

# **A Woman's Place is in the House (of Commons)**

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**Major Research Paper  
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Submitted Fall 2018**



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**Abstract**

In 2015, Canadians elected the most gender-balanced House of Commons in national history, with just under 27% of the MPs elected in the 42<sup>nd</sup> Federal Election being women. In spite of this record number of woman parliamentarians, Canada has slipped in international rankings for gender parity in legislative bodies and remains below the United Nation's target of 30% of legislatures being female. Given that women make up 51% of the Canadian population, and given that women win elections at similar rates to men, the question remains as to what is keeping Canadian women out of public office. By focusing on the nomination process as the chokepoint at which women's political ambitions are most frequently stalled, this paper seeks to evaluate what is being done to help increase the number of women running for office, and the effectiveness of such initiatives at achieving this goal. Through a lens of the supply and demand sides of running for office, this paper uses existing academic literature and firsthand accounts of the experiences of women in politics to examine the benefits to having women in public office and the barriers women encounter in the political arena, to assess the current state of women in politics in Canada, and consider the initiatives currently at work in Canadian politics. This paper then explores responses to the author's survey from women who ran in nominations in the 2015 federal election cycle exploring their backgrounds, experiences, and perspectives as women engaged in the political process. By considering these responses alongside the academic and popular theories of female engagement in politics, this paper identifies the most effect areas for initiatives to support women running for public office, potential disconnects between theory and the realities of the 2015 election, and recommends the use of external pressures to encourage political parties to take tangible action to support potential candidates at all stages of the electoral process.

## 1) **Introduction**

In the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Canada is unarguably a mature democracy. 2017 marked 150 years since Confederation in 1867, and in 2018 it has been one hundred years since the first women were granted the right to vote, seventy years since voter discrimination based on race was outlawed, and fifty-eight years since full voting rights were extended to Indigenous persons in Canada. In spite of this, legislatures across Canada continue to be, in general, sorely lacking in diversity. These “people’s houses” often appear to be “male and pale” - or made up of a majority of cisgender white men. For many, this is not seen as extraordinary or unusual, but is instead just the norm in elected governments. When these bodies are meant to represent and legislate on behalf of the entire country, however, this lack of diversity presents a problem – how can a legislature understand the concerns and impacts of legislation on all those they govern if groups that make up a significant part of the population are not adequately represented within the governing bodies themselves?

Whether in terms of gender, race, age, religion, or sexual identity, Canadian governments and particularly the federal government of Canada has consistently fallen short of effectively representing the diversity of Canadians. In 2018, 3% of MPs were Indigenous, 13% were born outside of Canada, 20.6% were visible minorities, less than 2% identify as LGBTQ2, and 27% are women. While these numbers are all improvements over the 41<sup>st</sup> Parliament of Canada, they are all at least somewhat lower than the presence of these groups in the population as a whole – 4.9% of Canadians are Indigenous (Statistics Canada 2017), 20.6% born outside Canada, 19.1% visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2011), 3% LGBTQ2 (Canadian Community Health Survey 2014), and 51% of Canadians are women. Where these identities intersect, representation is even worse – only 15 visible minority women and three Indigenous women sat in the House of Commons after

the 2015 federal election. Each of these examples of underrepresentation means a gap in the ability of the House of Commons to thoughtfully and thoroughly represent the concerns, experiences, and needs of Canada's diverse population.

While each and every one of these gaps limits the voices that get to be represented in our elected bodies, the continued underrepresentation of women elected to office is a continuing crisis in the Canadian, and indeed international, political scene. In the period in which the number of female premiers in Canada drop from an all-time high of six in 2013 to a low of one in 2018, in which Hillary Rodham Clinton lost the presidency of the United States to the openly misogynistic Donald Trump, and in which UK MP Jo Cox murdered by a constituent, it is becoming increasingly clear that women in politics face a different reality from their male counterparts. And while public and political attention is increasingly being drawn to the underrepresentation of women in politics both in Canada and abroad, the question of what can be done to help increase the number of women holding office – or indeed whether policy or concerted efforts *ought* to seek to do so – remains.

In Canada, a number of initiatives and party positions have sought to address gender inequality in our legislatures. As Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau publicly committed to maintaining a gender balanced Cabinet (the first Canadian government to do so), elevated Status of Women Canada to a full ministry, and implemented the use of Gender Based Analysis in federal budgets (Status of Women Canada 2017). MPs and prominent members of all three major national parties have taken part in events and campaigns to discuss the underrepresentation of women in politics, to discuss gender-based discrimination in the political realm, and to encourage mentorship and networking among women within the political field. And yet, in spite of this, the fact remains that women make up only 27% of MPs elected to the House of Commons, and Canada has slipped

to 61<sup>st</sup> in the Inter-Parliamentary Union's (IPU) ranking of gender balance in legislatures (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2018).

As data from the 2015 federal election becomes more readily available and as Canada prepares for the 2019 federal election, it is worth considering what barriers, whether systemic or institutional, continue to influence whether women are running for and winning seats in office. Research in the field has already demonstrated that once nominated, women tend to win elections at similar rates to men (Tremblay; Norris and Lovenduski; Fortin-Rittberger and Rittberger). This would suggest that the political gender gap does not exist directly as the result of either the general election process or of the views of the electorate on the whole. Instead, it suggests that the nomination process plays a significant role in determining whether women run for office and, by extension, whether women are getting elected in Canada.

This paper will examine the barriers women encounter when running for federal office in Canada, and the degree to which party and civil society initiatives succeed in helping women overcome those barriers. This will include a consideration of the benefits of increasing the number of women in office and the barriers women face in politics, an overview of the current state of women in politics in Canada and the initiatives currently at work in the Canadian system, and an analysis and discussion of a survey of former Canadian female candidates. This paper will base its findings on literature in the field, evaluating publicly-available information on Canadian initiatives seeking to increase the number of women running for office, and analyzing survey responses from women who ran in a nomination in the 2015 Canadian federal election. From these sources, this paper will seek to identify the successes and gaps in the degree to which such initiatives meet their goal, and will provide recommendations as to the most effective paths forward in the ongoing work to improve gender representation in Canadian legislatures.

In Canada, political parties have domain over how their nominations are run (as long as they are in compliance with the *Elections Act*), with some running initiatives to encourage and support women running within their party. Civil society organizations also contribute, running non-partisan or multi-partisan events and initiatives to encourage more women to get involved in politics. Both types of actors have a role to play in the rate at which women are running for and winning seats, and as such the policies and initiatives of both will be the focus of this paper.

Building on the current body of work in the gender politics field, there is disagreement as to whether the underrepresentation of women in politics is an issue of supply or demand – that is to say, whether women are not running for and winning nominations because there are not enough women who want to and are willing to run for office (supply) or whether it is the result of political parties and/or voters do not support women running for office (demand) (Norris and Lovenduski 1993, 379-80). Which side of the debate an initiative seeks to address says a great deal about both the organization's views on the source of the deficit, and may contribute to the success of the initiative itself. In addition to evaluating the success both partisan and non-partisan initiatives have in addressing the self-perceived barriers women face in running for office, this paper will consider to what extent the barriers being perceived and addressed fall on the supply and demand sides, and will consider whether parties and civil society may be better placed to address one side or the other of the debate.

A central part of evaluating initiatives seeking to increase the number of women running and getting nominated to run for office in Canada is understanding the experiences of women who have actually run for office. By surveying women who ran for nominations in the Canadian federal election of 2015, this paper will consider the perspectives of women who have seen different levels of success in the political arena and who hold differing ideological views about policy,

representation in politics, and the role and capacity of Canadian democratic institutions. Considering the roles their identities played in their candidacy, the differences they felt between their experiences and those of their male colleagues and competitors, and the elements of support that they felt were most integral or lacking in their experiences will all help to determine to what degree the partisan and non-partisan initiatives that exist today in Canada are adequately addressing the needs of the women who are choosing to run for office in our current political climate.

## **Methods**

To consider the current state of women in politics in Canada and the extent to which initiatives are effectively helping women overcome barriers to being elected to public office, this paper is based on a critical review of published academic literature on the topic and a survey of women who ran in nominations during the 2015 Canadian federal election cycle. This combination of existing analysis in the gender politics field and first-hand accounts of the most recent Canadian general election allows this paper to use a broad scope of scholarly literature to further inform public and academic understandings of the experiences of candidates within the contemporary electoral system.

In order to include as many women's experiences in the 2015 Canadian election, a survey was circulated that sought to create a fulsome representation of candidates' experiences, including their socioeconomic, demographic, and political positions during the election, their partisan identity and previous experience, and, of course, their views on the supports that were available to them throughout the process and the responses they saw to their candidacies (Appendix 1). Respondents were asked questions to establish a thorough profile of their situation during their

nomination, including answering questions about their geographic location, their age, and their caregiving situation and marital status. They were also asked a number of questions about their political experiences prior to running for a nomination, including whether they had previously held public office at any level, and about their reasons for running in the 2015 election. They were asked to answer questions about their experiences as candidates and about any experiences with political training programs. Finally, respondents were asked about the outcome of their nomination and their overall views on how women are treated in politics in Canada. Given both the difficulty of reaching unsuccessful former candidates, due largely to the fact that those who ran in nominations do not all currently have significant public presence, and the limitation created by having the survey only available in English (rather than in both official languages), this is a non-representative sample of the experiences of former candidates. Instead, responses represent a cross-section of the experiences of women who saw different outcomes in their nomination and general campaigns across Canada.

Elections Canada's Nomination Contest Database was used to identify potential respondents. This database lists all party nomination contests, including the names of all nomination contenders. Given the interest in the experiences of women nation-wide and in major parties, only nomination contestants from the three major, Canada-wide parties (the Conservative Party of Canada, the Liberal Party of Canada, and the New Democratic Party) were contacted. From that list, all candidates with publicly accessible contact information were sent a link to the survey – sitting MPs through their official legislative email accounts, unsuccessful candidates through email addresses listed on public websites and profiles, or through public Twitter accounts with open direct messaging options. The survey link was also shared on social media and directly with individuals connected to political and advocacy organizations, some of whom are professional

or personal contacts of the researcher. In total, 45 responses were received from all three major political parties and candidates from nine provinces and one territory.

To encourage open and candid responses, the survey was conducted anonymously, without respondents asked for identifying standalone personal information (e.g. name, riding, etc.) and with respondents assured that combinations of answers that, together, could identify the respondent would not be included in this paper (an aggregate of responses can be found in Appendix 2). All questions were optional and respondents were given a number of opportunities to expand their answers or provide more specific responses through comment box response options. The survey was conducted and responses stored using a paid SurveyMonkey account, with funds provided through the research budget of research supervisor Dr. Patrick Fafard, Associate Professor of Public and International Affairs with the University of Ottawa's Faculty of Social Sciences. Both the survey questions and research methods were approved by the University of Ottawa Office of Research Ethics and Integrity (Ethics File Number S-06-18-740).

## **2) The value of women holding office, and the barriers they face on their way there**

In evaluating initiatives working to get more women running for office in Canada, there is an implicit assumption that there is value in increasing the number of women elected to public office in Canada, and that there are barriers that women in particular face in running for office with which their male counterparts do not have to contend. In order to effectively consider these initiatives and the experiences of women they seek to address, it is important to understand both the rationale for the goal of increasing the number of women holding office and the barriers such initiatives seek to overcome.

### **Why have more women?**

In order to accept that legislatures ought to be representative of the population at large, there must be an implicit belief that there are inherent benefits in diverse legislatures. For some people, this has no weight on how they see the world being run or how our leaders make their decisions. There is, however, a significant body of research both in Canada and internationally that suggests that there are real benefits to having more women holding public office, and that increasing the diversity of our legislatures has the potential to impact both how the legislatures function and the topics that are actually discussed in these legislatures.

First and foremost, research in Canada and abroad suggests that legislatures with a greater proportion of women holding seats may prioritize issues differently than those that are male-dominated. Even more, the presence of a greater proportion of women may result in a different consideration of the effects a particular piece of legislation may have on different groups and people. Women, for example, “are more likely than men to ‘prioritize the protection of the vulnerable and support government intervention on ‘compassion’ issues’” (Thomas 2013, 221).

The research of UN Women suggests that “countries with more women in parliament tend to have more equitable laws and social programmes and budgets that benefit women and children and families” (Bachelet 2011). Although this may be connected to the fact that women may be more likely to run for more left-leaning parties (due in part to a combination of the policy interests of those parties appealing to women and to those parties being perceived as more open to electing women), governments with higher numbers of women in their benches are more likely to take action on issues tied to second-wave feminism, including violence against women, gun-control legislation, or child care (Bashevkin 2009, 16).

And while socialization may be part of what makes women more open to these “compassion issues”, legislation that is not overtly gendered may still have a disproportionate effect on women or other underrepresented groups. As Trimble and Arscott put it, “neo-liberal deficit-reduction efforts, cuts to programs and services, privatization, and deregulation have significant consequences for women’s social status, economic independence, and political citizenship” (Trimble and Arscott 2003, 64). For those women most affected, and even harmed by, such policies, “find themselves with fewer sites of resistance within the state” when they do not have a proportionate voice within legislatures (Trimble and Arscott 2003, 65). In short, “by nominating few women, and electing even fewer, the perspectives and insights women could bring to the political table may not be considered” (Thomas and Bodet 2013, 153).

### ***Difference in how the legislature functions***

In addition to a shift in the policy focus of a legislature, there is evidence that suggests that an increase in the number of women sitting in a legislature can actually shift interactions and the tone of discussion within the legislature. When women form a critical mass in a governing body

(defined by UN Women as holding at least one third of seats), they are no longer token minorities, compelled to “conform to dominant models while also suffering stereotypes in line with [...] perceived differences” (Kanter 1977a, 971-2). Forming a critical mass within the legislature, then, creates the opportunity for women to pursue interests and interaction styles more in line with their own natural preferences.

Higher levels of female representation in legislatures, whether it be the UN-defined 30-35% of the legislature or whether the legislature approaches gender parity, is associated with “lower levels of political conflict, greater emphasis on collective consensus-building, and higher standards of interpersonal respect” with a “more reasonable and more collegial, less adversarial and less conflictual tenor of debate” observed in such legislatures (Bashevkin 2009, 14-5).

### *Normalization of women in politics*

Finally, as women hold public office at increasing rates, their place within those legislatures and in other public roles becomes more normalized. The continued underrepresentation of women sends a message to potential candidates – “if women who are well positioned to run for office think the system is biased against them, then the empirical reality of a playing field on which women can succeed is almost meaningless” (Lawless 2009, 75). The underrepresentation of women in politics also has an impact on the perception of the magnitude of women’s losses – regardless of overall trends in female representation, the losses suffered by prominent women dominate much of the discussion around the realities facing women running for office (Bashevkin 2009, 44). If the idea of women running for and winning office is normalized, they are no longer seen as an anomaly and may be less directly compared to individual women who have run before them.

The presence of women in public office also has the capacity to shift how women are seen within society as a whole. “Their presence can shape cultural perceptions in such a way as to undermine stereotypes that say only men belong in public roles, while women are properly restricted to private ones” (Bashevkin 2009, 14). There is an idea that, for any underrepresented group, “the more elected, the more selected, meaning that as women are elected at greater rates, they become visible in other ways – as leaders in other government realms [...], as potential appointees, and indeed as deserving senior appointments within legislatures as well (Trimble and Arscott 2003, 34).

The normalization of women in politics also has an aspect of justice and equality. As it currently stands, affirmative action policies are consistently perceived by some as undemocratic, with opponents feeling that those who benefit from them did not gain their successes through merit. This has been true in everything from Justin Trudeau’s 2015 election promise that his Cabinet would be gender-balanced, to internal policies within political parties to intervene in nominations to appoint women as candidates, circumventing the grassroots nomination process. To suggest this, however, “is to imply that women, who comprise more than half the population, do not merit their fair share of political power” (Trimble and Arscott 2003, 123). There have always been politicians who were nominated or appointed to Cabinet because of who they know, the region they represent, or any number of reasons unrelated to their personal merit or suitability for the role in question, however the normalization of the older, white, male politician has meant that they are seen as the natural fit for such roles. It is only by changing what is perceived as “normal” for these types of roles that we can work toward achieving legislatures that better represent the diversity of the Canadian population, including representing the 51% of Canadians who identify as female within our legislatures.

### **Barriers faced by women**

Moving beyond whether the underrepresentation of women has a negative impact on the Canadian, or indeed any, political system, there remains the inevitable question as to why women continue to run for and get elected to public office at lower rates than their male counterparts. If an initiative, organization, or policy seeks to address this gender gap, understanding the barriers that have led to the gap is integral to examining the effectiveness of such initiatives.

### ***Sexism***

The first, and perhaps the most seemingly obvious explanation for the continued underrepresentation of women in Canadian legislatures is sexism on the part of the electorate, media, or political parties (or some combination of the three). Given that studies have suggested that “women elected to office in Canada possess qualities that are at least comparable, if not superior, to those of their male colleagues” (Tremblay and Trimble 2004, 99), arguments suggesting that women are simply less qualified or well-suited to hold public office do not align with the reality. As a result, it is plausible to consider that a preference, either explicit or implicit, for male representation plays a role in the persistent gender gap in Canadian politics.

On the explicit bias front, this argument seems tenuous at best – once nominated, women tend to be elected at similar rates to men, and voters “express a willingness to support a qualified, female party nominee” (Lawless and Fox 2010, 25) at higher rates than ever before. The expectations around what a “qualified, female party nominee” would look like, however, may still be rooted in stereotypical gender norms that are reinforced by the media’s portrayal of female candidates and their suitability to hold office. As Sylvia Bashevkin explains, there is an idea that “women plus power equals discomfort” – that there exists “a specific normative climate that says

either no woman is good enough to be a public leader, or else no normal woman is (or would want to be) powerful” (Bashevkin 2009, 11). This discomfort is tied to gendered comments on the appearance, “tone”, parenting, and overall behaviour of female candidates, as well as to gendered and sexualized attacks by the public, opponents, and the media, and even the tendency to ignore the leadership qualities and policy ideas of female candidates (Bashevkin 2009, 31-2). This sexism certainly plays a role in both how women are treated when they run for office and in whether they put their names on the ballot at all, but it is also rooted in broader societal norms and cannot be eradicated through any individual policy or initiative. We must therefore also consider other barriers that women encounter when they run for office in Canada.

