. Fewer than expected but still 40% of the women delayed their candidacies because their children were too young. Others saw candidacy as a threat to their marriage. These strains, however, can only be inferred from the factors which delayed political candidacy. Another approach to gender role strain is to inquire into the aspects of political candidacy which were most distressing to the candidate. Presumably, if gender roles do not harmonize well with political roles, some evidence of role strain should be found, particularly among homemakers and mothers.

The following comments illustrate some ways that this type of strain was expressed by the candidates.

My concern about my child continues and it could force a decision to quit electoral office. It has always been my greatest problem.

The thing I liked least was the united personal attack launched by the other three candidates (all male) who publically attacked my capabilities as a mother. Two of them insisted on referring to me as the Bitch during public gatherings. There was no such rancour between their male opponents.

One has to wait for one's family to grow up or put up with criticisms of people saying one neglects their husband and children.

In order to tap the notion of gender role conflict more generally, the candidates were asked to select among six options their least favourite thing about running for public office. The responses varied but family strains were most prominent. (See Table 6:11) For 28% of those responding, the time that their political candidacy took from the family was their least favoured thing about running for office. Again, perhaps this proportion may be smaller than predicted by the gender role argument. Nevertheless, not all of these women share situations which are most likely to cause this type of role strain. Some were not married during the first candidacy, some were childless, while others had full-grown children. Similarly, those already out of the home and in the labour force presumably were confronted with and resolved this type of role strain when they entered the labour force. All this is to say that women's private lives differ and therefore, private-public-role strain should vary by their private life situations. Evidence of gender role strain should be most pronounced among homemakers and women with young children.

Table 6:11 Here

The situational explanation for gender role strain appears to be supported among these candidates. (See Tables 6:12 and 6:13) Not unexpectedly, homemakers are almost twice as likely to have disliked the time candidacy took from their families. Similarly, mothers of young children were more likely to feel family-related strain than those with older children. Thus, both homemaking and maternal responsibilities appear to be a source of gender role strain among women candidates. While not shown in tabular form, it also should be noted here that none of the four factors hypothesized as potential minimizers of gender role strain were related to whether or not women resented the time that their candidacy took from their families. Municipal candidates were slightly less likely to feel this strain but the relationship was not statistically significant.

Tables 6:12 and 6:13 Here

VI Conclusion

The findings of this chapter support much of the conventional wisdom about the effects of traditional female gender roles on political activism. Gender roles did not fully inhibit these candidates, since most were wives and

Table 6:12 Relationship Between Gender Role Strain and Pre-Candidacy Occupation

Strain	<u>Occupation</u>	
	<u>Homemaker</u>	<u>Other</u>
Family-Related	36.2% (34)	23.4% (41)
Other	63.8 (60)	76.6 (134)
Total*	100% (94)	100% (175)

Yule's Q = .30 p < .02

* missing data excluded

Table 6:13 Relationship Between Gender Role Strain and Presence of Young Children

Strain	<u>Youngest Child</u>	
	<u>Under 10</u>	<u>Over 10</u>
Family-Related	37.4% (34)	23.3% (31)
Other	62.6 (57)	76.7 (102)
Total	100% (91)	100% (133)

Yule's Q = .2 p < .02

* missing data excluded

mothers when they first stepped into the electoral arena.

For many, however, gender roles clearly affected the pace and direction of their political careers as well as their anxieties, once they had arrived. Mothers and homemakers more often delayed their entry into the electoral field and more often confined their political ambitions to the local level of government. In addition, a good proportion of these women indicated that reservations about their children and marriage delayed their political careers. Moreover, motherhood was a common pre-candidacy situation among those who delayed because of personal insecurities, whether because they feared they did not have the experience to do the job or because they feared losing the campaign. In many ways, then, these findings contribute supporting evidence to the growing body of literature which argues that the equal integration of women in politics (as well as in business or the professions) is unlikely until the prescriptions of traditional gender roles are relaxed and redirected. As long as women are assigned primary responsibility for homemaking and childrearing, their political activism will likely be constrained.

The findings also indicate that these constraints are neither as debilitating nor as deterministic as the gender role argument posits. Gender roles appear to delay political candidacy and thereby, place women at a disadvantage in the competitive struggle to build a successful political career. They also appear to give rise

to public-versus-role strain, feeding the anxieties of many women candidates. Despite all of this, however, the majority of these women managed both roles. Unfortunately, the factors most clearly associated with balancing private and public roles do not appear to beckon well for the increased representation of women in Canadian legislative assemblies. Municipal candidacy or a brief flirtation with legislative politics as a lost-cause candidate are the paths most frequently followed by women in traditional gender roles. Of course, lost-cause candidacies may be all that political recruiters are willing to offer to these women. The following chapter, therefore, turns to the question of whether relevant selectorates such as political parties and voluntary groups deny women recruitment opportunities.

Footnotes

1. See for example, Robert Lane, Political Life (Glencoe Ill.: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 354-55; G. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little Brown, 1963), pp. 333-34; C.B. Flora and Naomi B. Lynn, "Women and Political Socialization: Considerations of the Impact of Motherhood," in Jane Jaquette (ed.) Women in Politics (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), pp. 37-53.
2. Obviously, these norms are now in flux. Nevertheless, while homemaking may no longer be the prescribed 'ideal' occupation for women, homemaking and childrearing principally remain prescribed social tasks for women and not men.
3. On the concept of external or situational constraints see Susan Gluck Mezey, "The Effects of Sex on Recruitment: Connecticut Local Offices," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, 1978.
4. Some examples are Lester G. Seligman, Recruiting Political Elites (New York: General Learning Press, 1971); David Schwartz, "Toward a Theory of Political Recruitment," Western Political Quarterly, 22 (September 1969), 552-71; Kenneth Prewitt, The

Recruitment of Political Leaders (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970).

5. L. Seligman, M. King, C.L. Kim and R. Smith, Patterns of Recruitment: A State Chooses Its Lawmakers (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974), p. 233.
6. Virginia Currey, "Campaign Theory and Practice: The Gender Variable," in M. Githens and J. Prestage (eds.) A Portrait of Marginality (New York: David McKay Company, 1977), p. 150.
7. Seligman, et al., op. cit.
8. James D. Barber, The Lawmakers (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 233.
9. For discussion of the biological fallacy see, Margrit Eichler, The Double Standard: A Feminist Critique of Feminist Social Science (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 11-12.
10. Jessie Bernard, Women and the Public Interest (Chicago: Aldine Press, 1971), p. 12.
11. Rita May Kelly and Mary Boutilier, The Making of Political Women: A Study of Socialization and Role Conflict (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1978), p. 3.
12. See for example, Marcia M. Lee, "Why Few Women Hold Public Office: Democracy and Sex Roles," Political Science Quarterly, 91:2 (1976), pp. 297-314; Naomi Lynn and Cornelia Flora, "Social Punishment and Aspects of Female Participation: 1972 National Convention Delegates," in Githens and Prestage, op. cit.,

- pp. 139-149; Majorie Lansing "The American Women: Voter and Activist," in Jaquette, op. cit., pp. 5-14.
13. Jeane Kirkpatrick, The New Presidential Elite (New York: Sage, 1976), p. 389; Kelly and Boutilier, op. cit., p. 10; Marcia Manning Lee, "Toward Understanding Why Few Women Hold Public Office: Factors Affecting the Participation of Women in Local Politics," in Githens and Prestage, op. cit., p. 137; Susan Welch, "Women as Political Animals? A Test of Some Explanations for Male-Female Political Participation Differences," American Journal of Political Science, 21 (November 1977) p. 724; especially, Emily Stoper, "Wife and Politician: Role Strain Among Women in Public Office," in Githens and Prestage, op. cit., p. 321.
14. Stoper, op. cit., p. 320.
15. Heinz Eulau and David D. Sprague, Lawyers in Politics (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964).
16. Irene Diamond, Sex Roles in the State House (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 5.
17. Flora and Lynn, "Women and Political Socialization: Considerations of the Impact of Motherhood," op. cit., p. 40.
18. Lee, op. cit.
19. Anne-Marie Ambert, Sex Structure, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Longman, 1976), p. 103.
20. Maureen Fielder, "The Participation of Women in

American Politics," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 1975.

21. Ibid.; Diamond, op. cit., p. 34; Kirkpatrick, The New Presidential Elite, op. cit., p. 471; Kelly and Boutilier, op. cit., p. 10.
22. Stephen Bristow, "Women Councillors - An Explanation of the Under-representation of Women in Local Government," Local Government Studies, (May 1980), p. 86.
23. Diamond, op. cit., p. 109; Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, op. cit., p. 42; Lee, "Toward Understanding Why Few Women Hold Public Office," op. cit., p. 129; Melville Currell, Political Women (London: Croom-Helm, 1974), p. 170.
24. Margaret Poloma, "Role Conflict and the Married Professional Woman," in C. Safilios-Rothschild, Toward A Sociology of Women (Toronto: Xerox College Pub., 1972), p. 188.
25. Diamond, op. cit., p. 38.
26. Diamond, op. cit., p. 109; Eleanor Main and Beth Shapiro, "The Recruitment of State Legislators: A Comparison of Male and Female Life Experiences," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Gatlinburg, Tennessee, 1979.
27. See for example, Currell, op. cit., p. 159; Bristow, op. cit., p. 76; Kelly and Boutilier, op. cit., p. 11;

Trudy H. Bers, "Local Political Elites: Men and Women on Boards of Education," Western Political Quarterly, 31 (September 1978), p. 390.

28.. Sue McCowan, Widening Horizons - Women in the Conservative Party (London: Conservative Political Centre, 1975), p. 390.

29. S.G. Mezey, "Does Sex Make a Difference?: A Case Study of Women in Politics," Western Political Quarterly, 31 (December 1978), p. 495; Kirkpatrick, Political Women, op. cit., p. 231; Stoper, op. cit., p. 335; Jill Hills, "Life-Style Constraints on Formal Political Participation: Why So Few Women Local Government Councillors in Britain?" paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, 1980.

30. Diamond, op. cit., p. 37.

31. Kirkpatrick, Political Women, op. cit., p. 231.

32. Ibid., p. 55; Kirkpatrick, The New Presidential Elite, op. cit., p. 472.

33. Previous marriages cannot be ascertained from the data. Since the constraints of marriage at the point of first candidacy is our concern here, those without husbands whether widowed or divorced are considered unmarried.

34. Most but not all those engaged outside the home were gainfully employed.. Only 8 of the 209 non-homemakers indicated that their pre-candidacy occupation was student, retired or unemployed.

35. All of these findings are consistent with studies of American political women. See for example, Kirkpatrick, Political Woman, op. cit., p. 42; Main and Shapiro, op. cit.; Stoper, op. cit., p. 320; Mezey, op. cit., p. 495.
36. All of these gender role variables, of course, are related to the candidate's age at first candidacy. Women under forty are more likely to have young children and to be homemakers before their first election bid. Controls for age have been introduced in the analysis when they appeared to be appropriate.
37. Lost-cause candidacies are only considered among the legislative candidates.
38. These three categories were only partially supported by an equimax factor analysis. Largely due to limited variance in some of the items, they did not load clearly on any one factor.
39. A fear that victory would disrupt her life was coded as a personal constraint because this item was not related to whether the candidate was married, a homemaker or had children. It would appear to measure a general hesitation to enter candidacy, one shared equally by women in and out of traditional gender roles.
40. See Lee, op. cit.
41. The Yule's Q for this relationship among women under 40 was .32 $p < .07$ while no relationship emerged for women over forty with young children.

42. The tendency for husbands to support their wives' campaign financially has been discussed by Stoper, op. cit., p. 327.
43. Mezey, "Does Sex Make a Difference," op. cit., p. 495.
44. The term 'outside chance' is appropriate since running in a competitive riding was operationalized as their party winning one of the last five elections. Fewer than forty of the legislative candidates fit into this 'competitive' category.
45. William Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain," American Sociological Review, 25 (August 1960), p. 485. He describes how role strain results when the different role relationships which the individual is part of require contradictory behaviours. Since individuals take part in a number of roles, some strain is both normal and predictable. See also William C. Mitchell, "Occupational Role Strains: The American Elective Public Official," Administrative Science Quarterly, (September 1959), pp. 219-221.
46. See Currell, op. cit., pp. 72-75; Stoper, op. cit.; Diamond, op. cit., pp. 62-109; Marcia Millman, "Observations on Sex Role Research," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 33 (November 1971), p. 773; Poloma, op. cit.
47. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Women's Place: Options and Limits in Professional Careers (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), p. 20.

Chapter 7

Gates and Gatekeepers: Women Candidates and Recruitment Opportunities

I Introduction

The preceding chapters have focused on the personal backgrounds and experiences common to women who have made the decidedly uncommon transition from citizen activism to political candidacy. An above average socio-economic background, intense and often sustained political exposure, and associational and partisan apprenticeship, all appear to facilitate this transition. In contrast, the performance of traditional female gender roles often delays or redirects political careers. The recruitment process, however, is not confined to the personal merits and private life situations which encourage or impede political candidacy. In many ways the process has not yet begun. No matter how well predisposed, prepared or unencumbered by situational constraints an aspirant may be, she generally still has to pass through the "selectorate" which may open pathways to political office or end budding political careers abruptly in their progress. Few political candidates contest election without the sponsorship or support of political parties or voluntary groups. These intervening political and social organizations, often referred to as the "selectorate", are critical in understanding the recruitment

of women in particular because a growing body of literature attributes the paucity of elected women precisely to gender-biased recruitment practices. This chapter, therefore, examines whether and how political parties and voluntary associations, through their sponsorship, campaign funding and more general support patterns, expand or contract the recruitment opportunities of female candidates.

A substantial literature describing the select and specialized backgrounds of legislators in liberal democracies provides compelling evidence to suggest that subtle social and political practices eliminate significant social groups from the recruitment process.¹ Political recruitment, as Barber correctly emphasizes, involves both the elimination and the attraction of individuals to political candidacy.² Prospective political candidates may be qualified and strongly motivated to pursue a career in politics but they still are confronted with the problem of entering the political arena. Most must pass through prescribed institutional channels and overcome any barriers they may encounter along the way.

Political parties and voluntary associations potentially play two distinct roles in the recruitment process. Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrate that they may serve as political training grounds for prospective candidates. As apprenticeship structures, they frequently provide an atmosphere conducive to the development of political skills and perhaps even spark the motivation to seek public office.

Nevertheless, these organizations often also serve as the selectorate, the gatekeepers, in the recruitment process.³ Voluntary groups may select from their membership potential candidates and rally their organizational resources around them or they may simply endorse candidates selected through other mechanisms. Political parties, especially in Canada, hold a virtual monopoly over pathways to legislative office. Parties not only control who will run as legislative candidates but more important, who will run in constituencies where the chances of victory are greatest. Nevertheless, while most recruitment theorists recognize the central role played by these organizations in leadership selection, few have examined how selectorates actually operate.

The omission of the selectorate in many recruitment studies is partly attributable to research design. More often than not, recruitment studies begin with the elected and then infer from the backgrounds of the successful, the credentials necessary for liberal democratic recruitment.⁴ The tendency to focus solely on the characteristics of successful politicians, however, tends to minimize the critical role of the selectorate in determining political fortunes, regardless of individual merit. Background studies often rest comfortably with the simplistic assumption that those with the necessary qualifications will rise to top political positions unhindered. "Personal ascendancy" models of recruitment too frequently assume that

the institutional channels, the gates through which political aspirants must pass are neutral.

The assumption of neutral gatekeeping has been criticized especially for not depicting the "realities" confronting women aspiring to elected office. In politics, as in other fields, women, often with similar or even better qualifications than their male counterparts, do not appear to have the same opportunities for advancement. There is a body of opinion, therefore, which attributes the paucity of women in authority to sex discrimination or indeed, to a "male conspiracy" which effectively closes avenues for advancement to women, whether they merit advancement or not.⁵

Proponents of this approach to women's political recruitment contend that the lack of women in elected positions has little to do with the personal credentials of women aspirants and everything to do with the recruiter's perspective and biases.⁶ The selectorate, in other words, is not neutral, opening gates to all those with merit, but rather, is decidedly biased in the way that recruitment opportunities are distributed between men and women. While often compelling, unfortunately such arguments often are based on fragmentary testimonial evidence or suspicion alone. Nevertheless, the role of the selectorate as a purveyor of recruitment opportunities has not been adequately explored in the political careers of women, or for that matter, men.

II Recruitment Opportunities and Political Candidacy

Athough the literature often gives a ceremonial bow to the crucial influence of mediating structures in leadership selection, there is surprisingly little agreement about the role of political structures, the selectorate, or the nature of recruitment opportunities. Both Schlesinger and Seligman have attempted to introduce the notion of mediating structures with their very different use of the concept "political opportunity structure". Both, in the final analysis, however, minimize the role of the selectorate and revert back to view that those with the necessary qualifications will invariably rise to the top.

Schlesinger views the political opportunity structure in terms of the number of political positions open for electoral contest in any given system and hypothesizes that this opportunity structure molds political ambitions.⁷ Political careers are shaped by immediate structural forces rather than factors that occur in the more distant past of the candidate.⁸ Schlesinger's analysis thus attempts to inject into the study of recruitment the impact of structures, whether defined in terms of the number of positions formally available or turnover rates which effectively make positions available. The availability of contestable electoral positions is unquestionably a crucial variable in the leadership selection process, one which will be explored in more detail later in this chapter. In Schlesinger's work, however, this structural effect is

combined with the notion of uninhibited personal ascendancy while the impact of intervening political networks is virtually ignored.

Schlesinger views the political opportunity structure simply as a "honey comb" of political offices whose availability in large part depends on turnover rates.⁹ Political elites, thus, in a very limited sense, do contribute to the political opportunity structure but only by deciding to retire. Regardless of how positions are made available, the key assertion in Schlesinger's work is that political opportunity is critical for both the generation and satisfaction of ambitions.¹⁰ In essence, Schlesinger's candidate is an economic man who unleashes his political ambitions, generated by the "invisible hand" of political competition, on the free market of political offices. Ambition is the currency of political advancement and those who can pay the fare will take the journey. The institutional channels through which the ambitious must travel do not discriminate against paying customers.

Perhaps, Schlesinger minimizes the role of the selectorate in the opportunity structure because he examines the American setting where the primary system better enables the ambitious to initiate their own candidacies without major interventions by the selectorate. Such a conception of a self-generated career does not correspond with the Canadian situation except perhaps at the municipal level. With the rare exception of the independent candidate,

aspirants for legislative office must receive the endorsement of the local party organization. The ambitious individualism implied by Schlesinger's model is a virtual impossibility. Although also writing from the American setting, Barber summarizes well the relationship between the candidate and the selectorate.¹¹

However strong his motives, however ready he stands to serve, the political candidate remains on the sidelines until and unless some practical opportunity presents itself. Here the role of the recruiter is central, whether he seeks out candidates for nomination or merely selects from those who appear.

Lester Seligman also employs the concept of political opportunity structure and, unlike Schlesinger, includes the role of the selectorate. Over time, however, his work has progressively shifted toward a variant of the personal ascendancy model.¹² In some ways, this is because Seligman appears to be less concerned with the distribution of political opportunities among those who attempt to gain elected office and more concerned with rationalizing the exceptional characteristics of those already in office.

Seligman identifies two types of opportunities necessary for political recruitment. First, aspirants must have the "formal opportunity", as prescribed by law, to contest election. More important, however, the aspirant must have "effective political opportunity" - the credentials, resources and support which are common to only a select few of those who have the formal opportunity to seek

election.¹³ Initially, at least, Seligman assigned the allocation of effective opportunity primarily to the party system.¹⁴

Effective opportunity is determined largely by the party system, the sponsors and gatekeepers to leadership recruitment. Effective political opportunity is an output of the party system.

While not entirely disregarding sponsors and gatekeepers, the sense of intervening structures has become blurred in Seligman's recent work. He argues that effective political opportunity exists for those with the resources, abilities and motivations for political activity and who are not barred by law from political participation. Moreover, the boundaries of effective political opportunity are "coterminous with the characteristics of those nominated, and/or elected compared with the characteristics of those excluded".¹⁵ And so the circle goes. Those by virtue of their inclusion have effective political opportunity while those by virtue of their exclusion do not. On the face of it, then, Seligman's approach does not appear to hold out much utility for analyzing the role of the selectorate in the political recruitment of women. According to Seligman's definition of effective political opportunity, we simply may conclude that women are not elected because their gender is infrequently "coterminous" with the characteristics of those elected and/or nominated.

Of course, the story does not end here. Effective political opportunity, as Seligman defines it, principally

is concerned with the mass-elite dichotomy. He make no distinction between elected officials and candidates.

Surely, however, effective opportunity should also vary among political candidates, identifying those most likely to win and lose elections. It is among candidates themselves that selectorates - whether through their sponsorships, nomination practices or mobilization of organizational resources - become the crucial mediating structures in the selection of political leadership.

The approach to political opportunity taken here will depart from those offered by Schlesinger and Seligman. This chapter will focus on what are termed "recruitment opportunities" (the sponsorship, money and support) that selectorates (parties and voluntary associations) make available to female candidates and by what criteria. The concept of recruitment opportunities, however, is a rather elastic one because their nature and sources are likely to vary substantially across electoral systems as well as within them.¹⁶ Within partisan systems, for example, political parties are likely to control most of the recruitment opportunities available to a political aspirant. Yet, the opportunities provided by political parties are not necessarily relevant in basically nonpartisan systems such as Canadian municipal government. Both because of the virtual absence of competing political parties as well as the jurisdictional concerns of local government, voluntary associations are more likely to structure the recruitment

opportunities available to municipal candidates.¹⁷

Within systems, partisan systems, for example, some parties are better able than others to provide recruitment opportunities.¹⁸ In particular, the enduring pattern of voter support for a particular party in a great many provincial and federal constituencies means that certain party endorsements are an open door to elective office. The following analysis, therefore, examines the sources and nature of the recruitment opportunities provided to female candidates in both partisan and nonpartisan systems. First, we will turn to a review of other literature about the influence of political parties on recruitment opportunities among women.

4. III Political Parties and Legislative Recruitment Opportunities

In parliamentary systems such as Canada, political parties, and especially the constituency organizations, maintain a firm control over opportunities for legislative recruitment.¹⁹ Depending on a party's resources (which are largely determined by its competitive position in the constituency and in the legislature) and its willingness to mobilize them, this selectorate strongly influences who will be elected to political office. Political parties mobilize the campaign workers, raise funds and conduct election campaigns, thereby helping to offset the unequal distribution of personal resources among candidates.²⁰ In

some cases, their endorsement alone virtually guarantees electoral victory. All parties, however, can expand or contract the recruitment opportunities of legislative candidates by mobilizing or withholding organizational cohesion, expertise, support and financial resources.

Little is actually known about how this selectorate operates or why only certain types of individuals receive the full weight of the recruitment opportunities it controls. As in Britain, the nomination process and the provision of recruitment opportunities largely remains the "secret garden" of Canadian politics.²¹ Comparative studies suggest that those who most frequently pass through the party's gates to legislative office are selected on the bases of incumbency, above-average socio-economic status, local connections, party experience and integration in the community (as evinced by length of residence and voluntary group affiliation).²² These general traits also have been found among Canadian legislators.²³

Party endorsements also often hinge on ascriptive characteristics such as the candidate's sex. Most of the "chosen few" are also male which lends support to the claim that parties are biased in the way they distribute their recruitment resources between men and women. The few women who do contest legislative elections are most frequently relegated to the status of "lost-cause" candidates.²⁴ Of course, party spokesmen, invariably respond to the charge of bias by arguing that the discrepancy simply reflects the

scarcity of women suitably qualified for candidacy rather than any discriminatory recruitment practices. If this is the case, we should expect to find that recruitment opportunities flow most frequently to women with social status, party experience, and strong ties in the community.

In the absence of selectorate biases, women who are professionals, university educated and community leaders should be most likely to receive recruitment opportunities.

On the face of it, it appears that males and females, once nominated, do not share equal opportunities for election. An admittedly crude measure of recruitment opportunities, for example, is success rates. In Britain, the success rates of female candidates, although improving in recent years have been consistently lower than those of their male counterparts.²⁵ Similarly, in Canadian federal elections women's chances for election have remained consistently lower than their male counterparts. In 1972, one out of every four male candidates was elected to Parliament compared to less than one in ten of the female candidates (7.6% of women candidates were elected). In 1980, 20% of the male candidates were successful but only 6.5% of the female candidates became federal legislators.²⁶ Clearly, then, the paucity of women legislators does not simply reflect the fact that there are fewer women candidates than men. Being a woman appears to be a handicap in legislative elections.

Studies conducted in a number of western settings

suggest that one reason for this handicap is that political parties do not offer recruitment opportunities to women.²⁷ Political parties as well as voluntary associations less often seek out and encourage women to contest political office than men.²⁸ Elected women also indicate that they have trouble generating the funds necessary to conduct a successful electoral campaign. They feel that their candidacies are not taken seriously by parties.²⁹ The most critical barrier to women's candidacy, however, appears to be reluctance on the part of competitive political parties to nominate women.³⁰ In Chapter 6 we saw that 25% of these candidates indicated that they delayed their political careers because they felt they could not get their party's nomination. On the basis of interviews with elected women, moreover, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women concluded that this was the most significant hurdle to women's candidacy.³¹

The interviews revealed a number of impediments to women seeking candidature; in particular, prejudice in the constituency associations, inadequate financial resources and limited mobility. The constituency association has autonomy in the selection of the candidate and jealously guards this right. It is at the constituency level, according to the women interviewed, that disparagement of women candidates and the belief that a woman candidate will lose votes are usually encountered. Women who have been successful at the polls confirm that winning the nomination is a more formidable hurdle than winning the election.

The charge of sexual discrimination, as everyone knows, is particularly difficult to document. The foregoing

discussion, however, suggests two contrasting expectations about how political parties distribute recruitment opportunities among women candidates. As already noted, the first hypothesis is that party organizations distribute their resources on the basis merit. Those most likely to be sponsored by the party (especially in competitive ridings) and to receive party funds and organizational support should, as the backgrounds of elected politicians suggest, have a high social status, considerable party experience and extensive ties in the community. This hypothesis, in other words, assumes the neutrality of party organizations.