### *Pipeline*

Another explanation for the underrepresentation of women in the political field is the so-called “pipeline” explanation, which attributes part of the gender inequality among elected officials to the similar gender disparities within the professional fields and occupations which precede careers in elected office (pipeline fields) – law, business, education, and politics. This implies that because women are not found in these professions at high rates, they are less likely to have the networks conducive to successful runs, are less likely to fit the mold and be considered as an eligible candidate, and may not be achieving the higher socioeconomic status that is often associated with successful politicians (and the means to risk careers by running for office) (Lawless and Fox 2010, 30).

Setting aside the important question of whether there may be benefit to having elected officials who come to politics with diverse experiences, professional, socioeconomic, or otherwise, it is difficult to suggest that the pipeline is a major reason as to why women continue to be so

severely underrepresented in Canadian legislatures. Although the gender imbalance in the higher echelons of such fields have, to varying degrees, persisted over time, the proportion of women entering and remaining in such fields in Canada has increased significantly since the 1970s, with women now making up at least half of some of these fields (Bashevkin 2009, 6), and with women in Canada now having equal or more educational credentials than Canadian men (Thomas 2013, 222).

In addition to the fact that the increase in the representation of women in these “pipeline” fields has outpaced the increase in women being elected to public office in Canada, contemporary Parliaments have demonstrated that the women who are successful in runs for office may not have the same professional backgrounds as male elected officials. Although the top occupation for Canadian Parliamentarians in 2011 was “businessman” (a gendered term in and of itself), business did “not appear in the top ten for women Parliamentarians”, with women more likely to be “teachers and consultants” (Thomas 2013, 225). This suggests that the types of women who may be attracted to, and successful in, politics may have different backgrounds than successful men, and that the pipeline theory does not fully explain the political gender gap.

### ***Finance***

A third explanation for the underrepresentation of women in Canadian legislatures is the financial strain of a campaign, both due to the perception that women have greater difficulty in successfully fundraising for a campaign and the fact that it may actually be more expensive for women to run for office. The former is often connected to the idea that women may have fewer potential large donors (individual or corporate) than men do, due in part to broader socioeconomic gender gaps and in part to the idea that women may not be as comfortable asking those in their

network to donate to their campaigns (Baer and Hartmann 2014, iii). As will be discussed throughout this paper, this factor is less impactful in Canada than in the United States, due a combination of stricter campaign finance laws in Canada and to the fact that nominations are far less costly in Canada, with only 3% of candidates in the 2011 federal election campaign reporting spending money in their nomination (Thomas 2013, 229).

The latter of the above-mentioned financial barriers, that it may be more expensive for women to run for office, may have a more significant impact on whether women feel able to run for office in Canada. Women are more likely to be the primary caretakers for children or sick or ailing relatives and taking time away from those caregiving roles often results in the candidate and/or candidate's family incurring costs – either as a result of paying for a non-family caregiver to fill the gaps or in lost income due to a co-parent taking more time away from their work to take up the caregiving role (Canada. FEWO-109 2018). As long as women continue to “perform more of the unpaid caregiving for children, vulnerable adults, and elders in the home”, running for office will have associated costs that disproportionately affect the cost of a woman's potential candidacy (Canada. FEWO-110 2018).

### ***Gatekeeping***

Given that this paper focuses on the nomination process as a significant flash point in the success of women in politics, it is important to consider the barriers potentially posed by political parties, including both local Electoral District Associations (EDAs) and the party overall, as the gatekeepers who determine whether a woman is ultimately able to run for office in a general election. There are three major ways in which parties, as the gatekeepers to candidacy, can impact a woman's candidacy: whether the party/EDA recruits and supports women as potential

candidates; whether parties are considered to be supportive of female candidates, including providing resources to female candidates once elected that enable them to run a competitive campaign; and whether parties nominate women in ridings in which the party has a competitive chance of ultimately winning the seat.

All three barriers are linked to an individual party's willingness to select and support female candidates. Party-wide policies of affirmative action in nominations, funding and training women as potential candidates, recruitment drives and search committees to identify women who may not have the same traditional "political capital" as their male counterparts (Pitre 2003, 103), and policies or party-wide rules of gender equality may all signal a party's willingness to support women as candidates. If the ultimate goal is to see more women actually elected to public office (as it ought to be), parties must also nominate women in ridings in which a given party is competitive.

There has been some debate as to whether "sacrificial lambs", or women who are run by parties in less-competitive ridings as a way of improving the party's gender imbalance without impacting the persistent gender gap in legislatures, is an issue in the Canadian system. Some research determining a party's competitiveness by using "a static measure" of subtracting a candidate's share of the vote from that of the winner has concluded that "there is 'little evidence of a reluctance within parties to nominate women for winnable seats'" (Thomas and Bodet 2013, 155-156). However, research from Melanee Thomas that "takes into account the balance of forces among parties around election time, and the stability of electoral support over longer time periods" (Thomas and Bodet, 2013, 157) suggests that women are more likely than men to be nominated as sacrificial lambs, and that "women are disproportionately nominated in districts they cannot win" (Thomas and Bodet 2013, 163). In all three cases, parties serve a significant gatekeeping role in

the nomination and election process. As long as parties continue to hold the power they currently do in Canada, then, their willingness to work actively to increase the number of women running for office will impact the total number of women in our political system.

In addition, “women are more likely to be a candidate in a contested nomination” (Thomas 2013, 228). While many nominations are low-cost or even uncontested, women are overrepresented among individuals running in contested nominations. In 2008 and 2011, women made up 28% of all nomination candidates but made up 33% and 42% of candidates in contested nominations, respectively (Thomas 2013, 228). Not only are women more likely to run in more difficult election races (either as incumbents or as challengers), they are in fact perhaps less likely to get to the point of even being nominated in the first place. It is, therefore, not as straightforward as simply increasing the number of women running for office to continue the trend of electing approximately 16% of women nominated to run. Even a change in the distribution of women across competitive districts would likely do wonders to shift the gender balance in Canadian politics (Thomas and Bodet 2013, 163). The question, then, is how to go about getting more women nominated to run in more competitive districts.

### ***Self-selection***

The previously discussed barriers all have to do with impacts the current electoral and nomination system have on a woman’s ability to mount a successful campaign, either due to a lack of support for their candidacy (“demand”) or their ability to carry out the actual campaign (“supply”). The likelihood that women will see themselves as a potential candidate or MP and make the steps to actually put their name on the ballot certainly also has an effect on the gender disparity in the Canadian political system. A woman’s decision-making process in weighing a run

for office differs from that of a man. Women are less likely to be interested or experienced in politics, (Thomas 2013, 223) and women are statistically more likely to underestimate their qualifications and experiences to enter politics, while men are more likely to overestimate theirs (Lawless and Fox 2010, 119). Women also choose to run for different reasons, with women running for office to affect particular policies or issues, as opposed to men seeing politics as a logical career step (Canada. FEWO-109 2018). As a result, the perceptions about the political realm that persist in part due to the continued underrepresentation of women within it impacts whether women even see politics as a viable option. This supply-side barrier is distinct from those previously discussed, and may require different approaches in order to address it.

Ultimately, these types of barriers contribute to the gendered makeup of Canadian legislatures. As long as Canadian women continue to make up less than a third of Parliament, the potential benefits of having a representative legislature cannot possibly be reaped. In the following sections, this paper will consider the measures currently being explored to address the above barriers and the degree to which such measures are responding to the needs of women who ran in the 2015 federal election.

### **3) Current state of the representation of women in Canadian politics**

Before we look at how change is (and is not) being effected in the Canadian political scene, it is important to take stock of the current reality facing women in politics. The rates at which women are running for office in Canada and the reality of the current state of women in the Canadian political realm are all integral to considering whether initiatives are effectively addressing the continued underrepresentation of women within our legislatures. It is similarly important to understand the current situation as a benchmark in the path toward gender parity in public office in Canada.

#### **Women holding office**

The current state of gender representation in Canadian legislatures is mixed – we are currently experiencing historic highs in some areas of women in politics while also seeing precipitous decreases in other areas. At the time of writing, there is a historic high of women sitting as MPs in the House of Commons – 92 of the 338 total MPs, or 27.2% of the House of Commons. This is an increase even from the outcome of the 2015 federal election in which 88 women, or 26% of the House, were elected, with by-elections in the 42<sup>nd</sup> Parliament being dominated by women. According to United Nations Women, 22.8% of national parliamentarians were women as of June 2016 (UN Women 2017), so Canada is slightly ahead of the global rate of gender representation.

In addition to the increase in the mass of women elected to office in Canada, female MPs are holding more prominent roles at higher rates than ever before. Half of all federal Cabinet ministers are women, the result of a much-publicized initiative by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau to maintain gender parity in Cabinet. The impact of what has been called virtue signalling by some

is particularly notable when one considers the central positions being occupied by women in Cabinet, including Chrystia Freeland as Minister of Foreign Affairs (only the second female Minister of Foreign Affairs in Canadian history, after her Cabinet start at International Trade) and Catherine McKenna as Minister of Environment and Climate Change. The increase in women holding prominent positions is not limited to the governing Liberals, however. For the first time in Canadian history, the house leaders of all three parties with official party status are women – Bardish Chagger for the Liberals, Candice Bergen for the Conservatives, and Ruth Ellen Brosseau for the New Democrats.

Unfortunately, this progress is not universal across the Canadian governing bodies. Although both the total number of women elected and the proportion of female MPs elected have increased, the increases have been gradual. The increase in women elected in Canada has been extremely slow, with women holding 20.8% of seats after the 2006 election, 22.1% of seats after the 2008 election, and 24.8% of seats after the 2011 election. While the increase in the proportion of women elected has continued to grow, this rate of growth has been outpaced by many other countries, resulting in Canada slipping in the Inter-Parliamentary Union's world classification of women in politics from 40<sup>th</sup> in 2011 to 60<sup>th</sup> in 2018. And in spite of the continued increase in the number of women elected in Canada, Parliament has yet to reach the United Nations' critical mass of 30%.

And while federal representation slowly but steadily increases, female representation at other levels of government in Canada is decreasing. If, as some theorize, municipal and provincial politics act as "pipelines" for the normalization of women in politics and positions of prominence, then this is a particularly concerning trend. Female leadership at the provincial level has decreased over recent electoral cycles, and woman-led parties have suffered significant defeats in provincial

elections in New Brunswick (2018), Ontario (2018) and British Columbia (2017). At the municipal level, women make up less than one fifth of Canadian mayors and only 28% of municipal councillors were women as of 2015 (Globe and Mail. Taber 2016). These decreases are reminders that women's political gains in any given political cycle cannot be assumed to demonstrate that the presence of women in Canadian legislatures will continue to increase and progress. A change in government, the defeat of a prominently pro-woman leader, even a shift in party policy, could all result in a significant decrease in the proportion of women elected (O'Neill 2015). Canadian legislative bodies continue to fall short of the UN target across jurisdictional levels and, as a result, women in politics continue to be seen as exceptional.

### **“Run like a girl” – Women running for office**

According to the Library of Parliament's records, women, once nominated, have been elected at a similar rate since the 1997 federal election, with between 15 and 16% of all nominated women elected to seats in the House of Commons (Cool 2011, p. 4). This means as the number of nominated female candidates has increased (from 408 in 1997 to 535 in 2015), the number of women elected has also increased. What is also true, however, is that in the 2008 and 2011 federal elections women made up only approximately 30% of major party candidates (Thomas and Bodet 2013, 155) On the surface, this suggests a fairly easy solution to the continuing underrepresentation of women – dramatically increase the number of women running for office in order to nudge Parliament closer to gender parity.

What such statistics hide, however, is the reality of where women become nominated to run, and how they get to the nomination process. Although a contentious suggestion, there is a body of research that indicates that women are less likely to be nominated in so-called “competitive

ridings”, or ridings where the riding and/or local party association believes that their nominated candidate will stand a good chance of ultimately winning the seat (Thomas and Bodet 2013, 155). In the winner-takes-all style of the Canadian first past the post electoral system, many candidates will not be running in their own party’s most “competitive” ridings, however, research suggests that a majority of women – 62% in 2011 – and only a plurality of men – 42% - run in another party’s “stronghold” (Thomas and Bodet 2013, 160). From the outset then, there is a trend in Canada for women to be nominated in ridings in which they are not anticipated to win.

This is true both of ridings in which there is an incumbent (a current MP re-running for their seat) and in so-called “open” ridings. Those running in ridings with incumbents, however, face a more difficult nomination and election process. Many parties protect their incumbents, allowing them to run in uncontested nominations if their fundraising or engagement rates meet party-set targets. When considered alongside trends suggesting incumbents are more likely to be elected than those fighting for an unheld seat, women are doubly disadvantaged – not only are women less likely to be nominated in a riding in which they are likely to win, women start from a place of being underrepresented among sitting MPs, the largest single group of candidates who are likely to win an election. Although there is no single or clear explanation for why this is the case, women are both less likely to run for re-election (although some of the factors creating this phenomenon will be discussed below) and are less likely to be incumbents in their own party’s strongholds. As a result, women face more difficult paths to re-election as well as initial election, reinforcing the continued underrepresentation of women in Parliament (Thomas 2013, 229).

**“Demand” for women – the role of leadership in getting women nominated to run for office**

Although the specifics of party and civil society initiatives that seek to address the chronic underrepresentation of women in politics will be further discussed in section four, it is worth considering the external, or “demand side” factors that may improve the outcomes of female candidates. If one assumes that “supply side” factors, whether explicit choices or socialized expectations and norms, generally affect whether a woman feels that she can or should run for office, the “demand” side represents something external to the candidate herself, and therefore something that can have an effect on candidates across types of nominations.

Starting from the premise that nominations may, in the Canadian context, be one of the most decisive points in the potential that a candidate has to win a nomination (Thomas and Bodet 2013, 154), the power that parties and local riding or electoral district associations (EDAs) have is hugely influential in who ultimately becomes candidate for that party in the election. The tone and expectations set by the party and EDA have been demonstrated to have a significant effect on the types of candidates who run for that party, with shifts in leadership at either level resulting in changes in the pool of candidates between elections.

The gender balance at the top (of either EDA or party) has been demonstrated to affect the number of women who win nominations. When parties or leaders set goals or expectations for representation levels, they are often met or exceeded. Whether it was the Liberal Party in the 1993 election, with a target of 25% of candidates being women, or an individual “gender champion” like BC NDP leader Mike Harcourt or Manitoba NDP leader Howard Pawley, the total number of women running for those parties increased in those elections. What these efforts did not always produce was sustainable change. The federal Liberals nominated fewer women in the 2000 election, and all three examples saw leaders and parties choosing to bypass the traditional

nomination process and “parachute” women into ridings to meet their goals (Trimble and Arscott 2003, 60). These types of interventions are seen to bypass a party’s grassroots and may create resentment toward the candidate who was “appointed” to that position, leading to critiques that these women did not “earn” their nomination through merit – ignoring, of course, the overall privilege many men have in the nomination process (Trimble and Arscott 2003, p. 61).

More effective, however, are increased efforts at the EDA level to increase the diversity of their candidates. Where party constitutions require it, or where EDAs opt to do so, supporting broad search committees to nominate candidates may have an impact on the number of women who run in nomination races. Given that women in politics may come from different professional and community engagement backgrounds than their male counterparts (Thomas 2013, 225), and that women, statistically, are more likely to run for office if they have been asked or encouraged to do so (Keith 2014), search committees tackle the problem both of identifying and encouraging a greater variety of candidates (Thomas 2013, 228).

Search committees’ ability to identify members of underrepresented groups to run for office is amplified when women are in decision-making positions in EDAs (Thomas and Bodet 2013, 155). This may be in part tied to the role local leaders’ networks play in selecting candidates, with women in politics more likely to be familiar with other women engaged in community or politics, but may also be more likely to signal to potential candidates that a riding may be more welcoming to women and other underrepresented groups (O’Neill 2015). Either way, grassroots efforts and attitudes are perhaps among the most influential factors in getting women nominated to run for office.

### **“Horror Stories” – Dissuading women on their way**

If a party’s “demand” for female candidates is one of the largest “external” factors in the representation of women in nomination battles, then the examples of the experiences women have had while running and elected to office may be one of the most influential “external” factors affecting the “supply” of female candidates. Put simply, women may base part of their decision of whether or not to run for office on their observations of the experiences of other women in public office. Due in part to the ongoing underrepresentation of women in politics, there is a tendency to see any woman in politics as indicative of all women in politics (Bashevkin 2009, 50), a phenomenon that may extend to the experiences of women in elections and in office.

When considering their prospects for success, “losses incurred by prominent female politicians [may] exacerbate women’s reluctance to put themselves forward as candidates” (Lawless 2009, 75). Recent and prominent losses, such as those suffered by the likes of Hillary Rodham Clinton or Canadian leadership contestants like Niki Ashton, an unsuccessful candidate in the 2016 NDP leadership race and an outspoken proponent of women’s rights, or Lisa Raitt, an unsuccessful candidate in the 2017 Conservative Party of Canada leadership race, and those longer ago including Sheila Copps’s leadership runs (Copps 1986, chap. 5) and Kim Campbell’s short tenure and devastating loss as Prime Minister, may increase women’s perceptions that politics is not a viable option for them. Although there have been some significant wins in recent years as well, the attention paid to prominent losses may stay with those considering their own potential candidacies.