A decidedly different expectation is suggested by the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. It suggests that the party's biases toward women candidates increase with the competitive position of the party. The women interviewed by the Commission were winners and thus, presumably were nominated to competitive ridings. It is doubtful, however, whether all local party organizations place barriers in front of women candidates, similar to those reported by the Royal Commission. Instead, non-competitive parties may actively pursue women to serve as lost-cause candidates. Indeed, it would appear that political parties most often seek out or endorse women in non-competitive ridings, since the vast majority of women candidates for legislative office contest election with the virtual certainty of losing. Since lost-cause candidacies do not promise elected office, the recruiter does not have

an unlimited supply of potential candidates from which to choose.³² Moreover, non-competitive parties at the constituency level (especially, those also in the minority in government) have few incentives at their disposal to encourage individuals to run as lost-cause candidates. In these situations, in particular, behind the name on the ballot may stand a long line of those who were asked to run and refused.³³

The competitive position of the party, then, sets limits on the measure of recruitment opportunities that the party can offer. It may also identify situations in which parties, if gender-biased, are most likely to resist women; namely, when they have a chance of achieving election. As Diamond further explains:³⁴

When the demand for the product is low, the seller cannot be choosy about prospective buyers. The political recruiter in a low-demand situation cannot ask that potential candidates possess specific qualifications; the politically inexperienced - even women - become acceptable.... The dynamic is entirely different where political competition is stiff ... the political recruiter can select prospective candidates by eliminating those contestants who do not meet a set of specific criteria: sex, occupational background and political experience become relevant.

The following examination of recruitment opportunities provided to women candidates by political parties, therefore, will proceed with two potentially conflicting assumptions. First, if we assume the neutrality of the selectorate, women demonstrating relevant achievement and experiential characteristics should be expected to gain a

full measure of recruitment opportunities while those without such characteristics do not. Relevant achievement and experiential characteristics will be operationalized as a ~~university~~ education, professional occupational status, extensive party experience, and pronounced associational ties. Women with these characteristics should more often than those without them be recruited to competitive ridings, and receive party support and campaign funds. In contrast, or perhaps co-existing with this notion of opportunity through merit, is that recruitment opportunities provided to female candidates will vary by the competitive position of the party, both at the constituency level and in government. We should expect to find that competitive parties are less willing to nominate women, regardless of their qualifications, and more likely to place barriers in front of women candidates than non-competitive parties. In other words, party strength rather than the candidate's personal credentials should identify situations in which selectorate bias is most likely to occur.

IV Voluntary Groups and Municipal Recruitment Opportunities

There is very little research in Canada concerning municipal recruitment and the recruitment opportunities available to women at this level.³⁵ In Canada, even more than in the United States, the municipal and legislative levels of government remain separate, and contrary to conventional wisdom, municipal government rarely acts as a

training ground or stepping stone for legislative recruitment. Moreover, as Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate, the paths that women follow to each level of office are often characterized by quite distinct socialization and apprenticeship patterns.

Perhaps the most important structural difference between the two levels of government is the virtual absence of political parties at the municipal level. Despite largely unsuccessful attempts to extend party activity to a number of Canadian municipalities, municipal recruitment continues to use nonpartisan mechanisms. It is generally agreed that voluntary groups have filled the organizational vacuum that otherwise might be taken up by political parties. As Lightbody explains,³⁶

Because of the lack of significant independent authority, the sandbox politics of City Hall offer little incentive for organized partisan activity or division... cities appear more vulnerable to pressure by special groups, most usually real-estate and construction interests, whose livelihood is affected by decisions within the limited jurisdiction of municipal councils....

There is little firm evidence indicating when voluntary groups intervene in municipal recruitment or the types of opportunities they are most likely to provide. Clearly, with the exception of a party label, some voluntary associations have recruitment resources similar to those of the political party. Potentially, they can provide the candidate with organizational resources, financial contributions and votes.³⁷ Moreover, if we assume

selectorate neutrality on the basis of gender they should disproportionately distribute these recruitment opportunities to their members and especially, leaders.

Research conducted in the United States confirms that organizational support is a valuable recruitment opportunity at the local level.³⁸ Nevertheless, there is partial evidence to suggest that women benefit less frequently than men from these opportunities.³⁹ Male candidates for local office more frequently note that institutional agents sought them out and encouraged them to contest election while female candidacies at the local level are more often self-initiated or encouraged by non-institutional agents such as the immediate family and friends.⁴⁰ This research, however, fails to demonstrate whether women candidates were passed over by voluntary associations because of selectorate bias or simply because they were not part of the associational network underlying municipal government.

We have already seen that the candidates in our sample were active joiners and leaders of a variety of voluntary associations ranging from community associations to women's social groups. Voluntary groups, however, differ substantially in their social and political influence as well as in the kind and quantity of resources they can mobilize in a municipal campaign. Thus, even though women are frequent "joiners", this activity need not bring pay-offs in terms of recruitment opportunities. If groups are detached from the political process or have few

resources, such as, for example, women's social groups, recruitment resources need not follow. This analysis, therefore, will examine the benefits flowing to candidates with various types of group involvement.

In spite of the potential similarities between voluntary groups and political parties in their respective spheres of influence, the parallels cannot be drawn too closely. The political party, after all, holds a virtual monopoly over the distribution of recruitment resources at the legislative level. At the municipal level, recruitment formally remains unstructured. Voluntary groups may act like parties sometimes, initiating some candidacies and financing others but they do not dominate the field of potential candidates. In fact, the little evidence we have about the behaviour of voluntary groups in Canadian municipal politics suggests that their input as a selectorate is marginal.⁴¹ They appear to open gates for only a small minority of successful municipal politicians. This factor alone should be conducive to a stronger incidence of self-initiated candidacies at the municipal level, a hypotheses which will be explored below.

If any structure consistently mediates between the candidate and local political office, it is the class structure. Overall, nonpartisan systems demonstrate a systematic class bias in recruitment.⁴² Municipal candidates compete without the benefit of a party label to locate them in the electorate or a party organization to

provide campaign resources. Thus, it is generally only those with sufficient financial resources and prominence in the community who can launch a successful municipal campaign. As has been noted elsewhere, elections, especially in major cities, are not "poor men's" games.⁴³

Local prominence and money are crucial resources in the municipal sphere but these resources are not divorced from the potential contribution of voluntary groups to a campaign. The sociology of participation tells us that these resources are likely to be cumulative. Voluntary groups may provide recruitment opportunities to their membership but their membership, generally being middle and upper middle class, already have an advantage in nonpartisan systems. Thus, it is expected that those least likely to get outside support for their local candidacy are also those least able to mount a successful campaign without outside support. We begin with the sources of sponsorship for municipal and legislative candidates.

Findings

No matter how well predisposed to the idea, most political aspirants need some kind of encouragement and assurance from others before they are enticed across the threshold from active citizen politics to political candidacy.⁴³ Such encouragement can spring up from any number of sources ranging from a circle of intimates to a broader pool of acquaintances to local or even national

elites with whom the individual has little or no interaction. In order to assess the major sources of encouragement for women candidates, the respondents were asked to indicate who had encouraged them to seek public office. Most of the candidates, as we will see in Table 7:2, identified several sources of encouragement for their candidacies. Only a few indicated that they had decided on their own to run.

Not all candidates for elected office require encouragement from others before they enter the electoral fray. Previous studies, however, report conflicting evidence about the incidence of self-starting among male and female candidates. Generally speaking, women appear more likely than men to initiate their own candidacies at the local level but are less likely to do so at the legislative level.⁴⁴ Gender differences, obviously, cannot be tested here but self-starting is more usual for municipal candidates. (See Table 7:1) While there are actually few self-starters among this group of women candidates⁴⁵ (only 9% (N=31) indicated that they had absolutely no outside encouragement), fully twenty-five of thirty-one self-starters contested their first election at the municipal level. Like the American primary system, the absence of a formal gatekeeper does appear to facilitate unsponsored political candidacies.

Table 7:1 Here

Most of the women became candidates for public office with the urgings of others. The sources of this encouragement are diverse and vary by the level of office contested. (See Table 7:2) Nevertheless, the responses also reinforce one conclusion of the previous chapter. The support of primary groups, of family and friends, seems crucial in the transition from citizen activism to office seeking, especially among municipal candidates. Approximately one-third of both the legislative and municipal candidates were encouraged by their family while 42% of the municipal candidates were urged to run by their close friends. Women, however, are not alone in emphasizing the central role of primary groups in initiating candidacies. Rather, primary group support appears to be at the core of the candidacies of both men and women as Seligman et al. discovered among their sample of Oregon politicians.⁴⁶

However large or small, or simple or complex the organizational base of the campaign organization, the candidate's intimates are at the centre, ultimately influencing his decisions and support him. Without such a political primary group there would be no candidacy, nor campaign, nor support from other groups.

After moving out of the circle of intimates, marked differences appear in the sources of encouragement for

Table 7:1 Self-Starters by Level of Office Contested at First Candidacy

	Municipal	Legislative
Self-Starters	13.3 (25)	4.6 (6)
Other	86.7 (163) 100%	95.4 (124) 100%
Total*	(188)	(130)

Yule's Q = .52 p. < .05

* missing data removed.

Table 7:2 Sources of Encouragement for Municipal and Legislative Candidates

Source	Municipal N=192	Legislative N=131
1) Family Members	31.8 (61)	32.1 (42)
2) Close Friends	42.2 (81)	32.1 (42)
3) Business Associates	14.6 (28)	3.8 (5)
4) Community Group	38.6 (74)	11.5 (15)
5) Union/Occupational Grp.	34.4 (66)	3.1 (4)
6) Local Party Official	17.2 (33)	56.5 (74)
7) Provincial Party Official	10.4 (20)	34.4 (45)
8) Federal Party Official	11.5 (22)	33.6 (44)
9) Party Women's Group	5.7 (11)	7.6 (10)

municipal and legislative candidates. By and large, these differences reflect the consequences of nonpartisan and partisan recruitment networks. As expected, voluntary groups take an active role in encouraging municipal candidates. In fact, 39% of the municipal candidates report that they were urged to run by community groups compared to only 11% of the legislative candidates.⁴⁷ Political parties also appear to play a marginal role in encouraging women to contest municipal office. Thus, we find some, although not marked evidence of political party involvement in what is generally considered to be a nonpartisan system.

Not unexpectedly, the local political party appears to be the principal reservoir of support for legislative candidates. Almost sixty percent of the candidates received encouragement from a local party official. Moreover, while candidate recruitment is considered the formal prerogative of constituency associations, the candidates' responses reveal considerable involvement by officials at the upper echelons of the party hierarchy. One-third indicated that provincial or federal party officials helped initiate their candidacy. Women's auxiliaries, in contrast, appear to have played only a negligible role in initiating the political careers of these women.

The candidates offered mixed comments about how they were approached by outsiders and encouraged to put their names on the ballot. The municipal candidates offered little elaboration about how they were drawn into an

electoral contest. One, for example, indicated that her first try for a municipal office was "the result of a bet". Among legislative candidates two distinct tendencies were apparent. For some the idea of being a candidate was genuinely novel to them before they were approached by the selectorate. Others waited for party officials to take notice of them. The following comments outline this difference.

It never occurred to me to be a candidate until my local constituency organization suggested it while we were searching for someone to run.

Prior to approaching me to stand for nomination the executive approached several men, although I had considerably more municipal acumen than the men. I had to keep getting in front of them until it finally dawned on them that I wanted to be the candidate.

Previously it was hypothesized that party organizations might offer recruitment opportunities to women (in this case encouragement to run) under two conditions. The might be extended to women candidates with credentials or in contrast, might be withheld in competitive ridings. The measures of association shown in Table 7:3 more strongly support the latter argument.⁴⁸ The incidence of encouragement by local party officials is more strongly related to the competitive position of the party than to the candidates' personal credentials. Local party officials are most likely to seek out women candidates and encourage them to seek election when the party is out of government. Local party officials are also more likely to encourage women with

party experience (defined here to be five or more years of partisan activity). Thus, while party loyalists more often get a push from the local party executive, local party officials appear to have little preference in terms of occupational, educational or party status of the candidate. Opposition parties, that is those least likely to afford the candidate a competitive riding, most often seek out women to contest legislative office, regardless of their credentials.

Table 7:3 Here

Many of the women candidates suggested in their written comments the relationship between the recruitment practices of the local party organization and its competitive position. The following are two examples.

When I ran as a candidate the seat was hopeless. I was running in a constituency against the premier of the province. My party was discouraged and wondered if they should field a candidate.

On advice of an executive member of our local organization and encouragement from the Provincial executive I agreed to try ... It was a difficult area for our party to win at the time. I was opposed by a cabinet minister of the government of the day.

It is less clear when federal or provincial party organizations are most likely to intervene at the constituency level and encourage women's legislative candidacy. (See Table 7:4). They may be slightly more likely to become involved in candidate recruitment when in

Table 7:3 Relationship Between Party and Candidate Characteristics and Sponsorship by Local Party Officials
(Yule's Q)

Party Strength in Riding	.14
Party in Government	-.42*
Women's Association Participation	.00
Party Experience (5 yrs. +)	.27*
Party Elite	.16
Professional	-.12
University	.03

* p. < .05

Table 7:4 Relationship Between Party and Candidate Characteristics and Sponsorship by Provincial and Federal Party Officials
(Yule's Q)

Party Strength in Riding	.08
Party in Government	-.19
Women's Association Participation	-.08
Party Experience (5 yrs. +)	.03
Party Elite	.00
Professional	.09
University	.38*

* p. < .05

opposition but this relationship is not statistically significant. Candidates with a university education, however, are more likely to benefit from the intervention of the party's provincial or federal hierarchy. The party hierarchy is no more or less likely to encourage women who have served the party for extended periods or as a party official. Education appears to be the only credential prompting recruitment opportunities from the extra-constituency party hierarchy.

Table 7:4 Here

Encouraging a candidate to run is not a costly expenditure of recruitment opportunities for a selectorate, especially if the woman is being invited to contest a lost-cause constituency. Often a far more critical resource for the candidate, particularly at the municipal level, is the provision of campaign funds. Fewer than one-half of the municipal candidates, benefited from this type of recruitment opportunity. (See Table 7:5) Fully 51% of those contesting municipal office indicated that they relied most heavily on their own money to run their first campaign for public office. Moreover, the primary group is the second most frequent source of funds. More than one in three of the municipal candidates indicated that at least some of their campaign costs were absorbed by friends and interested individuals. In contrast, only a minority of

these women received financial support from voluntary groups, the most obvious selectorate in nonpartisan systems. In fact, almost an equal number of municipal candidates indicated that they received most of their campaign funds from a local party (N=16) as from voluntary groups (N=17). Voluntary groups appear to provide little more for women candidates for local office than encouragement at the initiation stage.

Table 7:5 Here

As expected, those few candidates most likely to receive at least some financial support from voluntary groups were group leaders, although not necessarily institutional group leaders. (See Table 7:6) This is a somewhat perplexing finding in so much as leadership of unions or professional associations, community groups or hospital boards should tie the candidate into networks most capable of providing financial resources. Nevertheless, even when the relationship between group financing and group leadership is broken down by group type this tendency persists (not shown in tabular form). Only leaders of civil rights and religious groups appear likely to receive campaign funds from voluntary groups.⁴⁹ Overall, then, we must conclude that group leadership is not a very important asset for obtaining financial support from voluntary groups at the municipal level.

4

Table 7:5 Sources of Campaign Funding Among Municipal Candidates (horizontal %)

	% of Municipal Candidates (N=192)		
	Most	Some	None*
1) Personal Funds	51.0 (98)	26.6 (51)	22.4 (43)
2) Friends	6.2 (12)	36.0 (69)	57.8 (111)
3) Interested Individuals	14.1 (27)	34.4 (66)	51.5 (99)
4) Private Industry	4.2 (8)	10.4 (20)	85.4 (164)
5) Voluntary Groups	8.3 (16)	5.8 (11)	85.9 (165)
6) Local Party	8.9 (17)	9.9 (19)	81.2 (156)
7) Prov./Fed. Party	5.7 (11)	5.7 (11)	88.6 (170)

* includes never knew, don't recall, missing data.

Table 7:6 Relationship Between Voluntary Group Financial Support and Group Leadership
(Yule's Q)

<u>Leader of</u>	<u>Voluntary Group Funds</u>
Institutional group	.06
Social/Religious group	.28*
Women's rights/Civil rights	.40*

* p. < .05

Table 7:6 Here

Securing adequate financial resources to conduct an electoral campaign is obviously an essential recruitment resource for any candidate, male or female. Generally speaking, however, women have more difficulty than men raising sufficient resources to wage campaigns. Most males are tied into the professional or business communities both of which are potentially lucrative sources of campaign funds. A good proportion of women candidates, in contrast, are homemakers and thus, are isolated from the economic community and usually, financially dependent.⁵⁰ The fact that most female candidates for municipal office must conduct their campaigns by draining the family income or depending on the donations of friends, then, severely limits their recruitment opportunities. This point was raised repeatedly by the municipal candidates in their written comments. The following underscore the frustrations encountered by many.

The old Boys raise money for the old Boys. But women don't raise funds for women.

I believe that my campaign at the municipal level would have had more chance for success if I had more money available. E.g., I spent \$150 in 1974. The average spent was \$5000.

I have been extremely hampered by financial considerations. For the amount of money spent I achieved a very high number of votes. I had good

workers but \$500-\$1500 for a campaign in Toronto is not enough.

Of course, limited sources of campaign funding need not constitute an electoral handicap if the candidate has sufficient personal resources to conduct a self-financed campaign. Table 7:7, however, indicates that the ability to pay (as measured by educational and occupational status of the candidate and the occupational status of the candidate's spouse) has little to do with whether or not the municipal candidacy is self-financed. Rather, it appears that those least likely to finance their own electoral campaigns at the municipal level are those most integrated into the political and social life of their communities. Municipal candidates over forty years of age, and presumably with more experience in the community, are less likely to finance their campaigns. The same appears to be the case for those with a history of party activity and leadership. While the evidence is indirect, it appears that those most integrated in the community have an advantage in obtaining this recruitment opportunity at the municipal level. This theme was emphasized by one of the municipal candidates in this way:

Women can get elected easily if they belong to the local establishment.

Because municipal recruitment is unstructured by a formal mediating organization like the political party, our discussion of the recruitment opportunities provided to municipal candidates will end here. The results of the

Table 7:7 Relationship Between Background Characteristics
and Personal Campaign Funding Among Municipal
Candidates

(Yule's Q)

Campaign Funds
Mostly Personal

Party Elite	-.26*
Party Experience (5 yrs. +)	-.38*
Professional	.05
University	-.16
Age (40+)	-.38*

* p. < .05

analysis to this point suggest that voluntary groups play only a minor role in the recruitment of women for municipal office and then, only at the cue-setting stage. We will return to the determinants of electoral success at the municipal level in the next chapter. The remaining pages of this chapter will highlight the recruitment opportunities provided by political parties to female candidates for legislative office.

It is sometimes argued that one clear advantage of having political parties mediate in the recruitment process is their ability to equalize personal resource inequalities among competing candidates. Political parties raise money for the candidate and supply a pool of committed and experienced volunteer labour to run the campaign. Thus, in contrast to municipal candidates, party nominees for legislative office have a more or less permanent structure from which to draw resources. This difference is clearly seen in Table 7:8. Admittedly, over one-half of the legislative candidates used some of their personal funds or got some financial support from friends and interested individuals. Nevertheless, fully one-third got most of their campaign funds from the local party organization while another one-quarter received most from their provincial or federal party organizations. Another 40% got at least some financial support from party sources. Clearly, such a reservoir of recruitment opportunities was not reflected in the responses of the municipal candidates in this sample.

Table 7:8 Here

The relationship between the allocation of party funds for women candidates and the competitive position of the party will not be explored here because the two variables are not autonomous. Parties that have been out of government and have little chance for victory locally experience real difficulties in raising funds for all their candidates, male or female. They, therefore, may be willing but unable to provide sufficient funds to their candidate to conduct a campaign. Nevertheless, while the financial resources at a party's disposal are limited by its competitive position, parties can be discriminating in the way in which they allocate what resources they have among women candidates. Earlier in this chapter, it was hypothesized that under the assumption of selectorate neutrality, women with demonstrated credentials should receive more recruitment opportunities from a party than those who do not. Women with few credentials should rely heavily on their own funds to contest legislative office while party resources should be mobilized around high-status candidates.

Table 7:9 provides some support for this expectation. Those least likely to rely mostly on their own funds in their legislative campaign had a university education and considerable party experience. They were also more likely

Table 7:8 Sources of Campaign Funding Among Legislative Candidates (horizontal %)

% of legislative candidates (N=131)			
	Most	Some	None*
1) Personal Funds	19.1 (25)	58.0 (76)	22.9 (30)
2) Friends	3.8 (5)	51.1 (67)	45.1 (59)
3) Interested Individuals	8.4 (11)	61.1 (80)	30.5 (40)
4) Private Industry	1.5 (2)	13.7 (18)	84.7 (111)
5) Voluntary Groups	0 (0)	6.1 (8)	93.9 (123)
6) Local Party	34.4 (45)	38.2 (50)	27.4 (36)
7) Prov./Fed. Party	26.0 (34)	40.5 (53)	33.5 (44)

* includes never knew, don't recall, missing data.

to have a professional spouse, another indicator of the candidates' social position. Similarly, women who had served as party officials were most likely to receive this recruitment opportunity from the local party organization. Again, however, we encounter evidence of different behaviour among the local and upper echelons of the party. While the local party most frequently extends encouragement and finances to those with party credentials, recruitment resources from the upper echelon of the party flow to women with university education. When the upper ranks of the party intervene, recruitment resources do not necessarily flow to the party loyalist but to those with credentials which are recognized in the broader community.

Table 7:9 Here

While obviously essential, encouragement and finances are not the only recruitment opportunities that political parties may allocate to political candidates. The questionnaire, therefore, included a number of items designed to tap the recruitment opportunities provided to women by party organizations. One of these items required the respondents to assess each strata of the party organization in terms of its behaviour towards them as women. It must be stressed that only the candidate's perceptions of sex-discrimination are being measured here. Nonetheless, as Kirkpatrick has argued elsewhere, in cases

Table 7:9 Relationship Between Background Characteristics and Campaign Funding Sources Among Legislative Candidates

(Yule's Q)

	Source Mostly		
	<u>Personal</u>	<u>Local Party</u>	<u>Prov./Fed. Party</u>
Professional	.20	-.34*	.11
University	-.51*	.01	-.46*
Over 40 yrs.	.05	-.26*	.20
Party elite	-.10	.34*	.08
Party experience	-.31*	.07	.00
Professional spouse	-.28*	-.16	.00

* p. < .06

Table 7:10 Candidate Perceptions of Party's Attitude Toward Women Candidate (horizontal %)

	Perceived Attitude			
	Resistant	Indifferent	Accepting	Total
Constituency Organization	5.0 (5)	22.8 (23)	72.2 (73)	100% (101)
Constituency Executive	11.7 (12)	20.3 (21)	68.0 (70)	100% (103)
Region/Prov. Executive	8.3 (8)	23.7 (23)	68.0 (66)	100% (97)
Federal Executive	11.8 (8)	23.5 (16)	64.7 (44)	100% (68)

* missing data excluded.

of sex-discrimination, perceptions can be as important as action.⁵¹

The belief that her candidacy would be welcome by party leaders might encourage a woman to pursue it, and the perception of party leaders as inhospitable might easily have the opposite effect. The perception of the situation becomes one of the facts defining the situation.

Very few of the legislative candidates perceived that any level of the party was resistant toward them because they were women. (See Table 7.10) In fact, only 5% saw their constituency organization as resistant, although a slightly greater number sensed resistance among the constituency and federal executives. There is some evidence to suggest that women who are deeply committed partisans are least likely to perceive sex-discrimination within their party organizations.⁵² These candidates, however, had mixed perceptions about why they did or did not experience resistance from their party in their first bid for legislative office. The crucial factor again appears to be the competitive position of the party.

If a woman seemed capable she usually received the same support that a man would - but remember, as I said above we are not a constituency that our party hoped to win.

I was nominated by a man and at no time had I reason to believe that I was treated in any way different because I was a woman. (She opposed a cabinet minister.)

Other respondents, however, saw discrimination emanating not necessarily from the official wings of the party but from

the party's electoral strategists.

This question should contain a column for 'backroom boys', because they are the ones who oppose women candidates and not necessarily the provincial or federal executives.

The party hierarchy in ... were decidedly nervous about my first candidacy but they couldn't persuade any male to run against me because nobody really expected we could win the seat.

Only a few of the candidates felt that any level of the party was resistant toward them because they were women. There are, however, numerous barriers that parties can place in front of legislative candidates and thereby reduce their recruitment opportunities. The candidates, therefore, were asked to indicate whether they had experienced any one of a number of negative incidents during their bid for election. Fully 32% of the legislative candidates experienced at least one negative party incident. (See Table 7:11) Among these, 14% had campaign workers desert them, while another 10% indicated that during the nomination, the meeting hall had been packed against them. Other women experienced a barrage of political tricks. One woman recounts her rather exceptional experience.

In my second try for a federal nomination the following occurred:

(a) The provincial campaign committee (the backroom boys) was strongly opposed to any woman running in our province and did everything to discourage the few who tried.

(b) This same group tried to persuade my riding executive to nominate a man. When the executive refused, the backroom boys found a man themselves and secretly encouraged him to run. He agreed, but

Table 7:11 Distribution of Negative Incidents Among
Legislative Candidates

				% Legislative Candidates (N=131)
(1) An organized attempt to 'pack' the nominating convention with party members opposed to my candidacy	...	...	...	9.9% (13)
(2) Irregularities in the nomination voting process	...	...	...	6.9% (9)
(3) Time or place of nomination meeting changed without adequate prior notification	...	...	...	1.5% (2)
(4) Party hierarchy sought a male candidate to oppose	...	...	...	6.9% (9)
(5) Received less financial support from the party than previous male candidates	...	...	...	8.4% (11)
(6) Some people who previously campaigned for the party refused to work for me	...	...	...	14.5% (19)
Percentage legislative sample which identified at least one of the above	...	...	...	32.1% (42)

dropped out at the last minute.

(c) A second male candidate ran a smear campaign against me, calling me a women's libber and pro-abortionist. He packed the nominating meeting with "right-to-lifers" who had not previously been party members.

Most of the legislative candidates in the sample (68%) did not experience any negative incidents. Nevertheless, as expected, these negative incidents are strongly related to the competitive position of the party. (See Table 7:12) One-half of the women contesting competitive or even marginally competitive ridings experienced at least one or more negative incidents compared to one-quarter of the women in lost-cause ridings.⁵³ If these incidents are a form of denied recruitment opportunities then the competitive strength of the party is a significant factor in determining their likelihood. The closer the party is to winning the constituency, the more likely it is that the candidate will experience this type of barrier. Moreover, this relationship appears to be independent of the candidate's credentials. None of the candidates' background characteristics that have been examined throughout this chapter was significantly related to the incidence of political tricks (not shown in tabular form).⁵⁴

Most political observers would suggest that such negative incidents are experienced by all candidates who contest the party's nomination, regardless of their gender. The experiences of these women candidates appear to partially confirm this conventional wisdom. (See Table 7:13) Almost one-half of those who contested the party

Table 7:12 Relationship Between Negative Incidents and the Competitive Position of the Party

Negative Incident	Riding		
	Competitive	Marginal	Lost-cause
Some	50.0% (7)	47.8 (11)	25.3 (21)
None	50.0% (7)	52.2 (12)	74.4 (62)
	<u>100%</u> (14)	<u>100%</u> (23)	<u>100%</u> (83)

gamma = .43 p. < .05

Table 7:13 Relationship Between Negative Incidents and Competition for Nomination

Negative Incident	Nomination	
	Contested	Uncontested
Some	46.2 (30)	18.2 (12)
None	53.8 (35)	81.8 (54)
	<u>100%</u> (65)	<u>100%</u> (66)

Yule's Q = .59 p. < .001

nomination experienced a negative incident. Nevertheless, almost one-fifth of those who won the party's nomination by acclamation also experienced similar incidents. Being acclaimed the party's nominee, therefore, minimizes the possibility that a woman candidate will be confronted by political tricks but in no way guarantees that they will not occur.