The treatment of women across jurisdictions and the political spectrum may have an even more severe effect. Instances of misogyny and harassment have been well-publicized, and have continued in spite of the perception that society on the whole is becoming more progressive and

equal. Women from all parties have complained about the insults they receive while on the floor of the House of Commons during Question Period, including when Sheila Copps was called “baby” by one opposition MP (Copps 1986, p. 169) and may have been called “slut” by another (Lipad 1991) during House of Commons debates and when Belinda Stronach was called a “dog” following her decision to cross the floor in 2006 (CBC 2006).

In the era of social media, all politicians face around-the-clock potential for public and private attacks, however the attacks on women tend to be more violent, more personal, and more persistent. Cathy Bennett, the former Minister of Finance in Newfoundland and Labrador, stepped down after receiving emails and social media messages containing, among other things, messages encouraging her to kill herself. A man was convicted of criminal harassment and uttering threats after using twitter to send abusive messages to Conservative MP Michelle Rempel. Women of colour and LGBTQ2 women face even worse attacks. For example, Liberal MP Selma Zahid, was verbally attacked by a fellow MP for choosing to wear a headscarf while recovering from cancer treatment (CityNews. Massa 2018). Similarly, Joanne Bernard, Nova Scotia’s former Minister of Community Services, was frequently the target of hateful attacks tied to her public identification as a lesbian. (CBC 2017)

These attacks are often gendered, and may be tied to persistent stereotypes about women in public life – that they are unintelligent or underqualified (as suggested by the use of the term “Climate Change Barbie” to describe Environment and Climate Change Minister Catherine McKenna) (Maclean’s. Panetta and Rabson 2017), or tied to threats of physical or sexual violence against MPs or their families. With the prominence of violence against women that continues within our society, and particularly in light of physical attacks against politicians including the

murder of UK MP Jo Cox, these threats may be a real barrier to women choosing to run for office, or to re-offer as incumbents (Canada. FEWO-108 2018).

Both long-term social change and immediate responses may help to mitigate the viciousness and impact of such attacks. Strong mentorship, as will be discussed later, may promote safe spaces for women to discuss their experiences and learn from the coping mechanisms of women who have been through similar experiences (Canada. FEWO-108 2018). An increase in the number of women in a legislature may help to temper the types of attacks that occur within the workplace, while the normalization of women in politics may help to make women seem like less of an anomaly, and therefore public target, within the political world. These will not address all the barriers women may face, however they may be starting points in supporting women and convincing them to consider running for office in the first place.

4) **Getting women to the starting line – Canadian initiatives**

When considering initiatives aimed at increasing the number of women running for, and being elected to, public office, the most prominent organizations are those based in the United States. EMILY's List (standing for Early Money Is Like Yeast, referring to the importance of early funding for the "rising" of a candidate) is perhaps the best-known of such organizations, founded in the wake of the Clarence Thomas hearings to support pro-choice Democratic women. PACs (Political Action Committees) like EMILY's List, including the Republican Susan B. Anthony List and the non-partisan Barbara Lee Family Foundation and the Women's Campaign Fund, are widespread across the United States, due in no small part to the central role campaign fundraising plays in the American political system. Given the centrality of campaign finance in the American system, PACs and training initiatives exist to promote and support the campaigns of diverse communities, whether they are young women (She Should Run), black women (The Collective), or any special interest group. Significant funds and time have been devoted to creating a political machine to ensure potential candidates are trained, funded, and well-advertised in their campaigns.

The Canadian political training and funding system, however, is notably different from that of the United States. Canadian corporations are forbidden from donating money to political campaigns and parties at the federal level, and individual donation limits are relatively low in Canada, limiting the amount of money being spent on campaigns. That, combined with the reduced role finance plays in most nomination races, means that training, networking, mentorship, and other such supports are the most common approaches to providing support to political candidates and potential candidates. This section will explore both the theory of the effectiveness of different types of initiatives aimed at supporting underrepresented groups, and women specifically, running for office and the types of initiatives that are currently at play within the Canadian system.

## **Theory**

Outside of the theories regarding bias – whether implicit or explicit – among both the electorate and party bodies responsible for conducting nomination processes, the majority of theoretical approaches to increasing the number of women running for office are based around either increasing the supply of women running for office or working to create a demand for more woman politicians. Among those aimed at supply, many of the theories around support aim to reach potential candidates as individuals and improve their individual chance at success within the electoral process, whereas those aimed at demand usually focus on political parties and policies that guide their nomination processes.

### ***The intersection of supply and demand – candidate recruitment***

Recruiting potential candidates, one of the most fundamental aspects of increasing the supply of female candidates, however, is one component of increasing the number of women running for office that can often be best addressed at a systemic level, either through party initiatives or broader guidelines and/or regulations around nominations and elections. As previously discussed, women are, in general, less likely than men to see themselves as potential candidates or politicians, and women may need more support from those around them in order to put their name forward in a nomination. The candidate emergence process and the differences in the process between men and women, as theorized by Lawless and Fox, likely plays a significant role in a reduced supply of women running for office (Lawless and Fox 2010, 35).

As Lawless and Fox discuss, the candidate emergence process is, on the whole, different between men and women, with significant differences particularly evident at the earliest stages of the process. Due in part to differences in gender socialization between men and women, including

different attitudes around the acceptability of ambition and confidence between the two genders, women may be less likely (or take longer) to consider a candidacy and ultimately enter a race (Lawless and Fox 2010, 36). Not only are women less likely to decide that they want to hold office at some point, they are also more likely to make the decision to run only under favourable circumstances, with suggestion or prodding from others involved in the process (Lawless and Fox, 2010, 36). In their survey examining political ambition, Lawless and Fox identified a gender gap in political ambition – in spite of having similar levels of political engagement and education, 59 percent of men responded that they had or were considering running for office, while only 43 percent of women said the same (Lawless and Fox 2010, 51). Men were also at least 50 percent more likely than women to have taken concrete steps to run (including placing their name on a ballot or discussed running with potential donors or party leaders), and “20 percent of the men, compared to 15 percent of the women, who considered running for office actually chose to seek an elective position” (Lawless and Fox 2010, 55). Although this study was conducted in the United States, it quantifies a trend that has been similarly observed within the Canadian system – men are more likely than women to consider running for office and to see themselves as a potential elected official (Anderson and Coletto 2014).

This means that in order for more women to be elected to public office, more needs to be done to help women see themselves as potential candidates and to make the decision to put their name on a ballot. This is something that can be done by political parties and non-partisan (or multi-partisan) organizations alike. In the United States, women’s organizations play an “important role in mitigating the gender gap in political recruitment” – “an eligible candidate who has contact with a women’s organization is more than 34 percentage points more likely to be recruited to run for office by an electoral gatekeeper” (Lawless and Fox 2010, 105).

This same research demonstrated that being encouraged or recruited to run by party or electoral officials has the potential to affect the candidate emergence process, and in particular the decision to take the decision to put one's name on a ballot. In the American representative group studied by Lawless and Fox, "women who have not been recruited by a gatekeeper have only a 0.22 likelihood of considering a run for office. Women who receive support have a 0.59 probability" (Lawless and Fox 2010, 110). Although likely not an exact representation of the effect of political recruitment within the Canadian context, both this and the effect of contact with women's organizations suggests that the act of identifying candidates and communicating the possibility of a candidacy has the potential to increase the number of women running for office overall. In the Canadian context, men surveyed by Dr. William Cross "were 40% more likely [than women] to say that federal office was the next logical step in their political career, and on average, to have decided to pursue a life in politics at a considerably younger age than female candidates" (Cross, FEWO, 1640). His evidence suggests that, like their American counterparts, the impact of political recruitment is "considerably more important for female candidates" than for men (Canada. FEWO-108 2018). When paired with the statistics suggesting that women are elected at similar rates to men once nominated, increased and improved recruitment could move toward closing the gender gap in Canadian politics.

What then are specific initiative activities that can help improve the recruitment of women to run for office? In addition to a body of research in both Canada and the United States, testimony presented to the House of Commons Standing Committee on the Status of Women (FEWO) as part of a Committee study examining *Barriers Facing Women in Politics* provides insight from both former candidates and academics working in the field. This same question will also be further

examined in section five's look at this paper's survey of nomination candidates in Canada's 42<sup>nd</sup> general election.

### ***Recruitment***

As Lawless and Fox imply, identifying potential female candidates and suggesting that they run may be one of the most fundamental ways to encourage more women to run for office. Given that women are less likely to consider running in the first place (Lawless and Fox), it follows logically that asking women to run can be one of the first steps to making her consider the option and to encouraging her that she has an existing support base. As William Cross testified to FEWO, "women who actually run are less likely to see themselves as being self-starters [...] They want to be recruited in" (Canada. FEWO-108 2018).

This, of course, requires that parties make a concerted effort in recruitment to ensure that women and underrepresented groups actually are being encouraged to run. Party gatekeepers, whether they be at the national or local level, are likely to recruit potential candidates from within their own networks, whether those are political, professional, or social networks. Party EDAs that have women in leadership positions are more likely to nominate female candidates, presumably due to a combination of women being more likely to have women within their networks and the perception that a female-led EDA is more likely to be supportive of a female candidate. Indeed, in 2015, when half or more of EDA executive members were female, 62% of EDAs had a female nomination contestant (across all political parties). The reality, however, is that three-quarters of EDA presidents in Canada are male, and approximately 6 in 10 party members are as well, meaning it will take a similar effort to increase internal female leadership as it continues to take to increase the number of women nominated and running overall (Canada. FEWO-108 2018).

### *Quotas and Targets*

Following Justin Trudeau's public announcement that his Cabinet would "look like Canadians", including maintaining gender parity, discussions around the role and effectiveness of quotas have dominated discussions of underrepresentation within politics in Canada. For those who believe that the continued underrepresentation of women is due to a lack of demand for female candidates and elected officials, a quota or incentive approach is key to changing the gender makeup of our legislatures. Whether a carrot or a stick, such initiatives have to change the behaviour of political parties, either from inside or through an external approach that could impact multiple parties' approaches to gender and nominations.

Externally, legislatures could establish either quotas or incentives to force the hands of all parties. A quota would represent a "stick" approach to changing the gendered makeup of electoral slates, imposing penalties (most often suggested as financial penalties, but could include preventing parties from participating in future elections as is done in Belgium when parties fail to provide gender balanced electoral lists) (IDEA) on parties that fail to nominate women in 40-50% of ridings in which they run candidates. Such punishment-based attempts to increase representation in politics are already in place in other jurisdictions. This approach was also suggested, and defeated, under 2016's Bill C-237, a private member's bill introduced by MP Kennedy Stewart, under which the Elections Canada reimbursement of campaign expenses would decrease from the current 50% for parties that fail to nominate women in at least 45% of ridings (Maclean's. Proudfoot 2016).

Stewart's idea could, with minor adjustments, also be presented as an incentive system rather than a penalty system. In New Brunswick, a 2017 change to electoral finance laws mandated that the province's per-vote subsidies would be 1.5 percent higher for votes cast for female

candidates. This incentivizes parties to run more women in general, but also to run women in more competitive ridings, as they are likely to receive a higher number of votes in those ridings and therefore would benefit more financially from those candidates (CBC. Poitras 2017). In New Brunswick's September 2018 election, this was correlated with an increase in the number of women running (up to 38.6% of candidates from 2014's 32.2%) and elected (11 MLAs, or 22% of the legislature, up from 8, or 16% in 2014), however the candidate list remained below gender parity (CBC. Fraser 2018 and CBC. Ibrahim 2018). A single election is, of course, too little and too early to determine whether the initiative has had the desired impact. However, it is certainly an encouraging result.

Parties can also set quotas or targets internally although such targets are often met with mixed views at the party level. Where the national or regional party bodies are seen as "interfering" in the EDA's nomination process, whether by promoting a particular candidate or by-passing the open nomination system entirely, there is often a perception that this interference is "undemocratic" and that the female candidates who ultimately run under the party banner did not gain their nomination through "merit" (Trimble and Arscott 2003, 61). While the electorate may not be explicitly sexist in that women are not less likely to be elected once nominated, there remains threads of systemic sexism in many attempts to increase the number of women running for office. As Trimble and Arscott point out,

The negative response to the appointment of women candidates reveals a presumption that the over-representation of men, assisted by a nomination process that favours them, is democratic and fair while any effort to increase the representation of women constitutes "special treatment". (Trimble and Arscott 2003, 61)

Between these perceptions, the defeat of Bill C-237 in the House of Commons, and the lukewarm results of New Brunswick's changes in electoral finance laws, it is clear that a single target or

initiative change cannot singlehandedly change the number of women being nominated to run for office.

### ***Election policies***

For many who study the supply side of the underrepresentation of women in politics, the electoral process itself has the potential to pose barriers to women choosing to run for office. In the 2015 federal election, nomination contests that occurred earlier before the writ were more likely to have at least one female contestant, as were longer nomination contests. This correlation could be due to the additional time this would give female candidates to organize their personal lives and responsibilities, may have created the perception of a more even playing field among the nomination contestants, and may have created the perception of more time to build support and finances in advance of the nomination itself (Canada. FEWO-108 2018).

Similarly, fixed date elections are correlated with an increase in the number of women contesting nominations. As a Lisa Murphy of the P.E.I. Advisory Council on the Status of Women commented prior to the province's 2007 adoption of fixed election dates, "To be free to campaign, women often need to make arrangements not only around their paid work, but also around their unpaid work, such as child care or elder care. Knowing an election date in advance allows them to make these plans" (Campbell 2018). This is based on the understanding that the unpaid and care responsibilities that are most likely to fall to women, including childcare and household responsibilities, are more difficult to put on hold when snap elections are called or when nominations precede an election period of unknown length.

***Financial support for female candidates***

Women running in nominations tend to spend more on said nomination than their male counterparts (Thomas, pp. 228), and over the course of an entire election, women tend to either raise less money overall or raise the majority of their campaign funds through a greater number of smaller individual donations, as opposed to the male tendency to raise campaign funds through fewer, but larger, donations (Lawless and Fox 2010). Clearly, then, finances have some impact on a woman's ability to run as successfully as her male counterparts.

Because US-style PACs are illegal in Canada how can financial support for woman candidates be a targeted initiative to increase the number of women running for office? For one thing, political parties have more flexibility in how they choose to direct funds during and leading up to campaigns. By creating funds specifically earmarked to support campaigns of women candidates, and promoting them as a donation option to party donors, parties can hold themselves accountable to supporting women running for office. And in much the same way as offering support to female candidates sends a message about the party's openness to woman candidates, supporting and promoting a woman-specific fund may make potential candidates feel that their candidacy would have the potential to succeed.

In the non-partisan realm, Canadian options are more limited. In terms of providing financial support, the primary option for civil society is to run awareness events and highlight the female candidates during their runs for office. But electoral finance policies hold the potential to impact the gendered financial divide in campaigns. Bill C-76, introduced in April 2018, includes measures to allow "candidates to use their own funds, in addition to campaign funds, to pay for disability-related expenses, childcare expenses, or other relevant home- or healthcare related expenses", and increases "the reimbursement rate to 90% for expenses in the aforementioned

categories” (Government of Canada 2018). Given that the burden of care falls more heavily on women, if passed this bill will help set the groundwork to allow women to have the support they need in taking time away from home responsibilities in order to campaign while running for office. What this bill does not cover, however, is the nomination period, and increasing the availability of care options, in particular childcare, could have a significant impact on women’s ability to run for and succeed in a nomination.

### ***Overall support for women who decide to run***

In addition to supports to help women come to the decision to run for office and policies to increase the likelihood of women being able to mount a competitive campaign, the availability of supports and training as women run for office may have significant impact on whether women feel they will be able to mount a successful campaign for office. If, as is often suggested, you “have to see it to be it”, then having access to training and networking and mentorship opportunities seems to help women feel supported and confident enough to put their names forward and continue a run through some of the more difficult points in a campaign. As Rosie Campbell of the University of London describes to the Standing Committee on the Status of Women, “there’s increasing and very convincing evidence of a role model effect [...] when women see more women involved in politics, a new generation of women is more likely to come through, so you can create a virtuous circle” (Canada. FEWO-108 2018).

For one thing, networking and mentorship, whether partisan or not, gives potential and current candidates the opportunity to learn from the experiences of those who have been there before. Women may be encouraged by the successes of current or former MPs with whom networks give them the opportunity to meet, and women may be able to get advice on dealing with

systemic barriers of running as a woman, from sexist media approaches to their campaigns to the childcare and family challenges resulting from the time required to mount a campaign (Canada. FEWO-107 2018).

The networks can exist as standalone bodies, or may result from political training programs (both party-run and civil society-run). When training bring together women who are interested in running for office, or are already doing so, they create networks of women experiencing similar challenges at the same time who are able to share their tactics and feel a sense of support and camaraderie throughout a campaign, a period which can become very isolating as a candidate (Canada. FEWO-109 2018).

Training also serves to prepare potential candidates for the realities of campaigns. Given the fact that women are less engaged in politics than men (Thomas 2013, 219-20), this may be key to building the confidence and abilities of women to run a campaign. They teach the skills of campaigning, and may help prepare candidates for the more foreign aspects of campaigning, including fundraising and preparing a sort of “stump speech” to be used when introducing oneself to voters. And given the “confidence gap” between women and men (Thomas 2013, 220), providing both training and the examples of mentorship and networking may help to convince women that not only could they be a candidate, but that they could be successful in doing so.

### **Canadian attempts to get more women elected to public office**

Having considered the types of initiatives that could benefit women running for office, it is worth taking the time to examine what is currently being done on the Canadian political scene to encourage and support women running for office. Compared to the types of initiatives present in the United States, there is relatively little being done in Canada with the specific target of

increasing the number of women running for public office. But what is perhaps most interesting in the Canadian context is the variety in types of initiatives and the differences between what individual groups, and particularly political parties, are or are not doing to increase the number of women running.

### *Partisan approaches*

The three major political parties in Canada (CPC, LPC, and NDP)<sup>1</sup> all take different approaches to promoting women running for office, and all have different levels of gender representation among both their caucuses and electoral slates. Although the approaches of each party have shifted over the course of time, and although these historical shifts may have had an impact on the affiliation women feel to each party, for the purpose of this paper their policies and initiatives leading up to the 2015 federal election will be the focus.