Table 7:13 Here

Overall, our findings to this point have not revealed pervasive discrimination within party organizations against women candidates. Admittedly one-third of the women report having experienced at least one negative incident. These incidents also appear to increase with the competitive position of the party and when nominations are contested.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, two-thirds of the legislative candidates did not experience political tricks. Moreover, few perceived that their party was resistant toward them simply because they were women. This is not to say, however, that these women had a full measure of recruitment opportunities in their quest for legislative office. The opposite is the case. The most valuable recruitment opportunity for election a party can offer is a nomination to a competitive riding but few achieve this opportunity.

Tables 7:14 and 7:15 simply confirm much of the conventional wisdom about women candidates in Canada. Very

few indeed ran in ridings where their party had won all of the last five elections (N=7) or even where they had won three of the past five (N=7). Fully, 63% of the candidates ran where their parties had won none of the past five elections and thus, had no hope for victory. (See Table 7:14) Similarly, only 15% of the candidates were nominated by government parties. (See Table 7:15)

Tables 7:14 and 7:15 Here

These data lend a perspective from which to view the findings of this chapter. Few women felt discrimination or experienced political tricks because rather than seeking election, they were often simply serving a standard-bearing function for the party. Political parties appear to seek out women to contest a legislative seat when they are sure to lose and put barriers in front of those who have a chance to gain legislative office. Many of the women, in fact, commented on the continued relegation of women to lost-cause ridings, sometimes in a very terse manner.

It was a hopeless riding. I felt like a sucker for running there.

I believe women seldom get a nomination in a 'safe' constituency.

Women in all parties only got nominations in hopeless ridings.

I never thought of doing the impossible - winning!
A man would have taken the nomination if it was a

Table 7:14 Party's Strength in Riding at First Candidacy

1) Won all five past elections	5.3 (7)
2) Won three of past five elections	4.3 (7)
3) Won one of past five elections	17.6 (23)
4) Won none of past five elections	63.4 (83)
5) Boundary change, don't know	8.4 (11)
Total	100% (131)

Table 7:15 Party's Strength in Government at First Candidacy

1) Party in power	15.3 (20)
2) Party in opposition.	61.8 (81)
3) Party had no seats	14.5 (19)
4) N.A., D.K.	8.4 (11)
Total	100% (131)

safe seat.

The indelible observation about the political candidacy of women in Canada continues to be their virtual exclusion from winnable constituencies. Thus, we return to the question introduced in the beginning of this chapter. Are women excluded from competitive ridings because they do not have the requisite qualifications or do even "qualified" women miss out on this most vital recruitment opportunity?

The correlation coefficients presented in Table 7:16 do not provide us with a definitive answer to this question.⁵⁶ In fact, recruitment to a competitive riding appears to be a far more complex matter than whether or not a woman has the necessary qualifications. Admittedly, professionals are more likely to be recruited to a competitive situation but a university education does not constitute a significant edge. Rather, it appears as if social status and integration in the community are the most salient underlying factors in gaining a competitive riding. The fact, that having a professional spouse is more strongly related statistically to gaining a competitive riding than the candidate's occupation suggests that social status rather than achievement is the important issue here. Nevertheless, integration or visibility in the community appears to provide better chances of achieving a competitive riding than social status, although obviously the two cannot be separated. Leaders of women's social and religious groups as well as women's and civil rights groups most often gain competitive ridings. In contrast with conventional wisdom,

Table 7:16 Relationship Between Background Characteristics
and Recruitment to a Competitive Riding
(Yule's Q)

Professional	.28*
University	-.06
Age (40 yrs. +)	-.01
Professional Spouse	.26*
Women's Association	.13
Party Experience (5 yrs. +)	.20
Party Elite	.07
Institutional Group Leader	.22
Social Group Leader	.31*
Rights Group Leader	.35*

p. < .06

however, "working up" through the party does not appear to aid in achieving a competitive riding. The party faithful and party elite are no more likely than those who have not served the party to achieve a competitive riding.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to assess the role of the selectorate in establishing recruitment opportunities for women contesting municipal and legislative office in Canada. In many ways, however, its motivations and behaviours remain abstruse because this examination has been conducted from the vantage of the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of recruitment opportunities. Nonetheless, the findings do allow us to draw a step closer toward understanding the political recruitment of women in Canada.

The first point which requires further elaboration here is the essential separation of municipal and legislative recruitment systems. The municipal sphere as a largely nonpartisan recruitment system appears to better enable non-institutional networks such as primary groups to open gates to municipal recruitment for women or, indeed to facilitate a self-starting political career. Nevertheless, what appears to be gained in easy entry into the ranks of political candidates is lost in the contingencies of conducting a municipal campaign.

Election campaigns require money to conduct successfully but few sources other than private ones appear readily

available to the female municipal candidate. Voluntary groups are active in encouraging women to contest municipal office but are not frequently forthcoming with financial support. Voluntary group leaders are more likely to receive financial support from voluntary associations but overall their contribution to women contesting municipal office is limited. Even though these women are great joiners and leaders, voluntary groups do not constitute a stable underlying support network in municipal politics. Rather, outside financial opportunities appear to flow to those most integrated in the community. Recruitment opportunities at the municipal level appear to grow out of the slow process of setting roots in the community. Personal qualifications appear to have little to do with whether municipal candidates receive recruitment opportunities from outside sources. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen which factors are most strongly related to electoral success at the municipal level. The following chapter, therefore, will be concerned with the background factors and recruitment opportunities most likely to lead to election to municipal office.

Political parties obviously play a crucial role in the recruitment of female candidates. Most of the women studied here were approached by local party officials to contest election and most received at least some funding from the party organization to conduct their campaigns. Nevertheless, the findings do not provide a definite answer

to the question of whether parties discriminate against women or simply provide recruitment opportunities on the basis of merit. Some women obviously did experience sex-discrimination as their personal accounts describe vividly but most did not.

The relatively infrequent evidence of unfair treatment of women candidates by party organizations, however, should not be taken as a clear indication of political parties in the recruitment of women. In many ways, the findings presented here reflect a "levels of analysis" problem. When interpreting these data, we must begin with the rather global view that for whatever cultural and historical contingencies most women have been relegated to the status of lost-cause candidates. Moreover, our findings show that the local party organization is most active in encouraging women to take up the party nomination precisely when it has little to offer. Local party officials of minority parties seek out women candidates while majority parties do not. Moreover, personal credentials, whether defined in terms of education or occupation, have little to do with whether or not local parties encourage women to run. Rather, local party officials of minority parties are likely to seek out party faithfuls.

In this light, then, the female candidate has far more to offer the losing party than it does to her. She essentially agrees to extend her service to the party by running as a party standard-bearer. That most parties do

not place obstacles in her way is not surprising. For most of the cases studied here, the party did not provide significant recruitment opportunities although the women were sought out, financed and few barriers were placed in their path. Rather, the women provided a service for the party. From this perspective, it is significant that barriers were placed in front of women when the party was even marginally competitive.

Finally, the data do not provide conclusive evidence that individual achievement alone ensures women's recruitment to a competitive riding. Professionals are more likely to get this valuable recruitment opportunity but education and credentials gained through party service do not appear to enhance the candidate's worth in the eyes of the selectorate. Rather, as in the case of municipal candidates, community status and ties appears to be the more relevant criteria for selection. Obviously, nomination to a competitive riding pushes the candidates close to electoral victory. The final chapter of this thesis will assess the relative importance of both personal and structural factors in the election of women to public office.

Footnotes

1. See for example, Robert Putman, The Comparative Study of Political Elites (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall 1976), especially Chapter 3.
2. James Barber, The Lawmakers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 5.
3. Sidney Verba, Norman Nie and Jae-on Kim, Participation and Political Equality (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 81.
4. In Canada see Allan Kornberg, Canadian Legislative Behavior: A Study of the 25th Parliament (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967); Allan Kornberg and William Mishler, Influence in Parliament: Canada (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1976); Anthony Long and Brian Slemko, "The Recruitment of Local Decision-Makers in Five Canadian Cities: Some Preliminary Findings," Canadian Journal of Political Science, 7 (September 1974), pp. 550-559.
5. For a discussion of the male conspiracy theory see Jeane Kirkpatrick, Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 19-20; also, Kirsten Amundsen, The Silenced Majority: Women in American Democracy (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 42-52.

6. Melville Currell, Political Woman (London: Croom Helm, 1974), pp. 93-95.
7. This thesis is put forward in, Joseph Schlesinger, Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).
8. This hypothesis is further explored by Gordon Black, "A Theory of Political Ambition: Career Choices and the Role of Structural Incentives," American Political Science Review, 66 (March 1972), pp. 144-159.
9. Dwaine Marvick, "Continuities in Recruitment Theory and Research: Toward a New Model," in H. Eulau and M. Czudnowski, Elite Recruitment in Democratic Politics (New York: John Wiley, 1976), p. 33.
10. Seligman et al., op. cit., pp. 1-2, 16.
11. Barber, op. cit., p. 237.
12. Lester Seligman, "Political Parties and the Recruitment of Political Leadership," in Lewis Edinger (ed.) Political Leadership in Industrial Societies (New York: John Wiley, 1967), pp. 294-310; L. Seligman, Recruiting Political Elites (New York: General Learning Press, 1971); L. Seligman, M. King, C.L. Kim and R. Smith, Patterns of Recruitment: A State Chooses Its Lawmakers (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1974).
13. Seligman et al., op. cit., pp. 1-2, 16.
14. Ibid, "Political Parties and the Recruitment of Political Leadership," p. 297.
15. Seligman, et al., p. 17.

16. Moshe Czudnowski, "Political Recruitment," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby (eds.) Handbook of Political Science, Vol. 2. (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1975), p. 185.
17. Long and Slemko, op. cit., passim; Czudnowski, op. cit., p. 220.
18. Little work has been done on the effects of party competition on recruiting in Canada. For the United States see, William Crotty, "Party Organization and Its Activists," in William Crotty (ed.) Approaches to the Study of Party Organizations (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1968), especially pp. 293-298.
19. See George Perlin, The Tory Syndrome (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980), p. 20. Perlin makes an important observation which should be emphasized here. While the constituency organization has a crucial role in recruitment they have never been strong organizations.
20. Selgiman et al., op. cit., p. 21.
21. See Austin Ranney, Pathways to Parliament (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), passim. The term is his.
22. See Austin Ranney, "Candidate Selection," in David Butler, Howard Penniman, and Austin Ranney (eds.) Democracy at the Polls (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1981), pp. 97-101.
23. Kornberg, op. cit., pp. 43-48; Kornberg and Mishler,

- op. cit., p. 64.
24. See for example, Canada, Report on the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), pp. 345-50; M. Janine Brodie and Jill Vickers, "The More Things Change ..." in H. Penniman, Canada at the Polls, 1979 (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1981).
25. Monica Charlot, "Women in Elections in Britian," in H. Penniman, Britian at the Polls, 1979 (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1981), pp. 250-254.
26. The author's calculations are from the Report of the Chief Electoral Officier. The 1972 results were previously reported in Brodie and Vickers, op. cit.
27. Canada, op. cit., pp. 348-9; M. Githens and J. Prestage (eds.) A Portrait of Marginality (New York: David McKay, 1977), pp. 113-166.
28. Currell, op. cit., p. 85; Ranney, op. cit., p. 270.
29. Canada, op. cit., p. 349; Amundsen, op. cit., p. 80.
30. Githens and Prestage, op. cit., p. 114.
31. Canada, op. cit., p. 349.
32. Barber, op. cit., p. 237.
33. Ibid.
34. Irene Diamond, Sex Roles in the State House (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 45.
35. See for example, Long and Slemko, op. cit.; Donald Higgins, Urban Canada: Its Government and Politics (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977), pp. 245-259; James

Lightbody, "The Rise of Party Politics in Canadian Local Elections," Journal of Canadian Studies, 6 (February 1971), pp. 39-44; M. Janine Brodie, "Voluntary Groups and the Recruitment of Women in Canada: Some Preliminary Survey Findings," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, June, 1979.

36. James Lightbody, "The Rise of Party Politics in Canadian Local Elections," in L. Axworthy and James M. Gilles (eds.) The City: Canada's Prospects, Canada's Problems (Toronto: Butterworth, 1973), p. 249. The emphasis is his.
37. Czudnowski, op. cit., p. 220, Seligman, et al., op. cit., p. 29.
38. R. Agger, "Power Attributes in the Local Community: Theoretical and Research Considerations," Social Forces, 34 (May 1956), pp. 322-31; R. Alford and H.M. Scoble, "Sources of Local Political Involvement," American Political Science Review, 62 (December 1968), pp. 1192-1206.
39. Brodie, op. cit.; Trudy H. Bers, "Local Political Elites: Men and Women on Boards of Education," Western Political Quarterly, 28 (December 1975), pp. 381-91; S. Merritt, "Winners and Losers: Sex Differences in Municipal Elections," American Journal of Political Science, 21 (November 1979), pp. 731-43; Susan

G. Mezey, "The Effects of Sex on Recruitment: Connecticut Local Offices," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, 1978.