Both the Liberal Party and the NDP have made concerted efforts in recent elections to increase the number of women running for office. Both have a women's commission with seats on their national boards, both have funds dedicated to supporting woman candidates (the Judy LaMarsh and Agnes MacPhail funds, respectively), and both run internal campaign training programs for women running as their candidates. How they increase the number of women on their slates, however, differs.

The Liberal Party has established a goal of running 33% female candidates in a general election. In the 2015 campaign, part of achieving that goal was instituting an "Invite Her to Run"

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<sup>1</sup> Here, major political party refers to a party that holds more than one seat in the House of Commons and that runs candidates across Canada, thereby excluding the Green Party and the Bloc Quebecois.

campaign, based around the tagline “Add Women Change Politics”. Through this campaign they encouraged (and offered pre-made graphics and messaging to do so) party members to “invite” women they know to run in a nomination. (Liberal Party of Canada 2018)

The NDP’s 2015 campaign looked a little different, as the party has an “equity seeking” policy in nominations. With the intention of fielding a representative and diverse slate of candidates, the NDP requires that when a man retires from an NDP-held seat, their “replacement” must be a woman or an “equity-seeking” man, including members of visible minority groups, persons with disabilities, or people who identify as LGBTQ2 (Postmedia. Smith 2018). Looking to the 43<sup>rd</sup> election, current MP and former NDP leadership contender Niki Ashton has also launched a campaign school for “women, femmes and non-binary candidates” called Our Movement. The initiative is being funded by the NDP and will cater primarily to potential NDP candidates, however non-NDP members who show interest in participating in the program will not be prevented from doing so (National Post. Smith 2018).

The Conservative Party of Canada takes a distinctly different approach to women in politics. They have no dedicated women’s organization, no woman-focused fundraising campaign, and no rules around representation within slates. Many prominent female MPs and party members have expressed their support for ensuring that all appointments and nominations are “merit-based”, with the either explicit or implicit meaning that people should not be promoted or supported by virtue of part of their identity. Within the current policy framework of the CPC, there is also significant focus placed on “free speech”, including reinforcing the idea that women who do not support the more progressive issues traditionally seen as “women’s issues” should also be encouraged to run. With that said, former Conservative MP and interim leader Rona Ambrose and Laureen Harper, wife of former Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper, announced their

support for the “She Leads Foundation”, an organization aiming to support conservative women running for office, in July 2018 (Globe and Mail. Cryderman 2018). As of the writing of this paper, however, there was no official web presence for the organization, so initiatives that will come out of the initiative and their potential impact are not yet clear.

Although all parties are increasing the number of women both running for and elected to office under their banners, there are marked differences in the outcomes of their initiatives. On Election Day 2015, 43 percent of NDP candidates were women (meaning 145 candidates), 31 percent of Liberal candidates were women (104 candidates), and 20 percent of Conservative candidates (67 candidates) were women. Sitting in the House of Commons following the election, 18 of the NDP’s 43 MPs were women (42%), 53 of the Liberals’ 188 MPs were women (28%), and 20 of the Conservatives’ 105 MPs were women (19%) (Parliament of Canada). All three parties saw women elected at similar rates to the number of women nominated, although the Liberals underperformed slightly, suggesting there may have been cases where women were not nominated in ridings in which the Liberals were competitive.

### *Civil Society*

On the civil society front, Equal Voice, founded in 2001, dominates the political gender equality field in Canada. They have provincial and territorial chapters, and run programming focused around their motto “Be Her. Support Her. Celebrate Her”. They host events across the country focused on training women for political engagement (both as candidates and volunteers), run speaker series attempting to normalize women in leadership positions, publish research and op-eds on gender inequality in politics, and have an online campaign school available to self-identifying interested individuals.

In preparation for the 2019 federal election, Equal Voice has overhauled much of its programming. They received funding from Status of Women Canada in 2018 to support their Daughters of the Vote initiative, sponsoring young women to represent their federal ridings in a weeklong conference on civic engagement. This funding was provided to support Equal Voice in their work to “empower the next generation of women leaders, and increase women's participation in politics with a view to creating more gender-balanced governments” (Status of Women Canada 2018). At an event to launch their 2019 campaign, Equal Voice announced a number of updates to their website, the creation of a chat bot to connect interested volunteers and supporters with the campaigns of women in their areas, and an improved “Getting to the Gate” pre-election training and guidebook available through the Equal Voice website.<sup>2</sup>

While Equal Voice is the only national-level organization operating across the country, local organizations and sub-groups of broader organizations are also working to increase the number of women running for office in Canada. As part of their mandate to make sure women’s issues become part of governments’ plans and increase gender equality, provincial advisory councils on the Status of Women, funded primarily by provincial governments, run a variety of campaign schools for candidates running for all levels of government. These training programs providing candidates opportunities to form a network of likeminded women and learn from the experiences of women who have run previously, in an atmosphere separate from partisan ideologies and tactics. The Canadian Women’s Foundation and various branches of the YWCA have similarly offered training and networking opportunities for female candidates, and groups like the Federation of Canadian Municipalities and Ask Her YYC (in Calgary, Alberta), run

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<sup>2</sup> This event was attended by the paper author and operated under the Chatham House Rule of attribution.

training programs for potential municipal candidates. If the idea of “political pipelines” holds true, then many potential federal candidates may get their start running at or being elected to local or provincial office, meaning that the training available at different levels of government may ultimately impact the number of women running for office at the federal level in Canada.

As illustrated by the many types of supports that seek to help women succeed in running for office, in the number of avenues through which these supports can manifest (whether those are political parties, civil society organizations, or government-wide legislation), and in whether they are seeking to address the supply of women running or demand for women to run, there is not a single silver bullet that can resolve the underrepresentation of women elected to office in Canada. All the aforementioned initiatives have a role to play, and the approaches and initiatives existing in Canada all seek to address the barriers explored in section 2. But are the Canadian initiatives succeeding in addressing the most pressing barriers faced by women running for office in Canada? The following section will consider the experiences of female candidates in Canada’s 42<sup>nd</sup> General Election (the 2015 federal election), and evaluate whether that which is being done currently is successfully reaching candidates and addressing their needs.

## 5) Survey and Discussion

The previous sections have explored the theories seeking to explain the continued underrepresentation of women in Canadian politics and the work being done at this point in time in the Canadian political landscape. But is this work reaching women who might be interested in running for office? Are Canadian women aware of the initiatives that currently exist, are they participating in the initiatives, and do they feel that the initiatives have any impact on their ability or perception of ability to run for office?

Clearly, any research examining the effectiveness of such initiatives involves a degree of participant bias, and no causal link can be explicitly drawn between the work of initiatives and the success of its participants. Bearing in mind the breadth of research in the field and the focus in Canadian research on first-person accounts of the general election process, rather than nominations, there is value in considering the experiences of Canadian women who have run in a nomination and, most importantly, the barriers they felt did or did not impact their own campaigns. Taking the 2015 Canadian federal election as a case study, this section will examine the experiences of women who ran in a nomination in that cycle.

### **Analyzing responses**

Although the survey sampling methods were not done in such a way as to produce a representative sample, the makeup of the response group mirrored the actual makeup of the Canadian female political body in a number of ways. As is broken down in the following charts, the proportion of respondents from each of the three major parties is similar to the proportion of women who ran under each party banner in the 2015 election. Similarly, the lack of diversity in the group of women who responded is similar to the lack of diversity that exists among women

elected to public office in Canada. While this sample is by no means representative of candidates for public office in Canada on the whole, it is worth noting that the responses of the women surveyed may reflect similar experiences and opinions to those of the broader population of women in the Canadian political realm (outside Quebec).

*Figure 1. Party representation among respondents*

| Political party                | Proportion of respondents | Proportion of 2015 candidates | Proportion of party caucus post-election |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| Conservative Party of Canada   | 15.91%                    | 20%                           | 19%                                      |
| Liberal Party of Canada        | 31.82%                    | 31%                           | 28%                                      |
| New Democratic Party of Canada | 50%                       | 43%                           | 42%                                      |

*Figure 2. Diversity among respondents*

| Self-identification                 | Proportion of respondents | Proportion of Female MPs post-election | Proportion of MPs post-election |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| LGBTQ2+                             | 6.38%                     | 1.14%                                  | 1.78%                           |
| First Nations, Indigenous, or Métis | 6.38%                     | 3.41%                                  | 0.89%                           |
| Visible Minority                    | 4.26%                     | 17%                                    | 14%                             |
| Disabled <sup>3</sup>               | 4.26%                     | 2.27%                                  | 0.88%                           |

***Barriers faced by respondents***

First and foremost, it is important to consider how the barriers theorized in academia align with the barriers with which respondents felt they had to contend during their campaigns. Were there to be barriers that are emphasized in the field that were not perceived as playing a predominant role in respondents’ experiences, or vice versa, this would suggest that there may be a disconnect within the research that may be informing the work of political parties, policy makers, and civil society. By examining the responses of the women surveyed and comparing them to the

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<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that the survey allowed respondents to self-identify as a member of any of the listed identity groups, including disabled, meaning that some respondents could be identifying as having a physical and/or intellectual disability, whereas only physical disabilities can be confirmed through public record for sitting MPs.

barriers outlined in section 2, we determined that perceptions, at least, did not always align with research in the field.

Addressing sexism first, many of the women surveyed felt they faced sexism, either explicitly or implicitly, during their run for office. Nearly 68% of respondents felt that they were treated differently, by the media, by their opponents, by the electorate, or by their party, than men running for office, and 55.526% of respondents felt that women are treated unfairly compared with how men are treated when running for office. When given the opportunity to comment, respondents pointed to both explicit and implicit bias from all sides, with one respondent saying that the media mistook her husband for the candidate at a public forum, and many relayed experiences of being asked about who would be caring for their children and how they would “manage it all”, pointing to gendered approaches to their candidacy. Although explicit bias, particularly from the media and voters, was experienced by respondents, many of their written comments reflect Sylvia Bashevkin’s “discomfort equation”, with one respondent commenting “there was too much focus on gender rather than the qualifications (knowledge, passion, expertise) of the candidate”. Perceived sexism, then, is impacting Canadian women’s campaign experiences.

A second barrier often discussed is the so-called pipeline theory. Although respondents were not asked about their professional backgrounds, they were asked questions about their political experiences. These responses allow us to examine the degree to which political experience and being elected at other levels of government creates a sort of political pipeline. Research has suggested that women were previously more likely to build their political capital through work at other levels of elected office (Tremblay and Trimble 2004, 107), and that women may have less overall political experience than men (Thomas 2013, 226). Survey respondents, however, indicated a significant amount of political experience prior to the 2015 campaign: although 51.11% ran for

the first time in 2015, 31.1% of respondents had run for or been elected to a different level of political office in Canada, and 40% of respondents had been involved in politics for ten or more years prior to running in the 2015 campaign. And as demonstrated in Figure 3, the majority of respondents had been involved in politics in some way prior to running. This does not necessarily support with arguments against the pipeline theory, but does suggest that the types of women who get to the point of actually putting their name on a ballot tend to come to their campaigns with significant political experience, as discussed by Tremblay and Trimble.

*Figure 3. Respondents' political experience*

| Type of political experience   | Proportion of respondents with experience |
|--|---|
| Campaign volunteer   | 78.57%                                    |
| Member of party EDA or Campus Association                                  | 59.52%                                    |
| Member of party executive or board, or party commission executive or board | 35.71%                                    |
| Employed by a provincial/territorial representative                        | 7.14%                                     |
| Employed by a political party or MP in a constituency role                 | 11.9%                                     |
| Employed by a political party or MP on Parliament Hill                     | 7.14%                                     |
| Previously elected at another level of government                          | 23.81%                                    |
| Student Politics involvement   | 33.33%                                    |
| Previously elected or incumbent MP   | 2.38%                                     |

Finally, although some respondents discussed the positive impact of their parties' policies around female recruitment (discussed in the next section), many also felt that party gatekeeping affected the success of their campaigns. When given an opportunity to comment on what they felt were the greatest barriers in their campaigns, seven of the 35 women who chose to answer pointed to issues with the party, including a lack of support from their EDAs, "insider party politics" in their nominations, a sense of an "old boys club" and even one response relating to barriers put in place by their party. In commenting that she was not the candidate preferred by her EDA, one respondent explained that her campaign received poorly formatted membership data and her EDA "lost" "batches of memberships sold by [herself]". Although these barriers are not all inherently

related to the candidates' gender, their presence in the experiences of so many women suggests that the parties continue to exert significant gatekeeping control over the nomination process, as research suggests.

### ***Training and Recruitment***

In addition to better understanding the barriers encountered by women in the Canadian political system, survey responses provided insight into the role training and recruitment campaigns played (or did not play) in respondents' candidate experiences. Respondents were asked a series of questions about their knowledge of candidate training programs, the type of knowledge they were interested in gaining through training, barriers they encountered to participate in training, and the impact recruitment had or did not have on their decision to run. These responses prove informative in terms of the impact and accessibility of initiatives aiming to support women running for office in Canada.

In terms of engagement in training programs, many of the respondents did not engage in any kind of training during the 2015 campaign – only 15% of respondents participated in non-partisan training and only 43.9% participated in party-organized training. Even more, only 50% of respondents felt that they were able to find training or candidate preparation programs suited to their needs and identity/identities. There were a number of barriers respondents felt they faced in attempting to participate in training programs, with timing of training (40.74%), travel burden (40.74%), and financial barriers (33.33%) topping the list, however a repeated barrier was a lack of awareness of training targeted to them. Although most respondents were familiar with the major non-partisan training programs, with 76.5% indicating they had heard of Equal Voice and 55.9% indicating they had heard of Status of Women, 10 respondents commented that they were either

unaware of or unable to find appropriate sessions available to them at the time they would have required training. It is clear, then, that the training available to potential candidates is not reaching many of the women interested in running for office, regardless of whether the training itself is effective.

Part of that may be due to a disconnect between what women want to learn more about and what they felt training programs are able to offer them. As indicated in Figure 4, some of the aspects of running for office they would have most liked to have learned about were also the ones they felt non-partisan training was ineffective at delivering. Support in mentorship, specific skills, and knowledge of the parliamentary system were perceived by respondents as being the least effectively covered topics in non-partisan training. Older respondents also often felt that these initiatives were either explicitly or implicitly geared toward younger candidates, and that they were not as welcome as their younger counterparts. Respondents also indicated that party-run training was overall the most effective at preparing them for their campaigns – 44.83% and 37.93% of respondents felt that general party training and party training for women, respectively, were the most beneficial to address their needs as candidates.

*Figure 4. Candidates' views on the non-partisan training*

| Subject                             | Proportion of respondents who wanted to learn | Proportion of respondents who felt training were effective at delivering | Proportion of respondents who felt training were ineffective at delivering |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| First steps to running              | 46.15%  | 31.25%   | 17.65%   |
| Fundraising                         | 23.08%  | 37.5%  | 11.76%   |
| Mentorship                          | 38.46%  | 31.25%   | 41.18%   |
| Specific skills (e.g. debate, etc.) | 38.46%  | 12.5%  | 29.41%   |
| Knowledge of parliamentary system   | 38.46%  | 18.75%   | 23.53%   |
| Networking                          | 38.46%  | 37.5%  | 17.65%   |

As previously discussed, research in the field has suggested that recruitment may be a major part of increasing the number of women running for and getting elected to public office. Survey responses seemed to support this – although only 56.76% of respondents felt they were recruited by their party to run, over 84% of respondents felt they were asked or encouraged in some way to run for public office, with 68.42% of respondents indicating this encouragement came from members of their political parties. When asked to comment on the effect this encouragement (or lack thereof) had on their decision to run, half of those who responded indicated they would not have run for office had they not been asked, with some even commenting that they did not decide to run until they had been asked or encouraged multiple times. Some respondents who were not initially asked/encouraged to run commented that they did not realize at the time that not being asked was an indication of the EDA’s support for their candidacy.

The role played by recruitment varied between respondents from the three major parties (Figure 5). These responses suggest that the parties’ different approaches to recruiting female candidates had a significant impact on how candidates felt they had come to run in a nomination. NDP respondents overwhelmingly felt they had been both encouraged and recruited to run, suggesting the party’s affirmative action approach of seeking out underrepresented groups is having an impact. Liberal respondents, by contrast, were far less likely to feel they had been recruited by the party but a small majority felt they were encouraged to run, suggesting that their “Ask Her to Run” campaign did not lead to candidates feeling there was a notable party backing behind the encouragement they received to run for office. Finally, Conservative respondents were the least likely to have felt they were recruited or encouraged, suggesting their “candidate emergence” process may have differed from those of their counterparts in other parties.

*Figure 5. Impact of recruitment broken down by party*

| Question  | Conservative Party respondents | Liberal Party respondents | New Democratic Party respondents |
|---|--------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Encouraged to run by members of political party | 40%                            | 53.85%                    | 85%                              |
| Felt recruited to run by their party            | 20%                            | 33.33%                    | 80%                              |

***Overall Views***

In addition to targeted questions about their experiences on the 2015 campaign, respondents were asked about their general views on women in politics, particularly on quotas and the role initiatives to get women nominated to run for office ought to play. The overwhelming majority of respondents (91.89%) felt initiatives to increase the number of women running for and elected to public office are needed, however when asked about quotas, respondents’ views varied. 30% of respondents indicated supporting quotas, 16% were opposed, and 21% supported alternate targets to increase the number of women running. Perhaps surprisingly due to the assumptions that more conservative politicians may be less likely to support affirmative action-type initiatives, these responses transcended party lines – the majority of all parties’ respondents indicated supporting initiatives, and opinions on quotas varied within each party’s respondents. This may indicate that the political rhetoric on such topics is not entirely reflective of grassroots feelings on the topics, or that the voices of some women are not informing party policies on the topic.