40. See Bers op. cit. Merritt, op. cit.
41. See Long and Slemko, op. cit., p. 559; Brodie, op. cit.
42. This point is emphasized by Higgens, op. cit., p. 256; Willis Hawley, Nonpartisan Elections and the Case for Party Politics (New York: John Wiley, 1973), pp. 64, 143; Eugene Lee, The Politics of Nonpartisanship (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), p. 162-63.
43. Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 21-22.
44. See for example, Bers, op. cit., p. 390; Elizabeth G. King, "Women in Iowa Legislative Politics," in Githens and Prestage, op. cit., p. 289.
45. Self-starters were considered to be those indicating no other source but "I decided to run on my own".
46. Seligman et al., op. cit., p. 29.
47. This is about the same percentage that was found by Long and Slemko among Alberta municipal politicians. Of the 30 alderman interviewed, 11 were approached by civic groups. op. cit., p. 557.
48. The background variables were operationalized as follows: (1) party strength in riding = won 1 of last five elections/not. (2) party in government = party in

power/not (3) professional = professional, educator,
business executive/not (4) women's association =
member, leader/not (5) party experience = 5 yrs +
participation/not (6) party elite = party office,
campaign manager, official agent/not (7) education =
university education/not.

49. Reported in Brodie, op. cit.
50. Canada, op. cit., p. 349.
51. Jeane Kirkpatrick, The New Presidential Elite (New York: Sage, 1976), p. 454.
52. Ibid., p. 461.
53. Competitive ridings are considered to be those won by the party in at least 3 of the past five elections. Marginal ridings were won only once in the past five elections while lost-cause ridings were never won by the candidate's party in the past five elections.
54. The only variable even modestly related was professional ($\gamma = .22$ p. > .15).
55. These variables are obviously related. The more competitive the party is, the more likely the nomination will be contested. Statistical controls do not show either variables to be spurious, although the cell frequencies in the control tables are too small to support a reliable judgement.
56. Because of the skewed distribution of this variable competitive ridings were operationalized as those where the candidate's party had won at least one of the previous five elections.

Chapter 8

Winners and Losers

1. A Review

The foregoing chapters chart the experiences of women who make the transition from citizen activism to political candidacy. Our developmental model of political recruitment first assessed the candidates' initial exposure to politics and then proceeded to trace their experiences as adults - as volunteers and party workers, wives and mothers, and finally, as political candidates. This chapter reviews our major findings to this point and seeks an answer to perhaps the most important question in the process of leadership selection: who wins and who loses?

The preceding analysis also has attempted to ascertain whether the experiences of female candidates depart markedly from the expectations of the current recruitment literature, which generally presupposes that the experiences of elected officials (usually white, upper-middle class males) both explain and predict patterns of political recruitment for all citizens of western democracies. Each chapter has reviewed the relevant literature and has raised potentially conflicting expectations which take into account the social and political status of women in western democracies. Sometimes, it was found that the experiences of female candidates did not conform to current theories about

political advancement or, indeed, to conventional wisdom about women in politics. In many ways, however, the career paths of female politicians parallel those reported among elected males.

Similar to elected males, most of the female candidates in this study had an above-average educational and occupational background before embarking on their first political campaign. They also were more likely than Canadian women generally to be part of the paid work-force. Yet, as most studies of female politicians have found, the backgrounds of these women also were very conventional. Most were married and most had children (sometimes very young children) when they first contested public office. Most, therefore, managed to balance their responsibilities as wives and mothers and the demands of political candidacy. This observation, of course, stands in contrast to the gender role explanation for the non-recruitment of women which argues that female gender roles effectively deny women access to elite politics. Moreover, the majority of these candidates also balanced the above role demands with participation in the labour force. For many of the women in this study, then, political candidacy represents a willingness to cope with triple role demands.

Our findings also do not lend much support to the socialization explanation for the non-recruitment of women. The very existence of female politicians suggests that cultural prescriptions are not so encompassing as to

discourage all women from seeking political leadership roles. Moreover, the initial socialization experiences of these women demonstrate that neither an intense and early exposure to politics nor a female political role model are necessary starting-points for the political careers of women. The candidates did report an abnormally high incidence of political activism among members of their immediate family but four distinct initiation-points were identified in the backgrounds of these candidates. One of these - parents - was associated with an early history of political activism but most of the candidates were initiated to politics, often much later in their lives, through peer group interaction, voluntary group participation, or through self-initiation.

The multiple and diverse origins of the political careers of these candidates provide a critique of the socialization explanation for the dearth of women in the elected office. It, as it will be recalled, suggests that the roots of female apoliticism are implanted early in the female psyche and thereafter, are constantly reinforced by dominant cultural norms. The implication of this argument is that women are not recruited to public office not because of structural barriers or lifestyle constraints but because they themselves abstain from politics. A corollary of this argument, therefore, is that remedial action to improve recruitment opportunities for women (for example, affirmative action or quotas) would change little since

women rule themselves out of the contest for public office. Nevertheless, the backgrounds of these political women demonstrate that the political fortunes of women are not set inalterably at childhood. Rather, an initiation to politics can occur at almost any stage of life and in any number of ways. In this respect too, female politicians resemble their male counterparts.

Perhaps a more important observation arising from our examination of the political socialization of female politicians is that the eventual course of a political career in no small way reflects its origins. In her study of American female state legislators, Kirkpatrick found two distinct pathways to legislative office - volunteerism and partisan activism.¹ The experiences of these women candidates, moreover, demonstrate that these two pathways are characterized by distinct career starting-points and destinations. Those initiated to politics through volunteerism as well as those assigning their political learning to voluntary groups overwhelmingly gravitated to the largely nonpartisan sphere of municipal politics. In addition, volunteerism appears to be an especially important political apprenticeship for women lacking other avenues for politicization. The volunteer route to municipal office is especially prevalent among women who were not initiated to politics early in their lives by politically active parents and who, as adults, were not involved in the paid labour force or within political party organizations.

In contrast, the partisan route was often initiated by politically active parents, fed into partisan organizations, and culminated in legislative candidacy. Most noteworthy about the partisan route to legislative office, however, was an enduring party loyalty, active and continuous party service, and party elite status. By all indicators, then, women who follow the partisan route to legislative candidacy have apprenticeship experiences similar to those found among elected males.

Women serve extensive apprenticeships within political parties but our findings suggest that their promotion through the party ranks is not governed by the same rules that reportedly are applied to men. The literature suggests that occupational and educational credentials and appropriate motivations enhance an activist's potential for partisan promotion. Nevertheless, women with educational and occupational expertise do not appear to receive preferential treatment within party organizations. In fact, women with professional expertise appear less likely to advance through the party ranks than non-professionals. Neither did the motivational argument for partisan promotion find support here.

Our examination did lend some support to the notion that the career patterns of women in political parties are influenced by the division of labour by gender. The fact that women with recognized occupational and educational credentials were not favoured in the partisan promotion

suggests that something other than merit affects their position within the party. More direct evidence was provided by the very structure of Canada's major party organizations themselves. Participation in women's partisan associations was not a common apprenticeship pattern among females who eventually move up to candidate status. More important, those serving this type of partisan apprenticeship did not advance to other strategic roles in the party mainstream. Overall then, expectations about patterns of partisan promotion, largely based on the male experience, did not depict patterns of partisan promotion among these women.

The special socialization and apprenticeship experiences examined to this point facilitate the transition from citizen politics to political candidacy, but prospective political candidates also confront barriers to this transition. It is often suggested that gender roles constitute the greatest barrier for women in liberal democracies. On the face of it, the backgrounds of these political women suggest that gender role constraints do not impede the political careers of women. As noted above, most of the candidates combined the multiple roles of wife, mother and political candidate. Moreover, they attributed less significance to the constraints imposed on their candidacy by gender roles than by personal apprehensions about their qualifications to do the job, securing adequate funding or sex discrimination in the community.

On second consideration, however, gender roles do appear to have influenced the political careers of many of the women. Mothers were more likely to delay their political careers and feel a tension between public and private life. In addition, the manner in which many female candidates reconciled this strain does not promise increased representation of women in Canadian legislatures. Women in traditional female gender roles frequently opted for two types of candidacy in particular. They were more likely to seek municipal office (a political career which does not threaten extended periods of absence from the home) or to serve as lost-cause candidates in legislative elections. In sum, the demands of female gender roles, especially childrearing, appear to inhibit the political careers of women, particularly at the legislative level. Since the current recruitment literature ignores this constraint on political candidacy, presumably it is not a critical influence shaping the careers of political men.

The development approach to political recruitment explored in the foregoing chapters illustrates that the course of a political career is shaped by numerous factors - past and present, personal and structural. In fact, the intervention of recruitment agencies such as political parties and voluntary associations often has a greater impact on the outcome of the leadership selection process than all of the personal characteristics of the candidate combined. A survey of the literature reveals two

contrasting hypothesis about the influence of recruitment agencies on the political careers of women. First, the mainstream recruitment literature suggests that they distribute their resources to men and women alike on the basis of personal achievement and merit. A contrasting hypothesis is derived from the experiences of elected women. It is that recruitment agencies withhold their resources from women regardless of their individual merit.

Our analysis of the recruitment opportunities gained by female candidates provided some support for both points of view. First, approximately the same proportion of women reported being encouraged by voluntary groups to seek municipal office as has been found among male candidates for local office.² Nevertheless, the recruitment opportunities provided to women by voluntary groups appear to end at this cue-setting stage of the candidacy. Few of the female candidates received financial support from voluntary groups. Neither was financial support from voluntary groups contingent upon the personal credentials of the candidate. Thus, even though these women were active volunteers, voluntary groups do not appear to constitute a stable network of support for women contesting municipal office.

Unlike voluntary groups, political parties were active at each stage of the legislative candidates' campaign. The vast majority of the legislative candidates were encouraged to run by party officials, received party funding, and few felt that their party had discriminated against them simply

because they were women. Nevertheless, the indelible observation arising from our analysis of the recruitment opportunities provided to women by Canadian political parties is that unequivocal party support is generally reserved only for those who stand as lost-cause candidates. Local party officials sought out women but usually when losing was a virtual certainty. Moreover, personal credentials and party experience had little to do with gaining a competitive riding. Women with local connections and status were more likely to gain a riding where their party had a modest measure of electoral strength. Nomination to a marginally competitive riding, however, also increased the likelihood that the party would place barriers in front of the female candidate.

Our analysis of the intervention of recruitment agencies in the careers of political women points to two seemingly unresolvable obstacles to women's recruitment to public office in Canada. At the municipal level, political parties do not control the potential field of political candidates and thus non-institutional networks such as family and friends help launch women into the ranks of public office-seekers. Yet, what appears to be gained by easy entry is lost in the contingencies of nonpartisan elections. Most of the municipal candidates had to rely heavily on their own finances to compete for municipal office. Obviously, then, only the financially secure can compete under these game rules.

The problems of gaining recruitment opportunities at the legislative level are almost a mirror image of those encountered at the municipal level. Political parties can be a ready source of organizational resources for a candidate, but they also largely determine who the candidates will be. Thus, women contesting legislative office need not rely on their personal resources to contest election but they also do not have easy entry, especially where their chances of electoral victory are greatest. Political parties appear to provide easy entry to women only when there is the certainty of defeat at the polls. In this light, most of the legislative candidates studied here offered more to their party than it did to them. Essentially, they served a party standard-bearers rather than political contenders.

To summarize, our discussion to this point has been concerned with the questions of how these women became political candidates and what measure of support they achieved after embarking on their first campaign. In many ways, their experiences parallel those of elected males. They appear to have been initiated to politics in much the same manner and to have served similar political apprenticeships. Yet, there is also evidence which suggests that the career-paths of women are not governed by the same rules for promotion as men. Specifically, the mainstream recruitment literature suggests that personal credentials should count but, for women, demonstrated connections in the

community appear to be the currency for opportunity. Ultimately, however, the most important credentials in a political career are those associated with electoral success. The next section of this final chapter, therefore, assesses the determinants of success among female candidates for municipal and legislative office.

II Winners and Losers

Over the course of this study, we have encountered a host of general explanations (or perhaps rationalizations) for why women are not elected to public office. For example, women are not elected because; 1) they are socialized into apoliticism; 2) they are constrained by gender roles; 3) they lack the personal credentials to compete with men for public position; 4) they are not motivated for self-advancement in politics; 5) recruitment agencies are biased and; 6) a sexual division of labour in all types of social organizations preordains women to a subordinate status. Unfortunately, there are few general explanations for why some women achieve public office while the vast majority of female candidates do not.

Most of our expectations about the characteristics of election winners are based on observations of the backgrounds of elected officials. In fact, the literature is quite explicit about the determinants of electoral success, even though the characteristics of winners and losers of electoral campaigns rarely are compared. By and

large, three factors have been isolated. The first, incumbency, while obviously the most important determinant of continued electoral success, will not concern us here because we are dealing with first candidacies only. The two other factors consistently related to electoral success are socio-economic status and local connections.

• Studies of western political leaders have demonstrated time and again that an above-average socio-economic status is a key to political success. Educational and occupational status, in particular, may enhance the candidate's ability to grasp the complexities of politics or provide financial security, a flexible lifestyle and public prestige. Whatever the actual contribution of these characteristics, a study of federal candidates in Canada summarizes the relationship.