Although most questions and responses in the survey focused on training programs and parties’ roles in supporting and encouraging candidates, when asked what changes they felt might make it easier for women to run, a minority of respondents indicated that clearer and longer timelines would make it easier for women to plan their campaigns. Several respondents also suggested that decreasing the paperwork burden and increasing the clarity of publicly-available

information on nominations and running for office would help woman candidates. That former candidates commented on the impact of systemic barriers as well as partisan barriers and overt sexism indicates that the role of formal structures may be an area for future study in the gender politics field.

## 6) **Conclusion**

It is undeniable that women continue to be underrepresented within the Canadian system. Although the number of women running for and elected to public office, and in particular federal office, in Canada has increased, this increase has been gradual and outpaced by increases in female representation across the majority of professional fields. Given that it has been suggested that legislatures may run in a more cooperative or collegial way when more than 30% of legislators are women, that women and men may prioritize issues and effects differently, and that an increase in the representation of women in a legislature may be a self-perpetuating cycle, it is concerning that the underrepresentation of women persists.

Addressing the underrepresentation of women requires understanding why women continue to run for and get elected to public office at lower rates, through examining both the barriers women face as candidates and the ways in which the experiences of male and female candidates differ. These barriers and experiences affect both the supply of women running for office, or the rate at which women self-select to actually put their names on a ballot, and the demand for female candidates and legislators from political parties and EDAs, the electorate, and the media. Although it certainly plays a role, it is not simple enough to say that gendered stereotypes and sexism have prevented the electorate from voting for female candidates, or women from having roles that would allow them to run for office. In order to address the barriers produced by these norms, it is important to dig deeper and consider how initiatives address the products of these beliefs.

In Canada, much of the attention to increasing the number of women running for office has been directed at increasing the recruitment of female candidates, providing training targeted to the needs of female candidates, providing financial support to female candidates, and making changes

to our electoral system that make it easier for women to run for office. Political parties, civil society organizations, and legislatures all have a role to play in these areas. Due to the necessity of a party nomination to run a competitive campaign in Canada, political parties are perhaps the most impactful partner and act as gatekeepers to the electoral process. Parties having the option to force an increase in their own “demand” for female candidates (through setting internal quotas, putting in place recruitment processes, and providing funding specifically for female candidates) and supporting an increase in the “supply” of women willing to run under their banner (through woman friendly policies and processes and running training and mentorship programs to help women feel more able to run). Canadian civil society organizations, particularly Equal Voice and Status of Women, have primarily targeted the “supply” of female candidates, running awareness and training initiatives to help women feel capable of running and advocating for public and party policies that make it easier for women to run and get elected. And although they can only indirectly impact parties’ policies or processes, legislatures have begun to make changes that may increase the number of women nominated in competitive ridings, either in providing financial incentives for parties that nominate higher proportions of women (as New Brunswick has done), or by introducing penalties for parties that fail to do so (as was suggested in Bill C-237).

Because there is not a direct causal relationship between any of these individual changes and the number of women nominated or elected through them, it is difficult to pinpoint the degree to which they are meeting their goals. By surveying women who ran in a nomination in Canada’s 42<sup>nd</sup> General Election, however, we were able to better understand both the impacts of these programs and policies on their candidate experiences and the general views of women who have participated in Canadian elections. Many of the candidates’ experiences aligned with theories in the field – the majority of respondents felt they had encountered sexism and gendered bias in their

campaigns, many felt they had not been supported by their parties and EDAs throughout their campaigns, and many felt that recruitment was an integral part of their “candidate emergence” process. What was striking, however, was how few of the respondents had taken part in non-partisan training programs, preferring the training initiatives run by their parties, and how many felt the training was ill-suited to their needs and worries as candidates. The majority of these women, who saw different levels of success in their campaigns and who ran for different parties, in different types of ridings across Canada, were not participating in a significant way in civil society organizations’ training programs.

What this clearly demonstrates is that there is a disconnect – although there are relatively few civil society training programs in Canada, those that do exist were not reaching many of this survey’s respondents during their candidate journeys. This does not mean that civil society is ineffective in the ultimate aim of working toward gender parity in politics – civil society formed a strong lobbying base in support of the 2016 legislative changes in New Brunswick and presented research to the Standing Committee on the Status of Women, and initiatives like Equal Voice’s Daughters of the Vote may, in the long term, be successful in encouraging more women to start thinking about running for office at a younger age. What this does suggest is that, in the context of the 2015 federal election, civil society training programs were not deciding factors in candidate emergence process for the women surveyed. And although parties are making a more concerted effort to increase the diversity of their candidate pools, including increasing the number of women running under their banners, many respondents felt that they were not adequately supported by their parties apart from the recruitment process. Respondents’ comments suggested that they encountered barriers to their own desire to run (supply) and to the support they felt from parties and voters when they did run (demand).

This demonstrates that there is no simple response to the continued underrepresentation of women – parties are not yet doing enough to encourage or support more women in running for office, and women continue to face economic, social, and structural barriers when they do run. Particularly in light of the deep differences in each party’s approach to supporting women running for office, this points to a need for more external pressure on parties to change their approaches, with the New Brunswick provincial policy change in 2017 providing a model that has produced positive results in the first election in which the changes were in place. As the Canadian political system continues to shift toward “constant campaigning” and high advertising spending, any external force affecting the funding parties receive has significant political impact. By incentivizing both nominating women and running women in competitive ridings, external pressures modeled after that of New Brunswick (or similarly targeted legislation) may be able to overcome internal apathy within some political parties and EDAs that continues to limit the effectiveness of existing initiatives.

By all accounts, from existing research in the field and the opinions of the women who responded to this survey, responsibility and the potential for change is most pronounced at the party level. As evidenced by the results of their different internal policies, change within the parties also has the potential to have an impact on the number of women running for and elected under each party’s banner. And as respondents’ comments suggest, how a party behaves can have a significant impact on an individual candidate’s experience and likelihood of even running in the first place. External pushes, including the advocacy of civil society organizations, have the potential to force parties’ hands, and civil society programming, whether it is networking, mentorship, or training, can complement the work being done by parties. But by and large, the

current system in Canada requires change on the part of political parties in order to see a shift in the underrepresentation of women in elected office.

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## Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire

| S-06-18-740 - Getting women nominated to run for office  |
|--|
| <b>Consent</b>   |
| <p><b>Invitation to Participate:</b> You are invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Helen Hanbidge, M.A. candidate at the University of Ottawa's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs.</p>  |
| <p><b>Participation:</b> If you wish to participate in this study, please complete the attached survey. Your decision to complete and return this survey will be interpreted as an indication of your consent to participate. The survey should take you approximately 15-20 minutes to complete . You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. Once you have completed the survey, please click submit. We would appreciate receiving your responses before September 4, 2018.</p>   |
| <p><b>Purpose of the Study:</b> From this research we wish to learn more about the experiences of women who have run for federal office in Canada, focusing on their perceptions of the barriers they faced as candidates and the trainings and support mechanisms they used to prepare for their candidacy. Using the case study of the 42nd Federal Election (the 2015 federal election), these experiences will be compared to existing initiatives in the Canadian political realm and the existing literature on supporting women running for office. This research hopes to determine where gaps exist between the needs of candidates and the supports available to them.</p> |
| <p><b>Benefits:</b> If successful, this research has the capacity to provide insight into the gaps and overlaps within the supports and initiatives aimed at increasing female representation in the Canadian political arena. It may provide a foundation for future research into attempting to better address the particular barriers women face when running for office and help to improve representation within Canadian legislatures.</p>   |
| <p><b>Confidentiality and Anonymity:</b> The information that you will share will remain strictly confidential and will be used solely for the purposes of this research. The only people who will have access to the research data are the principal investigator, Helen Hanbidge, and the supervisor, Dr. Patrick Fafard . Your answers to open-ended questions may be used verbatim in presentations and publications and we will make every effort to ensure that verbatim use of responses is done in a way that does not inadvertently identify respondents .</p>  |
| <p><b>In order to minimize the risk of security breaches and to help ensure your confidentiality we recommend that you use standard safety measures such as signing out of your account, closing your browser and locking your screen or device when you are no longer using them / when you have completed the study.</b></p>   |
| <p><b>Anonymity is guaranteed since you are not being asked to provide your name, and every care will be taken to ensure that your identity cannot be deduced by identifying any combination of your identifying answers together.</b></p>   |
| <p><b>Conservation of data:</b> The surveys will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the office of the</p>   |

supervisor at the University of Ottawa for a period of 5 years at which time they will be destroyed.

**Voluntary Participation :** You are under no obligation to participate and if you choose to participate, you may refuse to answer questions that you do not want to answer. Completion and return of the questionnaire by you implies consent. Please note that due to the anonymous nature of the study, data cannot be withdrawn once submitted.

**Information about the Study Results:** Due to the anonymous nature of the study, the results will not be directly shared with participants. Following the completion and approval of the principal investigator's Major Research Paper, the resulting paper will be available digitally through the website of the University of Ottawa's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs. Should you wish to be directly contacted about the research, please feel free to contact the principal investigator by email at [hhanb051@uottawa.ca](mailto:hhanb051@uottawa.ca).

If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the

Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5387 or [ethics@uottawa.ca](mailto:ethics@uottawa.ca).

Title of the study: Examining Initiatives to Get Women Nominated to Run for Office

Principal Investigator: Helen Hanbidge  
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Supervisor : Dr. Patrick Fafard  
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Ottawa, ON  
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S-06-18-740 - Getting women nominated to run for office

Getting to Know You

**You will first be asked a series of questions about you as a person and as a candidate. All survey responses are anonymous and will not be connected to you, however it is possible that the combination of identifying answers will make it possible for the investigator to deduce respondents. Please be reminded that all answers are optional, and that the final product will take care not to identify respondents.**

1. In which province/territory did you run for office?

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Newfoundland and Labrador | <input type="radio"/> Saskatchewan          |
| <input type="radio"/> Prince Edward Island      | <input type="radio"/> Alberta               |
| <input type="radio"/> Nova Scotia               | <input type="radio"/> British Columbia      |
| <input type="radio"/> New Brunswick             | <input type="radio"/> Yukon                 |
| <input type="radio"/> Quebec                    | <input type="radio"/> Northwest Territories |
| <input type="radio"/> Ontario                   | <input type="radio"/> Nunavut               |
| <input type="radio"/> Manitoba                  |   |

2. Do you identify with any of the following underrepresented groups? (Select all applicable)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> LGBTQ2                      | <input type="checkbox"/> Disabled               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> First Nations, Inuit, Metis | <input type="checkbox"/> None of the Above      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Visible minority            | <input type="checkbox"/> Prefer not to disclose |

3. What was your age on election day (October 9, 2015)?

- |                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> 18-24 | <input type="radio"/> 45-54 |
| <input type="radio"/> 25-34 | <input type="radio"/> 55-64 |
| <input type="radio"/> 35-44 | <input type="radio"/> 65+   |

4. What was your relationship status on election day (October 9, 2015)?

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Single                  | <input type="radio"/> Long-term relationship |
| <input type="radio"/> Married                 | <input type="radio"/> Divorced               |
| <input type="radio"/> Common Law Relationship | <input type="radio"/> Widowed                |

5. Did you have caretaking responsibilities during your campaign? (Select all applicable)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pregnant and/or parent to child(ren) under 2 years old | <input type="checkbox"/> Parent to adult child(ren)       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parent to child(ren) 2-5 years old                     | <input type="checkbox"/> Caregiver for parent or relative |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parent to school-age child(ren) (age 5-18)             | <input type="checkbox"/> No caretaking responsibilities   |

6. Is there anything else about your identity you would like to share with us?

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Political Experiences Prior to the 42nd General Election

**In this section you will be asked about your experiences in politics and awareness of the political system prior to declaring your candidacy in the 2015 federal election. All questions are asking about the 2015 federal election, regardless of whether the 2015 election was your first candidacy.**

7. How long had you been involved in politics prior to the 2015 federal election?

- 0-1 year
- 2-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 10+ years

8. What political experience did you have prior to the 2015 federal election? (Select all that apply)

- Campaign volunteer (regardless of role)
- Member of riding association and/or campus association
- Member of party executive or board, or party commission executive or board (i.e. federal board/executive, youth wing executive, provincial party executive or youth wing)
- Employed by a provincial/territorial representative
- Employed by a political party or MP in a constituency role
- Other (please specify)
- Employed by a political party or MP on Parliament Hill/in Ottawa
- Previously elected at another level of government (school board, municipal, provincial/territorial)
- Involved in student politics
- Previously elected or incumbent MP

9. What was your candidate situation in the 2015 federal election?

- First time candidate (at any level of politics)
- Previously ran as a candidate, never elected (at any level)
- Previously ran as a candidate, never elected (at the municipal, provincial/territorial level)
- Previously elected at another level of government (school board, student politics, municipal, provincial/territorial)
- Previous MP or incumbent MP (federal level)

10. What political party did you run to represent in the 2015 federal election?

- Bloc Quebecois
- Conservative Party of Canada
- Green Party
- Liberal Party of Canada
- New Democratic Party of Canada
- Independent/Other

11. How long had you belonged to that party prior to declaring your candidacy?

Was not previously a member

6-10 years

0-1 year

10+ years

2-5 years

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Political and Campaign Training

**In this section you will be asked about your awareness of and experiences with political training programs. You will also be asked about your views on these training programs.**

**Note: In this section, "training" denotes any training program, campaign school, or instructional program. It is used to encompass both interactive, hands-on style trainings, lecture or presentation-based programs, and both in-person and online training options.**

**Note: In this section, "non-partisan" denotes all programs and organizations that do not base their programming on which party you belong to or represent. In this case, "non-partisan" includes multi-partisan events and organizations, where political affiliation is known or openly discussed.**

12. Below are a few of the more prominent political and campaign training programs. Please select all that you are AWARE of (you do not need to have participated in any of their programs or have a detailed knowledge of their work).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Equal Voice   | <input type="checkbox"/> Samara         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Status of Women Canada (including provincial wings) | <input type="checkbox"/> Proud Politics |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Women of Impact                                     | <input type="checkbox"/> CJPAC          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify)                              |   |

13. Did you participate in any non-partisan training programs PRIOR to declaring your candidacy in the 2015 federal election?

- Yes
- No
- Had participated in training(s) in prior campaigns

14. If yes, what training programs?

15. What effect did this/these training(s) have on your desire to run in the 2015 federal election?

- Convinced me/Cemented my decision to run
- Did not affect my decision
- Made me more hesitant/nervous to run

16. Explain (optional)

17. After making the decision to run, but prior to being nominated, did you participate in any non-partisan training programs?

- Yes  
 No  
 Had participated in training(s) in prior campaigns

18. If yes, what programs?

19. What were you seeking to learn from the training(s)? (Select up to 3)

- First steps to becoming a candidate/running for office       Training in specific skills (e.g. public speaking, debating, etc.)  
 Fundraising advice/training       Knowledge of the legislative/parliamentary system  
 Mentorship and experiences from people who had already run for office       Networking opportunities  
 Other (please specify)

20. What did you feel training(s) were most effective at teaching you? (Select all that apply)

- First steps to becoming a candidate/running for office       Training in specific skills (e.g. public speaking, debating, etc.)  
 Fundraising advice/training       Knowledge of the legislative/parliamentary system  
 Mentorship and experiences from people who had already run for office       Networking opportunities  
 Other (please specify)

21. Comment (optional)

22. What aspects of becoming a candidate/running for office did you feel NON-PARTISAN training was ineffective at delivering (that you would have liked to see)? (Select up to 3)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> First steps to becoming a candidate/running for office                | <input type="checkbox"/> Training in specific skills (e.g. public speaking, debating, etc.) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fundraising advice/training   | <input type="checkbox"/> Knowledge of the legislative/parliamentary system                  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mentorship and experiences from people who had already run for office | <input type="checkbox"/> Networking opportunities   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify)  |   |

23. Comment (optional)

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Training (continued)

24. Prior to being nominated, did you participate in any PARTY-ORGANIZED training?

Yes

No

25. Please list any partisan training programs in which you participated:

26. Were you able to find trainings/programs suited to your identity/identities and needs?

Yes

No

27. Comment (optional)

28. Did you seek out or participate in trainings targeting women?

Yes

No

29. Why or why not?

30. If you had to choose, what type of training did you find most beneficial to your needs as a candidate?

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> General non-partisan training   | <input type="radio"/> Party training for women                                 |
| <input type="radio"/> General party-run training      | <input type="radio"/> Non-partisan training for another underrepresented group |
| <input type="radio"/> Non-partisan training for women | <input type="radio"/> Partisan training for another underrepresented group     |

31. Did you encounter any barriers to participating in political training prior to being nominated? (Select all that apply)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Financial (cost of participation)   | <input type="checkbox"/> Timing of training (i.e. offered at a time during which you were unable to be away from other responsibilities) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Travel burden (i.e. cost, distance, etc. due to trainings being offered only geographically far from your home) | <input type="checkbox"/> Feeling like you didn't belong there  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of childcare   |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify)  |  |

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Being a woman in politics

**In this section, you will be asked about your experiences as a woman in politics, as well as your views on women in politics more broadly.**

32. What was your primary reason for wanting to run for office in the 2015 federal election?

- A desire to do something about a community/constituency issue
- Thought you were the best person for the job
- A desire to do something about a national or international issue
- A specific desire to run for office/be an MP
- Support for one party's policies/approach to governing
- Other (please specify)

33. Were you asked to run or encouraged to run? (Select all that apply)

- Yes, by members of my political party
- Yes, by members of my community
- Yes, by family and friends
- No

34. Do you feel you were recruited by a party to run?

- Yes, by party executives/influential members of the party, specifically for my riding
- Yes, by party executives/influential members of the party, in an open riding
- No

35. How did being asked/not asked to run affect your decision to seek a nomination?

36. What aspects of becoming a candidate were you most nervous about while deciding whether to run for office? (Select up to three)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fundraising                                | <input type="checkbox"/> Media attacks and/or biased media coverage          |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Canvassing strangers                       | <input type="checkbox"/> Partisan attacks                                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Public speaking                            | <input type="checkbox"/> Personal sacrifices affecting family and/or friends |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Debates                                    | <input type="checkbox"/> Possibility of losing                               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of support from friends and/or family |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify)                     |  |

37. What supports/encouragements convinced you it would be possible for you to run for office? (Select up to three)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Support from family and friends      | <input type="checkbox"/> Party training targeting another underrepresented group        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> General party training               | <input type="checkbox"/> Non-partisan training targeting another underrepresented group |
| <input type="checkbox"/> General non-partisan training        | <input type="checkbox"/> Availability of partisan and/or training childcare options     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Woman-oriented party training        | <input type="checkbox"/> Networking and mentorship opportunities                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Woman-oriented non-partisan training |   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify)               |   |

38. Were there any supports you felt were lacking and could have made your candidacy easier or more successful? (Select up to three)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Support from family and friends      | <input type="checkbox"/> Party training targeting another underrepresented group        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> General party training               | <input type="checkbox"/> Non-partisan training targeting another underrepresented group |
| <input type="checkbox"/> General non-partisan training        | <input type="checkbox"/> Availability of partisan and/or training childcare options     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Woman-oriented party training        | <input type="checkbox"/> Networking and mentorship opportunities                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Woman-oriented non-partisan training |   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify)               |   |

39. As a woman, did you feel you were treated differently than a man running for office? (Select all that apply)

- Yes, by the media  Yes, by your party  
 Yes, by your opponents  No  
 Yes, by voters

40. If yes, please explain how

41. Do you feel women are treated differently or unfairly compared to men when they run for office?

- Yes, women are treated unfairly  No  
 Yes, but the differences in how they're treated don't affect their likelihood of being elected  
 Other (please specify)

42. Some researchers and political parties believe setting quotas for women will help increase the number of women elected. How do you feel about this?

43. Do you think we need initiatives to increase the number of women running for and elected to public office?

- Yes  
 No

44. What was the greatest barrier you faced as a candidate?

45. What changes in the campaigning and nomination process do you feel would make it easier for more women to run?

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You, after the 2015 election

**In this final section, you will be asked about the outcome of your election and your experiences since the election.**

46. What was your outcome as a candidate in the 2015 federal election?

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Lost nomination contest                      | <input type="radio"/> Nominated as a candidate, lost general election |
| <input type="radio"/> Withdrew from nomination contest             | <input type="radio"/> Elected as an MP                                |
| <input type="radio"/> Withdrew candidacy following being nominated |   |

47. If you were not nominated, did you remain involved in the campaign?

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteered on nominated candidate's campaign | <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteered on same party's campaign, in a different riding                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Donated to nominated candidate's campaign     | <input type="checkbox"/> Donated to the same party's campaign, either nationally or in a different riding |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteered on another party's campaign       | <input type="checkbox"/> Attended campaign events (e.g. rallies, debates)                                 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Donated to another party's campaign           | <input type="checkbox"/> No further involvement   |

48. Are you still a member of the same party for which you ran?

- Yes  
 No

49. Is there anything else you would like to share about your experiences as a woman in politics?

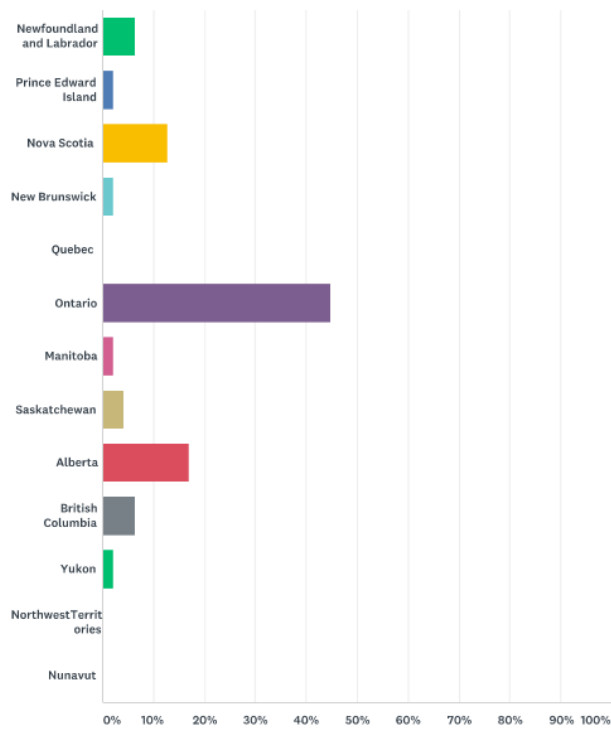
**Appendix 2: Survey Responses**

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SurveyMonkey

**Q1 In which province/territory did you run for office?**

Answered: 47 Skipped: 0



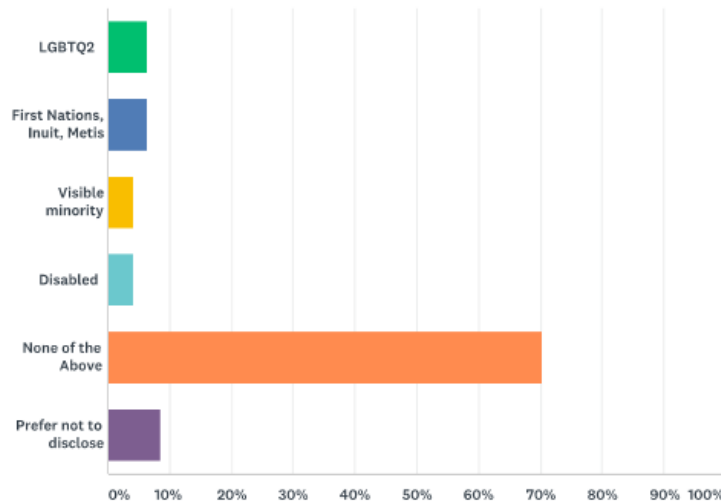
| ANSWER CHOICES            | RESPONSES |    |
|---------------------------|-----------|----|
| Newfoundland and Labrador | 6.38%     | 3  |
| Prince Edward Island      | 2.13%     | 1  |
| Nova Scotia               | 12.77%    | 6  |
| New Brunswick             | 2.13%     | 1  |
| Quebec                    | 0.00%     | 0  |
| Ontario                   | 44.68%    | 21 |

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|                       |        |           |
|-----------------------|--------|-----------|
| Manitoba              | 2.13%  | 1         |
| Saskatchewan          | 4.26%  | 2         |
| Alberta               | 17.02% | 8         |
| British Columbia      | 6.38%  | 3         |
| Yukon                 | 2.13%  | 1         |
| Northwest Territories | 0.00%  | 0         |
| Nunavut               | 0.00%  | 0         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>          |        | <b>47</b> |

**Q2 Do you identify with any of the following underrepresented groups?  
 (Select all applicable)**

Answered: 47 Skipped: 0



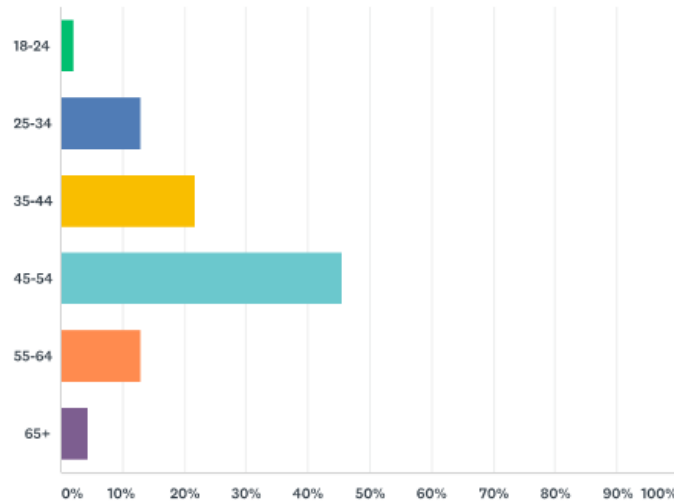
| ANSWER CHOICES               | RESPONSES |    |
|------------------------------|-----------|----|
| LGBTQ2                       | 6.38%     | 3  |
| First Nations, Inuit, Metis  | 6.38%     | 3  |
| Visible minority             | 4.26%     | 2  |
| Disabled                     | 4.26%     | 2  |
| None of the Above            | 70.21%    | 33 |
| Prefer not to disclose       | 8.51%     | 4  |
| <b>Total Respondents: 47</b> |           |    |

S-06-18-740 - Getting women nominated to run for office

SurveyMonkey

Q3 What was your age on election day (October 9, 2015)?

Answered: 46 Skipped: 1



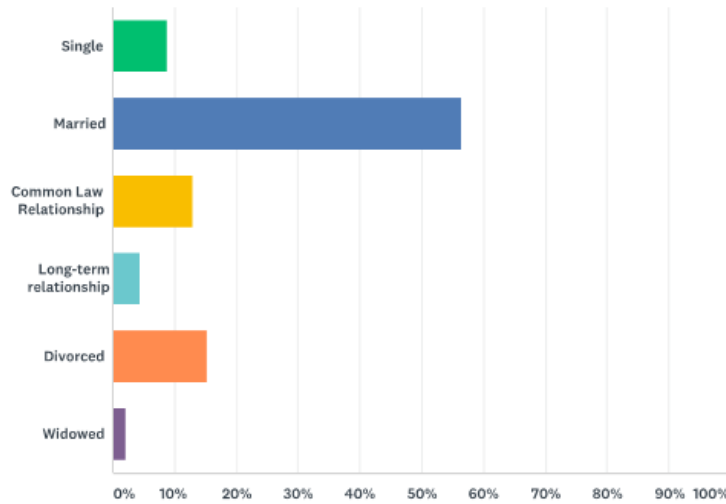
| ANSWER CHOICES | RESPONSES |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| 18-24          | 2.17%     | 1  |
| 25-34          | 13.04%    | 6  |
| 35-44          | 21.74%    | 10 |
| 45-54          | 45.65%    | 21 |
| 55-64          | 13.04%    | 6  |
| 65+            | 4.35%     | 2  |
| TOTAL          |           | 46 |

Q4 What was your relationship status on election day (October 9, 2015)?

Answered: 46 Skipped: 1

S-06-18-740 - Getting women nominated to run for office

SurveyMonkey



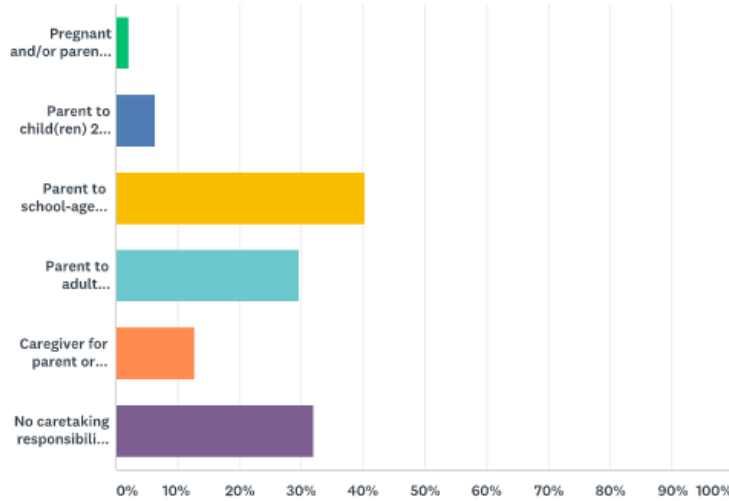
| ANSWER CHOICES          | RESPONSES |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Single                  | 8.70%     | 4         |
| Married                 | 56.52%    | 26        |
| Common Law Relationship | 13.04%    | 6         |
| Long-term relationship  | 4.35%     | 2         |
| Divorced                | 15.22%    | 7         |
| Widowed                 | 2.17%     | 1         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>            |           | <b>46</b> |

Q5 Did you have caretaking responsibilities during your campaign?  
 (Select all applicable)

Answered: 47 Skipped: 0

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| ANSWER CHOICES   | RESPONSES |
|--|-----------|
| Pregnant and/or parent to child(ren) under 2 years old | 2.13% 1   |
| Parent to child(ren) 2-5 years old                     | 6.38% 3   |
| Parent to school-age child(ren) (age 5-18)             | 40.43% 19 |
| Parent to adult child(ren)                             | 29.79% 14 |
| Caregiver for parent or relative                       | 12.77% 6  |
| No caretaking responsibilities                         | 31.91% 15 |
| Total Respondents: 47                                  |           |

**Q6 Is there anything else about your identity you would like to share with us?**

Answered: 6 Skipped: 41

| # | RESPONSES   | DATE               |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | Female.   | 10/10/2018 2:33 PM |
| 2 | no  | 10/2/2018 12:24 PM |
| 3 | Financially secure, independent adult woman who had just passed her child rearing responsibilities. | 10/2/2018 9:56 AM  |
| 4 | During the time of my run, my partner was an alcoholic  | 9/27/2018 1:30 PM  |
| 5 | My mother was terminally ill and in hospital; I visited her everyday.                               | 8/9/2018 9:27 AM   |
| 6 | Ans. to Q 4: separated -  | 8/1/2018 11:19 PM  |

**Q7 How long had you been involved in politics prior to the 2015 federal**

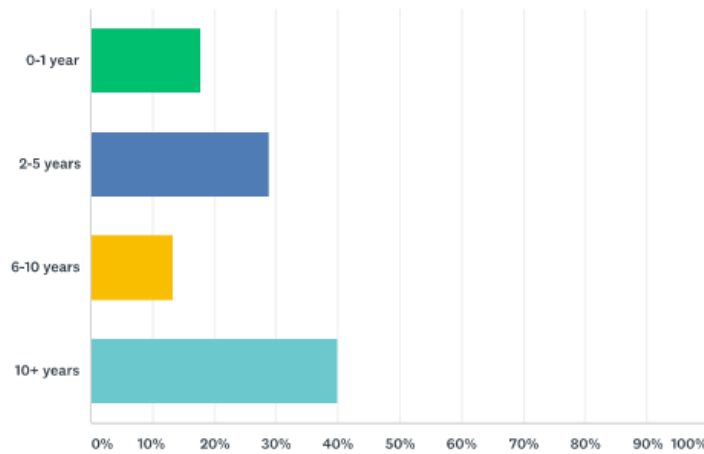
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election?

Answered: 45 Skipped: 2



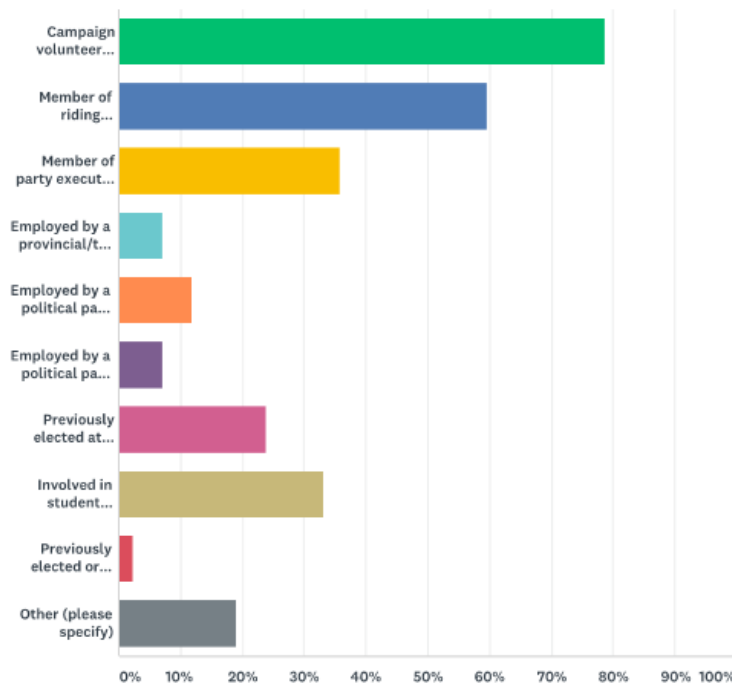
| ANSWER CHOICES | RESPONSES |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| 0-1 year       | 17.78%    | 8  |
| 2-5 years      | 28.89%    | 13 |
| 6-10 years     | 13.33%    | 6  |
| 10+ years      | 40.00%    | 18 |
| TOTAL          |           | 45 |

Q8 What political experience did you have prior to the 2015 federal election? (Select all that apply)

Answered: 42 Skipped: 5

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| ANSWER CHOICES  | RESPONSES |
|---|-----------|
| Campaign volunteer (regardless of role)   | 78.57% 33 |
| Member of riding association and/or campus association  | 59.52% 25 |
| Member of party executive or board, or party commission executive or board (i.e. federal board/executive, youth wing executive, provincial party executive or youth wing) | 35.71% 15 |
| Employed by a provincial/territorial representative   | 7.14% 3   |
| Employed by a political party or MP in a constituency role  | 11.90% 5  |
| Employed by a political party or MP on Parliament Hill/in Ottawa  | 7.14% 3   |
| Previously elected at another level of government (school board, municipal, provincial/territorial)   | 23.81% 10 |
| Involved in student politics  | 33.33% 14 |
| Previously elected or incumbent MP  | 2.38% 1   |
| Other (please specify)  | 19.05% 8  |
| Total Respondents: 42   |           |

| # | OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)   | DATE               |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 | Councillor for a First Nation community                          | 10/3/2018 8:29 PM  |
| 2 | municipal employee   | 10/3/2018 2:48 PM  |
| 3 | Public servant for both the municipal and provincial governments | 10/2/2018 10:28 AM |