Overwhelmingly, high status persons are more likely to be nominated, and once nominated, are more likely to win.

Studies of American political women suggest that an above-average socio-economic status may be a more important credential for female than male candidates. We have not found much support for the expectation that personal credentials enhance political promotion among women but the notion perhaps is best summarized by the popular myth that women have to be "twice as good" in order to make it in a man's world.⁴ Dubeck argues that this is usually the case because superior credentials provide assurance to the

endorsers that the woman is likely to be successful in the job.⁵ The motivations of recruitment agencies cannot be ascertained here. Suffice it to say that both the mainstream recruitment literature and studies of women in politics predict that personal credentials are associated with electoral success.

In addition to personal credentials, the literature also repeatedly identifies local connections as a correlate of electoral success. In fact, Ranney concludes from his comparative study of the backgrounds of elected officials that local connections (long standing residence in a district, activity in local party, union business or civic affairs) is second only to incumbency as a trait most widely valued in the recruitment process.⁶ Some support for the importance of local connections in the recruitment process also has been reported in this study. Voluntary group leaders were more likely to receive outside financial support at the municipal level and to achieve a competitive riding at the legislative level. Similarly, Kirkpatrick found that among female state legislators, geographic stability was a common background characteristic.⁷ Local connections, then, appear to be an important determinant of success for both men and women.

Any number of the variables which have been examined in this study could influence the outcome of an electoral campaign. Thus, a multivariate control procedure was employed to assess the relative importance of personal,

experiential and structural variables as determinants of success for female candidates contesting municipal and legislative office. Forty variables representing the candidates' personal credentials, socialization and apprenticeship experiences, local connections and status, and the contribution of recruitment agencies were entered into a step-wise multiple discriminant analysis. This statistical technique determines which characteristics (independent of their interrelationships with other variables in the analysis) best identify or discriminate between the winners and losers of elections. By taking into account spurious influences, it enables a ranking of the determinants of success in their order of statistical importance.

Although numerous variables were considered as potentially influencing the outcome of the campaign, only three variables significantly discriminated between the winners and losers of municipal contests. Moreover, as Tables 8:1 shows, each variable is an indicator of the local connections explanation for electoral success. Winners at the municipal level were more often long term party members and leaders of institutional groups (e.g., parent-teacher associations) and to a lesser degree, leaders of women's social groups. Thus, similar to our findings about the distribution of recruitment opportunities at the municipal level, local connections, rather than occupational or educational expertise appear to be the critical key to

success. Moreover, simply by knowing the candidates' position on these three items alone, 62% of the winners and losers at the municipal level can be correctly classified. The implications of this finding will be discussed below.

Tables 8:1 and 8:2 Here

Six variables distinguished between the winners and losers at the legislative level. (See Table 8:2) Four of these discriminating characteristics emphasize the importance of the political party as a recruitment agency in legislative elections. Not surprisingly, the strength of the party in the constituency is the most significant characteristic defining the outcome of a legislative campaign for female candidates. Both the party's strength in government and contesting a nomination also are related to legislative success.⁸ Three factors, then, emphasize the importance of getting the right riding to contest legislative election.. The fourth party-related factor has a negative effect, that is, it identifies the losers of legislative campaigns. Those receiving most of their campaign funds from friends and thus not from parties were likely to lose their election bid.

The influence of civil rights group leadership is also not difficult to interpret in this context. Such groups tend to have an extra-local and political focus providing their leadership with provincial or federal recognition and

Table 8:1 Statistically Significant Determinants of Success
Among Municipal Candidates

(Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients)

	Winner/Not	p.
5 years + in Party	.57	.007
Institutional Group Leader	.51	.003
Women's Social Group Leader	.39	.006
% of grouped cases correctly classified	61.5%	

Table 8:2 Statistically Significant Determinants of Success
Among Legislative Candidates

(Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients)

	Winner/Not	p.
Nomination Contested	.51	.01
Party Strength in Riding	.48	.0004
Party in Government	.26	.004
Spouse Initiated to Politics	.41	.01
Most Funding from Friends	-.21	.04
Civil Rights Group Leader	.24	.05
% Grouped Cases Correctly Classified	84.5%	

connections. Coupled with the findings of the previous chapter which indicated that group leadership is also an important resource for achieving a competitive riding, we must conclude that the determinants of success are very similar at the municipal and legislative levels. Even though the party intervenes at the legislative level, connections and not personal qualifications appear to lead to electoral success.

It is less apparent why the winners of legislative elections are initially drawn into politics by their husbands. The correlation may represent the few women who gained legislative office by filling the vacancy left by the death of their husband. At least 3 of the 15 winners in this study appear to have achieved legislative office through widow's succession. The finding may also represent women who filled the vacancy left by their husband's resignation. The precise nature of this correlation cannot be determined here. If this finding represents widow's succession, it is unlikely to be a determinant of success in the future. It is a rapidly disappearing pathway to legislative, and especially, federal office. Nevertheless, by knowing the candidates' positions on the four party-related characteristics discussed above, civil rights group leadership and spouse-initiation to politics, fully 85% of the female winners of legislative campaigns in the post-war years can be correctly classified.

III Discussion

Over the course of its relatively short history, Canada has progressively relaxed the formal criteria for entry into the ranks of political decision-makers. In doing so it has been self-congratulatory as a model democracy. The absence of women in public office obviously tarnishes this self-perception. The continued under-representation of women in public office not only under-employs the abilities and perceptions of one-half of the citizenry but it also belies the democratic principles upon which this system presumably rests. The continued relegation of women to the status of perennial political menials represents a serious flaw in the system of leadership selection and ultimately, democratic representation.

The findings presented here cannot forecast with certainty the future of women in Canadian politics. Nevertheless, the experiences of female candidates in the post-war years do attest to the many barriers inhibiting women's equal integration into political decision-making structures. Moreover, these barriers show no sign of eroding in the immediate future. In fact, the findings presented here suggest that there are no easy or immediate solutions to improve the subordinate political status of women.

Our discussion must begin with the recognition that the roots of recruitment biases run deep in the social structure. Sub-groups which are dominant socially and

economically generally also are favoured in the liberal-democratic recruitment process. We cannot escape the fact that, although there has been some improvements in the status of women in recent years, they still have not achieved social or economic parity with men. This means that fewer women than men have the measure of occupational prestige associated with political power. It also may suggest that women in high-status occupations are less willing than men to risk their career pursuits for the uncertainties of politics.

The consequences of gender-based social inequality, however, extend beyond the distribution of certain occupations between males and females. As our findings show, personal credentials may be a ticket to advancement for men, but they are clearly not sufficient for women. Personal credentials, as symbols of potential and achievement, do not thrust women to the top. Instead, it appears that women have to demonstrate their accomplishment and develop connections through other forms of social leadership before gaining recruitment opportunities.

Our findings also suggest that there is no single solution which promises to increase women's representation at all levels of government. A familiar contention is that women's inferior status can be reduced to the consequences of the division of labour within the home. Thus, it is argued that if the tasks of childrearing and homemaking were shouldered equally by men and women, women would gain the

flexibility to pursue public office. But, this observation is both apparent and banal. Without a dramatic restructuring of modern social organization, any assessment of the status of women in politics also must recognize that most women will have to balance the demands of childrearing, political activism, and increasingly, labour force participation.

Two observations, therefore, necessarily underlie any assessment of the immediate potential for women in politics. Women still have not achieved parity with men in other spheres of social influence and they maintain primary responsibility for childrearing. Both of these factors clearly reduce the pool of females who are able to compete in electoral politics. This being said, however, our analysis of the political careers of women who did manage to enter the electoral fray suggests additional obstacles and limitations.

In a certain way, the municipal level appears to be more conducive to female candidacies than legislative politics. It enables women without an early exposure to politics, a history of partisan activism or labour force credentials to follow the volunteer route to public office. Moreover, volunteerism is one of the very few recruitment-relevant sub-cultures in which women are heavily represented. Municipal government also appears to be more compatible with the very real time and locational demands of homemaking and childrearing. In addition, as a nonpartisan system, it

enables non-institutional agents such as family and friends to sponsor a female candidate who otherwise might be passed over by business circles, local influentials or political parties.

Despite all appearances, however, the barriers confronting women at the municipal level effectively exclude all but a few women from contesting office. The two principal barriers (often mutually dependent) are money and local connections. Nonpartisan systems lack parties and party labels. Thus, it is up to the candidate to establish her name in the minds of the electorate. This usually requires money. The obvious problem is that while local government may be more compatible with the private-life situations of many women, homemakers also are likely to be financially dependent. In consequence, only those with a secure source of family income are likely to compete for municipal office effectively. Both the risks of candidacy and the low remuneration of local officials means that the spouses' occupation helps define the pool of women available for municipal office.⁹ Thus, while women face very special recruitment problems, class also contributes greatly to the potential pool of female candidates.

Municipal recruitment also favours women with locational stability. The determinants of success discussed above show that success at the municipal level is reserved for those with strong ties to the partisan, institutional and social organizations of the community. Municipal recruitment,

then, is a parochial system favouring those with local connections. Developing this electoral credential is obviously a slow process which demands both the time and resources to devote to unpaid community service.

The necessity of setting roots in a community and devoting time to voluntary work thus further narrows the potential pool of female recruits for local office. This contingency of municipal recruitment tends to disfavour homemakers with mobile husbands who constantly are relocating or professional women who are themselves highly mobile. It also disfavours women who are strained by the dual role responsibilities. Community leadership activities may be too costly in terms of time and energy that otherwise could be devoted to career or family.¹⁰ Thus, while we cannot predict the future from the experiences of women in the post-war years, the data presented here do not augur well for significant increases of female politicians at the local level. Fewer and fewer women simply lead the kinds of lifestyles which appear to be necessary for success at the municipal level.

The determinants of success in legislative politics emphasize the importance of getting "the right riding", but very few women receive this recruitment opportunity. The continuing relegation of women to lost-cause candidacies is often assigned to the tension between extra-local objectives and local prerogatives. The equal integration of women into Canadian legislatures is an extra-local concern. Moreover,

the provincial and federal hierarchies of Canada's major political parties repeatedly pay lip-service to achieving this goal. At the same time, however, they indicate that their hands are bound by political convention.

Canadian political parties, according to popular myth, operate under a local system of candidate selection. The question of who will run, so the argument goes, is the sole prerogative of local constituency organizations which, as we have seen, rarely extend women real recruitment opportunities. Thus, while party hierarchies may express the will to recruit women, they have little control over the process of candidate selection. The nomination procedure is left to the "haphazard, capricious, and often downright unfair lottery of local selection".¹¹

As with all popular myths, the above rationale is both true and false. Nominally, local parties do have control over candidate selection and women do face very real obstacles in achieving a competitive riding at this level. The most important barrier, of course, is incumbency. In any given election, most of the competitive seats are unavailable because the incumbents (who are overwhelmingly male) have first claim to the nomination. Nomination of women to safe ridings made available through the resignation of an incumbent is probably the most immediate means of increasing the representation of women in Canadian legislatures. It enables parties to "make a difference" in the recruitment of women. Few women, however, achieve this

recruitment opportunity. (In 1979, for example, women gained only 14% or 5 of the 34 nominations made available through the resignation of an incumbent.)

It is equally clear, however, that party hierarchies are not helpless in determining who will achieve these ridings. The Liberal and Conservative parties, in particular, have a history of parachuting prestigious candidates into safe ridings. Moreover, when these parties have demonstrated the will to recruit women in this way, they have been extremely successful. Indeed, much of the increased representation of women in the House of Commons can be attributed directly to the co-optation of women to safe seats in Quebec by the federal Liberal party.¹² But, evidence of similar interventions is rare indeed. Thus, contrary to the protestations of party spokesmen, the will of the party hierarchies to create recruitment opportunities for women seems only partial at best.

The major obstacle for women at the legislative level, then, is that while parties can make a difference, they rarely grasp the opportunity to do so. The experiences of women in the post-war years suggest that there is little that a woman can do personally to improve her recruitment potential. Neither party service nor personal credentials weigh heavily in the achievement of a competitive riding. Perhaps organizational pressure would encourage political parties to take more positive actions to improve recruitment opportunities for women. Such action, however, has not been

too successful to date. Perhaps, too, if the current proposals for a modified proportional system were adopted, a significant increase in the number of female legislators at the federal level would ensue. Proportional representation systems are more conducive to the election of women precisely because extra-local objectives can be pursued by central party organizations through the drawing of candidate lists.¹³ Again, however, this would be contingent upon the commitment of party officials to achieve more than token representation for women in Canadian legislatures.

Lacking such a commitment, women aspiring to legislative office are faced with a dilemma. They can choose to serve the party as a lost-cause standard-bearer, reasoning that this sacrifice will bring dividends either to themselves or women in general in the future. The experience of women in the post-war years, however, suggests that this is an unfounded expectation. Serving as a lost-cause candidate initially does not improve one's chances for election in subsequent campaigns.¹⁴ Neither does evidence from our sample suggest that party service is a credential for advancement. This standard-bearing service may bring patronage rewards, but nominations to "winnable" ridings rarely ensue.

An opposing strategy is for women to refuse to serve as lost-cause candidates, or at least limit this service to the party to levels approximately those served by men. This is also an uncertain course since there is no reason to believe

that if female partisans either alone or collectively withheld their services that they would be rewarded with better nominations. It is equally conceivable that they would lose the marginal gains they have achieved in Canadian party organizations. Only two certainties are associated with lost-cause candidacies - losing and frustration for ambitious political women. Perhaps, then, the last word on lost-cause candidacies should be left to one of the candidates.