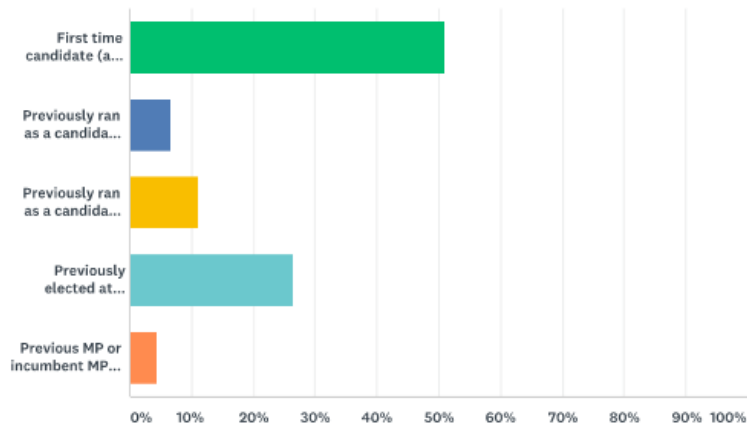
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|   |                                  |                   |
|---|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 4 | Nomination candidate previously. | 10/2/2018 9:57 AM |
| 5 | None                             | 10/1/2018 6:15 PM |
| 6 | Mla/minister                     | 9/25/2018 8:08 AM |
| 7 | None                             | 9/24/2018 2:16 PM |
| 8 | Federal candidate in 2011        | 8/2/2018 8:56 PM  |

### Q9 What was your candidate situation in the 2015 federal election?

Answered: 45 Skipped: 2



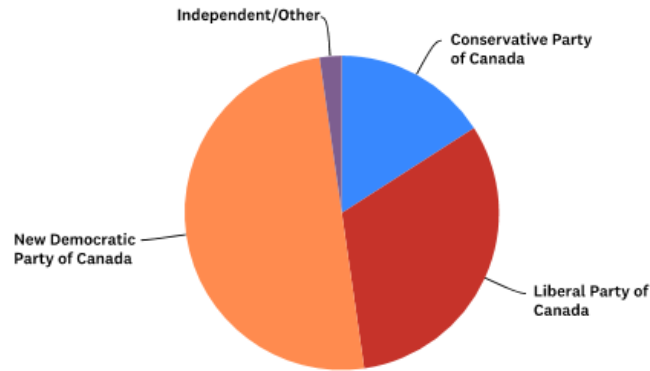
| ANSWER CHOICES  | RESPONSES |
|---|-----------|
| First time candidate (at any level of politics)   | 51.11% 23 |
| Previously ran as a candidate, never elected (at any level)   | 6.67% 3   |
| Previously ran as a candidate, never elected (at the municipal, provincial/territorial level)                         | 11.11% 5  |
| Previously elected at another level of government (school board, student politics, municipal, provincial/territorial) | 26.67% 12 |
| Previous MP or incumbent MP (federal level)   | 4.44% 2   |
| <b>TOTAL</b>  | <b>45</b> |

### Q10 What political party did you run to represent in the 2015 federal election?

Answered: 44 Skipped: 3

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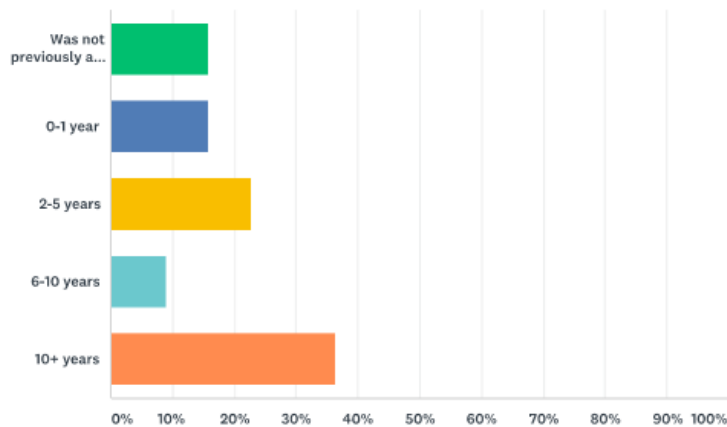
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| ANSWER CHOICES                 | RESPONSES |           |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Bloc Quebecois                 | 0.00%     | 0         |
| Conservative Party of Canada   | 15.91%    | 7         |
| Green Party                    | 0.00%     | 0         |
| Liberal Party of Canada        | 31.82%    | 14        |
| New Democratic Party of Canada | 50.00%    | 22        |
| Independent/Other              | 2.27%     | 1         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                   |           | <b>44</b> |

**Q11 How long had you belonged to that party prior to declaring your candidacy?**

Answered: 44 Skipped: 3



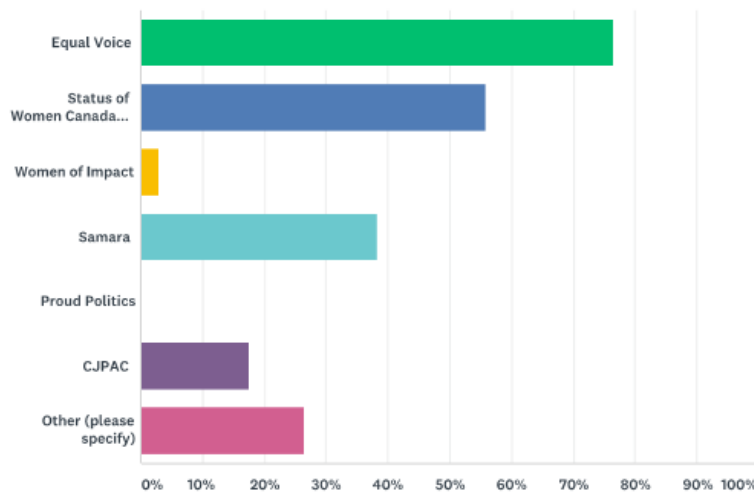
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| ANSWER CHOICES              | RESPONSES |    |
|-----------------------------|-----------|----|
| Was not previously a member | 15.91%    | 7  |
| 0-1 year                    | 15.91%    | 7  |
| 2-5 years                   | 22.73%    | 10 |
| 6-10 years                  | 9.09%     | 4  |
| 10+ years                   | 36.36%    | 16 |
| TOTAL                       |           | 44 |

**Q12** Below are a few of the more prominent political and campaign training programs. Please select all that you are **AWARE** of (you do not need to have participated in any of their programs or have a detailed knowledge of their work).

Answered: 34 Skipped: 13



| ANSWER CHOICES                                      | RESPONSES |    |
|---|-----------|----|
| Equal Voice   | 76.47%    | 26 |
| Status of Women Canada (including provincial wings) | 55.88%    | 19 |
| Women of Impact                                     | 2.94%     | 1  |
| Samara  | 38.24%    | 13 |
| Proud Politics                                      | 0.00%     | 0  |
| CJPAC   | 17.65%    | 6  |
| Other (please specify)                              | 26.47%    | 9  |

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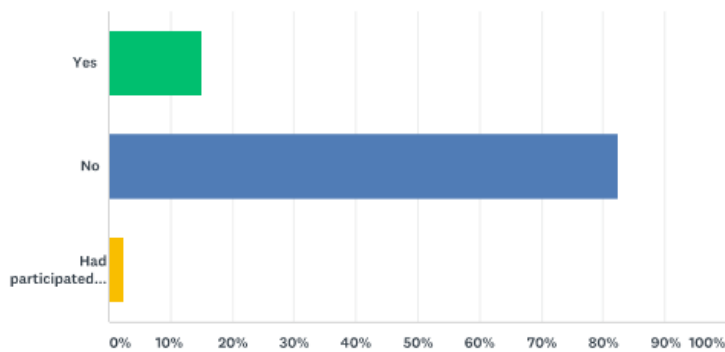
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Total Respondents: 34

| # | OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)   | DATE               |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 | One Woman One Vote (YWCA), Ask Her: Be Her(?) (Calgary initiative) | 10/4/2018 7:59 PM  |
| 2 | none   | 10/3/2018 9:39 PM  |
| 3 | I was not aware of any of these.                                   | 10/3/2018 2:50 PM  |
| 4 | Local Edmonton Women in Politics                                   | 10/3/2018 2:20 AM  |
| 5 | I was not aware of these training programs                         | 10/2/2018 10:30 AM |
| 6 | none of the above - i received no training                         | 10/2/2018 8:49 AM  |
| 7 | Not aware of any of them.  | 10/1/2018 4:47 PM  |
| 8 | none   | 8/1/2018 5:54 PM   |
| 9 | Ask Her YYC  | 7/31/2018 12:05 AM |

**Q13 Did you participate in any non-partisan training programs PRIOR to declaring your candidacy in the 2015 federal election?**

Answered: 40 Skipped: 7



| ANSWER CHOICES                                     | RESPONSES |           |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Yes  | 15.00%    | 6         |
| No   | 82.50%    | 33        |
| Had participated in training(s) in prior campaigns | 2.50%     | 1         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                                       |           | <b>40</b> |

**Q14 If yes, what training programs?**

Answered: 7 Skipped: 40

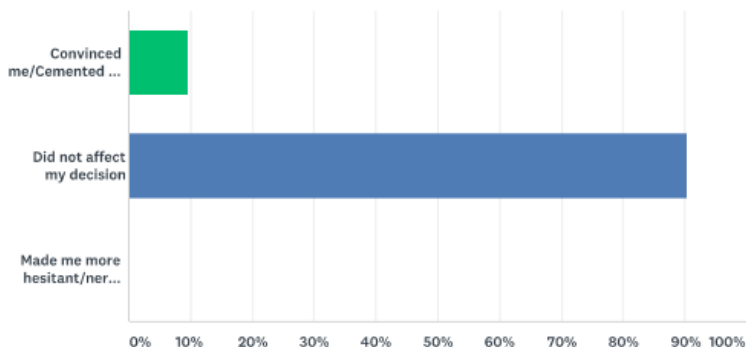
| # | RESPONSES                        | DATE                |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | I ran one for women and politics | 10/19/2018 11:36 AM |

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|   |   |                   |
|---|---|-------------------|
| 2 | Campaign School (BC) (2009)   | 10/4/2018 7:59 PM |
| 3 | Equal Voice   | 10/1/2018 4:54 PM |
| 4 | Elect More Women & YWCA Leadership Summit For Women   | 9/24/2018 5:21 PM |
| 5 | media training  | 8/9/2018 9:32 AM  |
| 6 | Equal voice   | 8/3/2018 10:21 AM |
| 7 | I taught Equal Voice She Will Run seminar, I used to do candidate training all around the world | 8/2/2018 8:58 PM  |

### Q15 What effect did this/these training(s) have on your desire to run in the 2015 federal election?

Answered: 21 Skipped: 26



| ANSWER CHOICES                           | RESPONSES | COUNT     |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Convinced me/Cemented my decision to run | 9.52%     | 2         |
| Did not affect my decision               | 90.48%    | 19        |
| Made me more hesitant/nervous to run     | 0.00%     | 0         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                             |           | <b>21</b> |

### Q16 Explain (optional)

Answered: 5 Skipped: 42

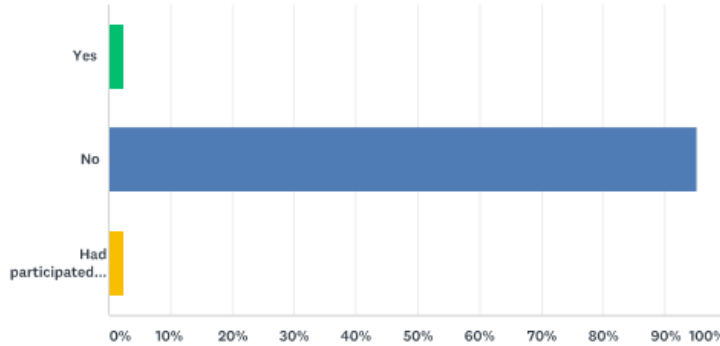
| # | RESPONSES  | DATE               |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 | the non-partisan training sessions were attended by me partway through the campaign and I found them far too basic; the most helpful program was candidate college organized and run by the Liberals | 10/2/2018 12:29 PM |
| 2 | i did not receive any training   | 10/2/2018 8:49 AM  |
| 3 | Encouraged me, but convinced or cemented (your response choices) is too strong.  | 10/1/2018 4:54 PM  |
| 4 | I am a long time activist and have been an MPP and MP  | 8/9/2018 9:32 AM   |
| 5 | N/A  | 8/1/2018 11:21 PM  |

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**Q17 After making the decision to run, but prior to being nominated, did you participate in any non-partisan training programs?**

Answered: 41 Skipped: 6



| ANSWER CHOICES                                     | RESPONSES |
|--|-----------|
| Yes  | 2.44% 1   |
| No   | 95.12% 39 |
| Had participated in training(s) in prior campaigns | 2.44% 1   |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                                       | <b>41</b> |

**Q18 If yes, what programs?**

Answered: 2 Skipped: 45

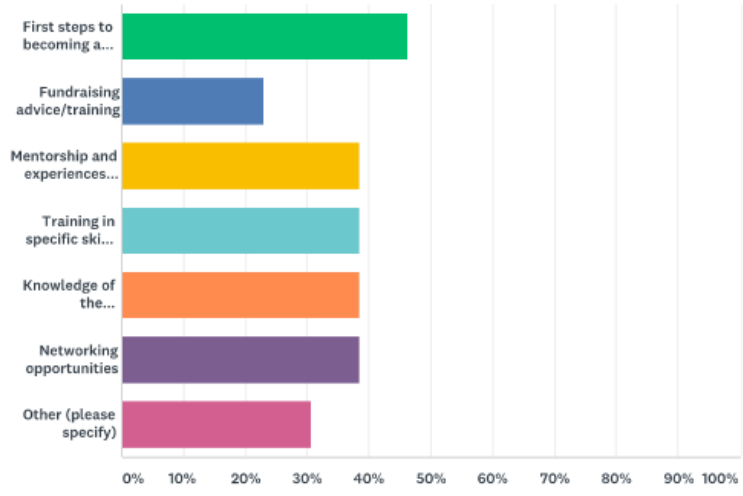
| # | RESPONSES                                | DATE               |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 | Community leadership                     | 10/3/2018 8:30 PM  |
| 2 | I was not aware of any training programs | 10/2/2018 10:30 AM |

**Q19 What were you seeking to learn from the training(s)? (Select up to 3)**

Answered: 13 Skipped: 34

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| ANSWER CHOICES  | RESPONSES |
|---|-----------|
| First steps to becoming a candidate/running for office                | 46.15% 6  |
| Fundraising advice/training   | 23.08% 3  |
| Mentorship and experiences from people who had already run for office | 38.46% 5  |
| Training in specific skills (e.g. public speaking, debating, etc.)    | 38.46% 5  |
| Knowledge of the legislative/parliamentary system                     | 38.46% 5  |
| Networking opportunities  | 38.46% 5  |
| Other (please specify)  | 30.77% 4  |
| Total Respondents: 13   |           |

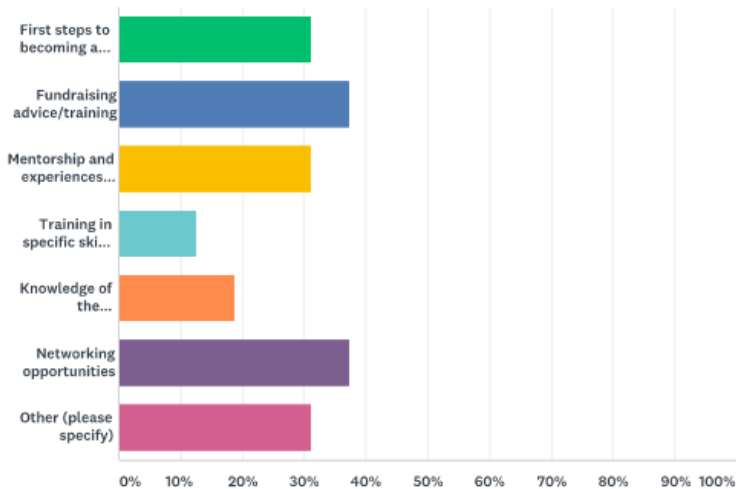
| # | OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)                                     | DATE               |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 | I did not participate in these trainings                   | 10/10/2018 4:25 PM |
| 2 | Fill in any gaps of knowledge I was unaware I was missing. | 10/2/2018 10:04 AM |
| 3 | This does not apply  | 8/9/2018 9:32 AM   |
| 4 | N/A  | 8/1/2018 11:21 PM  |

Q20 What did you feel training(s) were most effective at teaching you?  
 (Select all that apply)

Answered: 16 Skipped: 31

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| ANSWER CHOICES  | RESPONSES |
|---|-----------|
| First steps to becoming a candidate/running for office                | 31.25% 5  |
| Fundraising advice/training   | 37.50% 6  |
| Mentorship and experiences from people who had already run for office | 31.25% 5  |
| Training in specific skills (e.g. public speaking, debating, etc.)    | 12.50% 2  |
| Knowledge of the legislative/parliamentary system                     | 18.75% 3  |
| Networking opportunities  | 37.50% 6  |
| Other (please specify)  | 31.25% 5  |
| Total Respondents: 16   |           |

| # | OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)   | DATE               |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 | I did not participate in these trainings   | 10/10/2018 4:25 PM |
| 2 | n/a  | 10/2/2018 12:29 PM |
| 3 | it would have been extremely helpful to have received these training opportunities | 10/2/2018 8:49 AM  |
| 4 | I did not attend any such trainings  | 9/27/2018 3:03 PM  |
| 5 | N/A  | 8/1/2018 11:21 PM  |

### Q21 Comment (optional)

Answered: 3 Skipped: 44

| # | RESPONSES   | DATE               |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | These questions assume that folks are interested in non-partisan trainings because 19 & 20 relate to the above. If we said 'no' above' then we should have been able to skip these. | 10/10/2018 4:25 PM |