I was running where the chances of winning for my party were extremely slim, i.e., I ran in a pretty hopeless riding. I think women should not do this any more --- it just labels us as losers. My concern was, and still is, that I did more harm to the women's cause (as well as to me as a human being!) by running in a lost-cause riding than by not running at all. I feel this in spite of the fact that I was, and still am, very keen on being a politician and know (to hell with feminine modesty!) that I'd be very good indeed.

Finally, perhaps the most significant finding of this thesis is that political women exist.¹⁵ Yet as the foregoing chapters describe, there are numerous obstacles which continue to keep them outside the corridors of political power. Centuries of gender-based inequality and subordination are not easily undone. In many ways, the political equality of women is contingent upon their first gaining equality in the social and economic life of liberal democracies. The paradox is that the most fundamental gender-based inequalities could be eradicated through political representation and action. Such is the basic

dilemma for women, as well as, other subordinate groups in liberal democracies. One must have power and influence in order to achieve political authority. Thus, left to the dubious hand of progress alone, it is unlikely that we will see dramatic increases in the political recruitment of women in the foreseeable future.

Footnotes

1. Jeane Kirkpatrick, Political Woman (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 61-69.
2. Anthony Long and Brian Slemko, "The Recruitment of Local Decision-Makers in Five Canadian Cities: Some Preliminary Findings," Canadian Journal of Political Science, 7 (September 1974), pp. 550-559.
3. Dennis Forcese and John deVries, "Occupational and Electoral Success in Canada: 1974 Federal Election," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 14 (August 1977), pp. 331-340.
4. See for example, Marianne Githens and Jewel Prestage (eds.) A Portrait of Marginality (New York: David McKay, 1977), p. 116; Ingunn Means, "Women in Local Politics: The Norwegian Experience," Canadian Journal of Political Science, 5 (September 1972), p. 376.
5. Paul Dubeck, "Women and Access to Public Office: A Comparison of Female and Male Legislators," Sociological Quarterly, 17:1 (1976), p. 43.
6. Austin Ranney, "Candidate Selection," in D. Butler, H.R. Penniman and A. Ranney (eds.) Democracy at the Polls (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981), p. 99.
7. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 30.
8. Both of these variables are related to the party's

strength in the riding but the analysis shows that they maintain a statistically independent effect after control procedures.

9. In fact, spouses' occupation is positively, although not significantly, related to electoral success at the municipal level. (Yule's $Q = .24$ p. > 15).
10. Means, op. cit.
11. Peter Paterson, The Selectorate (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1977), p. 8.
12. M. Janine Brodie and Jill M. Vickers, "The More Things Change ... Women in the 1979 Federal Campaign," H.R. Penniman (ed.) Canada at the Polls: The General Election of 1979 (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981).
13. Wilma Krauss, "Why Women Don't Run: The Critical Contextual Factors in Women's Legislative Recruitment," Western Political Quarterly, 34 (March 1981), pp. 60-77.
14. Jill M. Vickers, "Where are the Women in Canadian Politics," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, Winnipeg, 1977.
15. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., Chapter 10.

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Appendix A: Survey Research Items

I. Socialization

1. Many people recall specific people, organizations, experiences or events that sparked their general interest in public affairs. Now going back as far as you can remember, how important (Very Important, Somewhat Important, Not Important) would say each of the following were in stimulating your interest in politics.
 - 1) My mother
 - 2) My father
 - 3) My spouse
 - 4) Other family members
 - 5) Adult friends
 - 6) My school experience
 - 7) Women's rights groups
 - 8) Community or civic organizations
 - 9) Union or occupation organizations
 - 10) Events that expose to me the injustices in society
 - 11) The realization that things only could be changed through political activity
 - 12) Observing a woman already active in politics.
2. By referring to the number corresponding to the factors in the above question, please indicate which factor was the most important influence in stimulating your initial interest in politics?
3. Which one taught you the most about politics?
4. Do you remember when you first became interested in politics?
 - 1) Before entering high school
 - 2) During high school
 - 3) During university

- 4) After completing my education
 - 9) I don't recall.
5. Please mark what type of political activity (Held Public Office, Candidate for Public Office, Political Party Office Holder, Political Party Campaign Worker, Financial Contributor to a Party, Not Active in Politics, I Don't Recall) best describes the following people.
- 1) One of your uncles
 - 2) One of your aunts
 - 3) Your father
 - 4) Your mother
 - 5) One of your grandmothers
 - 6) One of your grandfathers
 - 7) A brother or sister
 - 8) Your spouse.
6. Please indicate how active you were (Organizer or Office-Holder, Very Active, Occasional Participant, Not Active At All, Don't Recall) in each of the following:
- 1) High school government
 - 2) Post-secondary school government
 - 3) Official youth wing of a political party
 - 4) Protests or demonstrations.

II Volunteerism

7. Now thinking about your participation in voluntary or community groups other than political parties, please indicate the highest level of office you achieved in each of the below groups. (National executive, Regional/Provincial executive, Local executive, Activist, Member, Not involved).
- 1) Community improvement group
 - 2) Union or occupational group
 - 3) Institutional group, i.e., hospital board,

parent-teachers association

- 4) Women's rights group
- 5) Women's social group
- 6) Religious group.

III Political Party Activism

8. Now proceeding to your political activity, which of the following best describes the activity you usually engaged in before becoming a political candidate?

- 1) Attended political meetings
- 2) Spoke publically for the party
- 3) Worked in the party office
- 4) Worked on the "hustings"
- 5) Collected financing for the party
- 6) Campaign manager
- 7) Held party office
- 8) Party or official agent
- 9) Never involved in political party activity.

9. How would you rate your level of political activity before you ran for a public office for the first time?

- 1) Very active
- 2) Somewhat active
- 3) Not very active at all
- 9) Not applicable.

10. Now thinking about one or two years immediately prior to your first candidacy, approximately, how much time did you spend on party affairs?

- 1) Some time every week
- 2) Some time every month
- 3) About once a year

- 4) Active at election time only
 - 9) Not applicable.
11. Now thinking about your political party activity in general, have you always thought of yourself as member of the same political party.
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
 - 3) Not a party member
 - 9) I don't recall.
12. Generally speaking, would you say that you were equally active in party affairs at the federal and provincial levels, preferred one level only, or just what?
- 1) Active in both the federal and provincial elections
 - 2) My party was active only in federal elections
 - 3) My party was active only in provincial elections
 - 4) I preferred to focus my energies in provincial elections
 - 5) I preferred to focus my energies in federal elections
 - 9) Not applicable.
13. Some political parties in Canada have a women's association or caucus, while others do not. Which of the following best describe your relation with women's party association?
- 1) My party did not have a special association or caucus for women
 - 2) I attended a few women's association/caucus meetings
 - 3) I was a member of the women's association/caucus
 - 4) I was an office holder in the women's association/caucus.
14. Now thinking about your first candidacy, how many years

were you a member of the party before you won the party nomination?

- 1) less than 1
- 2) 2 years to 5
- 3) 5 years to 10
- 4) 10 years or more
- 5) not applicable.

15. The following is a list of reasons that are commonly given for becoming active in political party activity. For each reason, please indicate whether it was very important, somewhat important or not important to you.

- 1) I had a personal friendship with a candidate
- 2) Political work is part of my way of life
- 3) I am strongly attached to my political party
- 4) I enjoy the friendships and social contacts I have with other members.
- 5) I like the fun and excitement of the campaign
- 6) I am trying to build a personal position in politics
- 7) I see party work as a way of influencing the policies of government
- 8) I like the feeling of being close to people doing important things.
- 9) Party work helps me make business contacts
- 10) Party work gives me a feeling of recognition in the community.

16. By referring to the number corresponding to the reasons in the above question, please indicate which reason was the most important to you.

IV Private Life Constraints

17. Some candidates mention many factors which delayed their political candidacy while others mention few factors which stood in their way. How important (Very Important, Somewhat Important, Not Important) were each

of the following in the case of your first candidacy.

- 1) Did not delay my candidacy
 - 2) I feared that if successful my life would be disrupted
 - 3) My children were too young
 - 4) I did not want to risk the possibility of failure
 - 5) My husband was opposed to the idea
 - 6) I was afraid that I did not have the experience to do the job
 - 7) My political career would have interfered with my husband's career
 - 8) A political career would have interfered with my career
 - 9) I thought it would be difficult to get funding to run a campaign
 - 10) I felt I would be of more service to the community by spending my energies in voluntary organizations or community groups
 - 11) I felt my candidacy would hurt my marriage
 - 12) I felt my candidacy would hurt my children
 - 13) I felt that the community would not be receptive to a woman candidate
 - 14) I was apprehensive that I might have been subjected to some real physical harm during the campaign
 - 15) I felt it would be impossible to secure the party nomination
 - 16) I felt that running for office might make me seem unfeminine.
18. Now thinking specifically about your first campaign for public office, which office did you seek?
- 1) School trustee
 - 2) Alderwoman, councillor
 - 3) Board of control

- 4) Mayor or Reeve
 - 5) Member of a provincial legislature
 - 6) Member of Parliament.
19. In what year was your first candidacy?
20. Were you successful the first time you ran for public office?
- 1) Yes
 - 2) No
21. Approximately how old were you when you ran for your first public office?
- 1) Under 20
 - 2) 21 - 30
 - 3) 31 - 40
 - 4) 41 - 50
 - 5) 51 - 60
 - 6) 61 or older.
22. How many children did you have then?
23. How old was your youngest child then?
- 1) Under 5 years
 - 2) 6 - 10 years
 - 3) 11 - 15 years
 - 4) 16 or older
 - 9) Not applicable.
24. What was your usual occupation then?
- 1) Professional
 - 2) Educator
 - 3) Business manager or executive
 - 4) Homemaker

- 5) Nurse
- 6) Unemployed, retired or student
- 7) Blue collar or sales clerk
- 8) Other.

V Candidacy

25. Who encouraged you to seek public office?

- 1) Members of my family
- 2) Close friends
- 3) Business associates
- 4) A community group
- 5) My union or occupation group
- 6) Local party members
- 7) Local party official
- 8) Provincial party official
- 9) Federal party official
- 10) The party's women's organization
- 11) Other
- 12) I don't recall
- 13) I decided to run on my own.

26. Now thinking about the funding of your first campaign, how much of your financial resources (Most, Some, None, I Don't Recall, I Never Knew) were obtained from the following sources?

- 1) My personal funds
- 2) My friends
- 3) Interested individuals
- 4) Private industry
- 5) Service or voluntary organizations

- 6) Local party organization
 - 7) Federal or provincial party organization.
27. Some candidates for federal or provincial office mention specific instances when they experienced obstacles in securing the nomination or during the campaign while others do not believe they experienced any obstacles. Please mark whether anyone of the below applied when you contested your first successful attempt at obtaining the nomination.
- 1) There was an organized attempt to 'pack' the convention with party members that were opposed to my candidacy
 - 2) There were irregularities in the conduct of the voting process itself
 - 3) The time or place of the nomination meeting was changed without adequate prior notification
 - 4) The party hierarchy sought a male candidate to oppose me
 - 5) I received less financial support from the party than previous male candidates
 - 6) Some people who previously campaigned for the party in the riding refused to work for me
 - 7) Other (Please specify on the last page).
28. Recalling your first successful nomination, generally speaking which of the below best characterize your party's (Constituency Association, Constituency Executive, Regional/Provincial Executive and Federal Party Executive) attitude toward a woman candidate?
- 1) Very negative toward a woman candidate
 - 2) Somewhat negative toward a woman candidate
 - 3) Indifferent toward the candidate's sex
 - 4) Somewhat accepting of a woman candidate
 - 5) Very accepting of a woman candidate
 - 9) I don't know.
29. Thinking about the first time you ran for either

provincial or federal office, do you recall approximately how many times your party had won in the constituency in the five previous elections?

- 1) Won all five past elections.
- 2) Won three of the past elections
- 3) Won at least one of the past 5 elections
- 4) Won none of the past 5 elections
- 5) Unable to say because there were substantial boundary changes
- 6) I don't recall
- 9) Not applicable.

30. Again thinking about your first candidacy for provincial or federal office, was your party in power or in opposition when you accepted the party nomination.

- 1) My party was in power
- 2) My party was in opposition.
- 3) My party had no representatives in the legislature
- 9) Not applicable.

31. Thinking again about your first campaign, which one of the following did you like the least in seeking public office?

- 1) The necessity of compromising my convictions.
- 2) The time it took from my family
- 3) The possibility of losing
- 4) The expense
- 5) The competition and conflict with others
- 6) Losing friends and acquaintances
- 7) I don't recall..

32. Some people receive a lot of encouragement from those around them when they run for public office while others experience qualified support or even disapproval. How positive. (Very positive, Somewhat

positive, Indifferent, Somewhat negative, Very negative, Not applicable) were the following people when you first ran for public office?

- 1) My parents
- 2) My husband
- 3) My children
- 4) My work associates
- 5) My personal friends.

VI Background Characteristics

33. What level of education did you achieve?

- 1) Public School
- 2) High School
- 3) Post-secondary or Trade School
- 4) Some University
- 5) University Degree
- 6) Graduate or Professional Degree.

34. What is the usual occupation of your spouse?

- 1) Lawyer
- 2) Other Professional
- 3) Educator
- 4) Executive
- 5) Farmer
- 6) Other self-employed
- 7) Blue-collar
- 8) Other
- 9) Not Applicable.

VITA

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