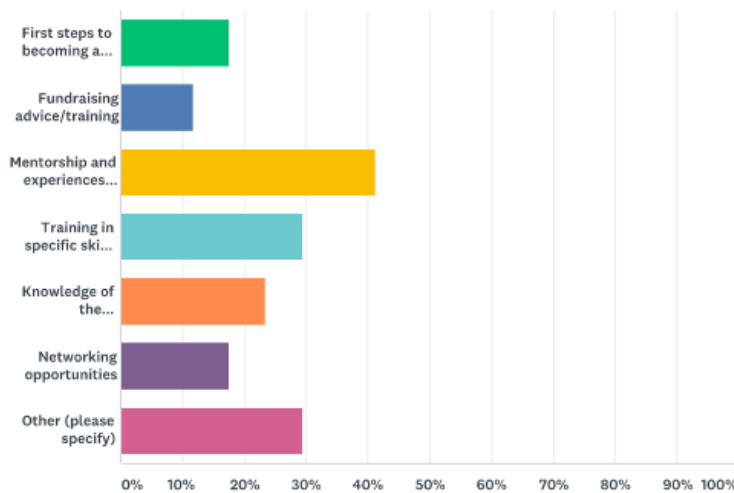
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|   |   |                    |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 2 | All of the training and promotion of women is still based on the male model. Let me try to explain. Men become adults, pursue a career and/or education and it is seen largely as linear. Women, on the other hand, often are sidetracked by personal responsibilities. Child rearing, elder care, care of relatives with disabilities. These realities of a woman's life often delay when she is likely to run. This is a generalization, but it applies to many women. When the support groups and training initiatives were announced specifically for women most of them also had an upper age limit. Several of the women I knew who had entered politics after raising families could not even participate. This is a gaping hole. We are not just men with vaginas. Our lives are different and largely follow a different path. The "training" targeted young women ONLY. No problem with the training preparing young woman, my concern is that it is based on a model that excludes some of the most experienced and confident women. | 10/2/2018 10:04 AM |
| 3 | I only participated in Liberal-specific trainings   | 9/27/2018 1:32 PM  |

**Q22 What aspects of becoming a candidate/running for office did you feel NON-PARTISAN training was ineffective at delivering (that you would have liked to see)? (Select up to 3)**

Answered: 17 Skipped: 30



| ANSWER CHOICES  | RESPONSES |
|---|-----------|
| First steps to becoming a candidate/running for office                | 17.65% 3  |
| Fundraising advice/training   | 11.76% 2  |
| Mentorship and experiences from people who had already run for office | 41.18% 7  |
| Training in specific skills (e.g. public speaking, debating, etc.)    | 29.41% 5  |
| Knowledge of the legislative/parliamentary system                     | 23.53% 4  |
| Networking opportunities  | 17.65% 3  |
| Other (please specify)  | 29.41% 5  |

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| Total Respondents: 17 |  |                    |
|-----------------------|--|--------------------|
| #                     | OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)   | DATE               |
| 1                     | Why do you keep asking questions about non-partisan training when I said I did not participate in this above?                  | 10/10/2018 4:25 PM |
| 2                     | as above, I found the training that I took to be too basic and taught by, in some cases, people who had never been a candidate | 10/2/2018 12:29 PM |
| 3                     | same   | 10/2/2018 8:49 AM  |
| 4                     | I did not attend any such trainings  | 9/27/2018 3:03 PM  |
| 5                     | N/A  | 8/1/2018 11:21 PM  |

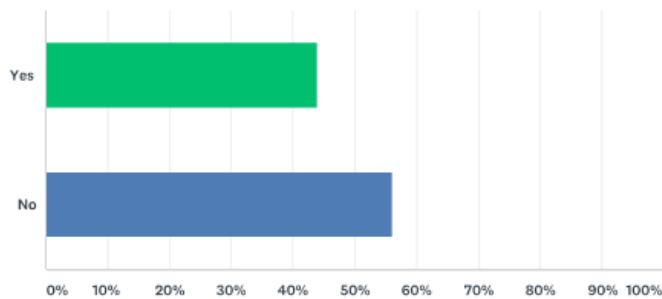
### Q23 Comment (optional)

Answered: 3 Skipped: 44

| # | RESPONSES   | DATE               |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | Why do you keep asking questions about non-partisan training when I said I did not participate in this above?   | 10/10/2018 4:25 PM |
| 2 | I feel that the best training I received was from my very experienced, female campaign manager and from the Liberal candidate college program   | 10/2/2018 12:29 PM |
| 3 | 1. Nothing prepares you for running in an election except running in an election 2. Need to have preparation on losing elections (ie/ Steve Paikin's book on candidates is a great resource). 3. Need better preparation on public scrutiny | 9/24/2018 5:21 PM  |

### Q24 Prior to being nominated, did you participate in any PARTY-ORGANIZED training?

Answered: 41 Skipped: 6



| ANSWER CHOICES | RESPONSES |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| Yes            | 43.90%    | 18 |
| No             | 56.10%    | 23 |
| TOTAL          |           | 41 |

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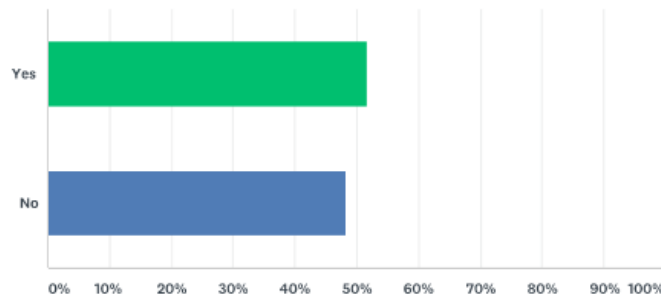
**Q25 Please list any partisan training programs in which you participated:**

Answered: 15 Skipped: 32

| #  | RESPONSES  | DATE                |
|----|--|---------------------|
| 1  | There were ones put on the party at every main party meeting so there are too many to name.                  | 10/19/2018 11:37 AM |
| 2  | campaign training - I don't know what it was officially called.  | 10/3/2018 2:53 PM   |
| 3  | none prior to nomination   | 10/2/2018 12:31 PM  |
| 4  | Don't remember the names. There were several offered on-line, at conventions and by the riding associations. | 10/2/2018 10:06 AM  |
| 5  | Executive training   | 10/1/2018 7:37 PM   |
| 6  | Candidate training   | 10/1/2018 4:59 PM   |
| 7  | NDP Campaign School  | 10/1/2018 4:55 PM   |
| 8  | NDP Candidate training in Vancouver the spring before the election   | 9/27/2018 3:05 PM   |
| 9  | Liberal convention, party-specific software training, door-to-door campaigning with MPs                      | 9/27/2018 1:33 PM   |
| 10 | Campaign school for women  | 9/27/2018 3:35 AM   |
| 11 | As an MLA I was trained with caucus on messaging   | 9/25/2018 8:11 AM   |
| 12 | Liberal campaign school  | 9/5/2018 7:08 PM    |
| 13 | Women in politics  | 8/16/2018 8:47 AM   |
| 14 | Liberal party training   | 8/2/2018 9:00 PM    |
| 15 | Election Readiness   | 8/1/2018 5:56 PM    |

**Q26 Were you able to find trainings/programs suited to your identity/identities and needs?**

Answered: 31 Skipped: 16



| ANSWER CHOICES | RESPONSES |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| Yes            | 51.61%    | 16 |
| No             | 48.39%    | 15 |
| TOTAL          |           | 31 |

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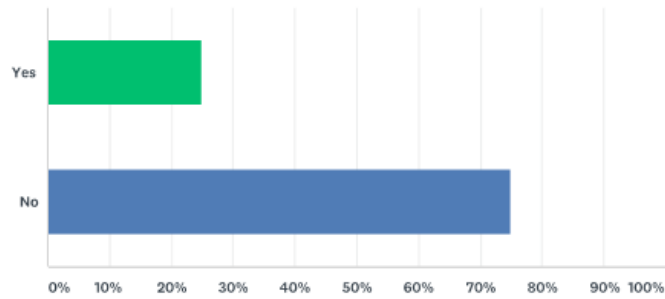
### Q27 Comment (optional)

Answered: 12 Skipped: 35

| #  | RESPONSES   | DATE               |
|----|---|--------------------|
| 1  | I imagine there might have been training programs suited to my identity but I didn't need them or research them. These questions are quite infantilizing and assume that all women need 'training' to be a candidate. | 10/10/2018 4:28 PM |
| 2  | I didn't look for anything specific beyond what was generally available to all potential nominees.  | 10/3/2018 2:53 PM  |
| 3  | n/a   | 10/2/2018 12:31 PM |
| 4  | I was not aware of any training programs  | 10/2/2018 10:31 AM |
| 5  | had I been aware of such training opportunities I would have requested them. Instead a got a manual, which was minimally helpful at best.   | 10/2/2018 8:51 AM  |
| 6  | I wasn't looking for training. It was a quick decision to run.  | 10/1/2018 7:37 PM  |
| 7  | There was only one training offered.  | 9/27/2018 3:05 PM  |
| 8  | I was invited to attend these sessions.   | 9/27/2018 3:35 AM  |
| 9  | I didn't seek out any formal training   | 9/24/2018 2:17 PM  |
| 10 | only brief one day workshops  | 8/16/2018 8:47 AM  |
| 11 | Not applicable  | 8/9/2018 9:34 AM   |
| 12 | N/A   | 8/1/2018 11:23 PM  |

### Q28 Did you seek out or participate in trainings targeting women?

Answered: 40 Skipped: 7



| ANSWER CHOICES | RESPONSES |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| Yes            | 25.00%    | 10 |
| No             | 75.00%    | 30 |
| TOTAL          |           | 40 |

### Q29 Why or why not?

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Answered: 24 Skipped: 23

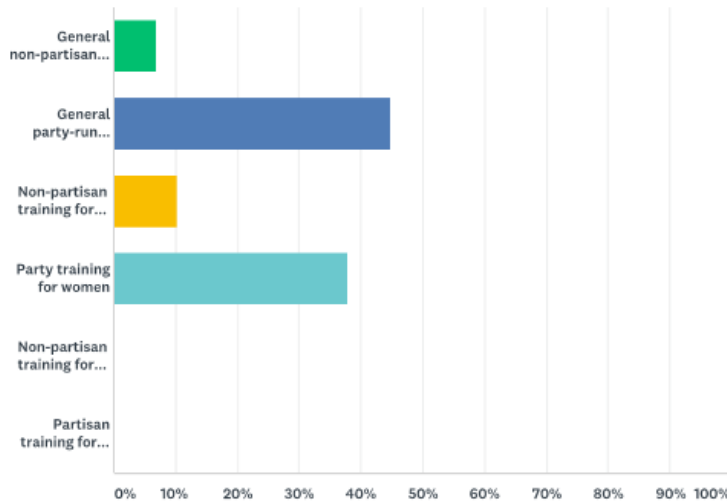
| #  | RESPONSES   | DATE               |
|----|---|--------------------|
| 1  | Was not informed of any training, did not know the existence of any training, but if I did there would Not have been enough time to take training.  | 10/19/2018 1:53 PM |
| 2  | I had been a candidate in two elections before and did all of my training for each election in the field. I had campaign volunteers/managers who provided support as needed and I sought out advisors as I needed them. I am getting a bit frustrated at the base assumptions of these sexist questions - that women need training to run for office... | 10/10/2018 4:28 PM |
| 3  | The whole process of nomination was very rushed and I didn't feel properly prepared   | 10/3/2018 9:40 PM  |
| 4  | It didn't occur to me.  | 10/3/2018 2:53 PM  |
| 5  | I did not seek out training programs per se; my CM found a nonpartisan program for us to attend and we both did but she was already very experienced  | 10/2/2018 12:31 PM |
| 6  | I was not aware of any training programs  | 10/2/2018 10:31 AM |
| 7  | Disqualified because of age. One meeting included all ages but it focused on influencing younger women and all of the follow-up training had a maximum age limit.   | 10/2/2018 10:06 AM |
| 8  | didn't know about them  | 10/2/2018 8:51 AM  |
| 9  | Was not aware of any training. Also, timing was an issue. Working full time, parenting, going to school part time and than starting a campaign, my plate was full.  | 10/2/2018 7:56 AM  |
| 10 | I didn't consider it.   | 10/1/2018 4:59 PM  |
| 11 | Women have a different leadership style and different challenges and obstacles than most men.   | 10/1/2018 4:55 PM  |
| 12 | Was not able to attend any such trainings   | 9/27/2018 3:05 PM  |
| 13 | The ones I heard about I would have had to travel to. I felt like I needed support where I was running, not in Toronto or Vancouver   | 9/27/2018 1:33 PM  |
| 14 | I had been elected at the municipal level and worked on a federal campaign and a provincial one   | 9/27/2018 11:47 AM |
| 15 | See above. It was very helpful.   | 9/27/2018 3:35 AM  |
| 16 | Wasn't aware of any until afterward.  | 9/26/2018 6:29 AM  |
| 17 | I prefer in party training  | 9/25/2018 8:11 AM  |
| 18 | It didn't even occur to me that such a thing would exist at the time. Now i'm Aware of many great programs.   | 9/24/2018 2:17 PM  |
| 19 | I wasn't aware of any that was offered  | 9/5/2018 7:08 PM   |
| 20 | I felt I needed to know more  | 8/16/2018 8:47 AM  |
| 21 | I was already and MP and busy with the job  | 8/9/2018 9:34 AM   |
| 22 | The focus for me was to be knowledgeable on multiple topics and focus on my own personal growth   | 8/1/2018 5:56 PM   |
| 23 | I didn't really see any training specifically geared to women or first time candidates  | 7/31/2018 3:41 PM  |
| 24 | I became the candidate two days before the writ dropped and there was not sufficient time.  | 7/31/2018 12:06 AM |

**Q30 If you had to choose, what type of training did you find most beneficial to your needs as a candidate?**

Answered: 29 Skipped: 18

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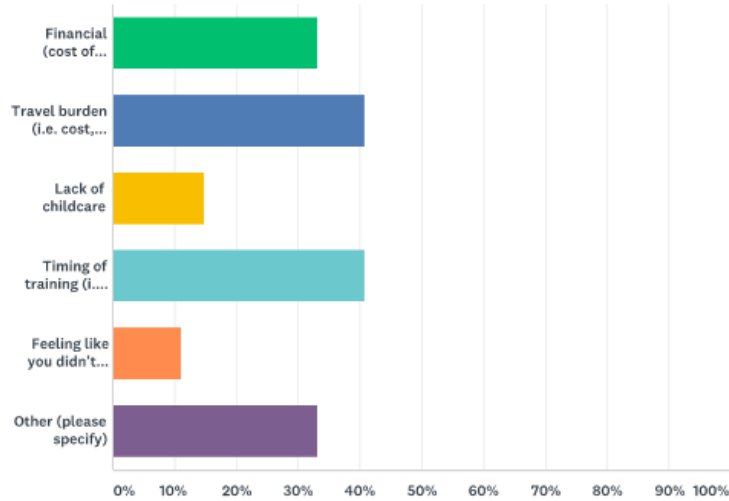
| ANSWER CHOICES   | RESPONSES |
|--|-----------|
| General non-partisan training                            | 6.90% 2   |
| General party-run training                               | 44.83% 13 |
| Non-partisan training for women                          | 10.34% 3  |
| Party training for women                                 | 37.93% 11 |
| Non-partisan training for another underrepresented group | 0.00% 0   |
| Partisan training for another underrepresented group     | 0.00% 0   |
| <b>TOTAL</b>   | <b>29</b> |

Q31 Did you encounter any barriers to participating in political training prior to being nominated? (Select all that apply)

Answered: 27 Skipped: 20

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| ANSWER CHOICES  | RESPONSES |
|---|-----------|
| Financial (cost of participation)   | 33.33% 9  |
| Travel burden (i.e. cost, distance, etc. due to trainings being offered only geographically far from your home) | 40.74% 11 |
| Lack of childcare   | 14.81% 4  |
| Timing of training (i.e. offered at a time during which you were unable to be away from other responsibilities) | 40.74% 11 |
| Feeling like you didn't belong there  | 11.11% 3  |
| Other (please specify)  | 33.33% 9  |
| Total Respondents: 27   |           |

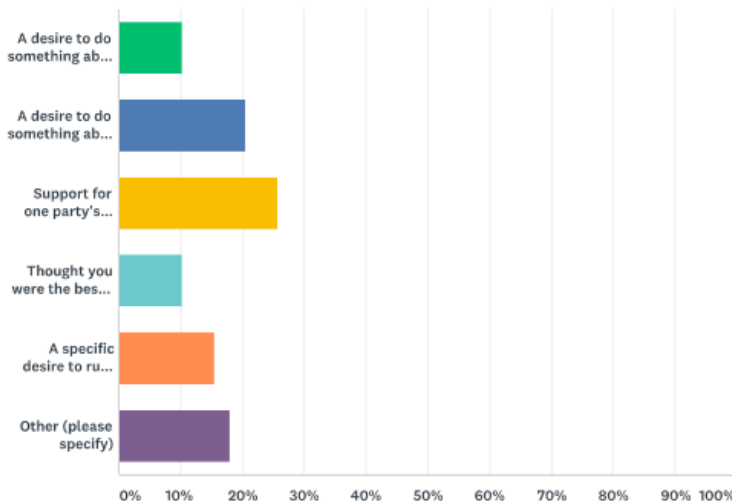
| # | OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)  | DATE               |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | Again, I did not seek out political training and I wish this survey would stop repeating the same questions over and over again | 10/10/2018 4:28 PM |
| 2 | Party had already selected their (male) candidate of choice   | 10/3/2018 2:21 AM  |
| 3 | no barriers   | 10/2/2018 12:31 PM |
| 4 | lack of awareness of their existence  | 10/2/2018 8:51 AM  |
| 5 | Was not aware of any training   | 9/5/2018 7:55 PM   |
| 6 | How do you find out about training if you aren't on any "official" mailing list?  | 9/5/2018 7:08 PM   |
| 7 | Not applicable to me  | 8/9/2018 9:34 AM   |
| 8 | Extremely busy with wrapping up of my office from another level of government   | 8/1/2018 11:23 PM  |
| 9 | no  | 8/1/2018 5:56 PM   |

**Q32 What was your primary reason for wanting to run for office in the 2015 federal election?**

Answered: 39 Skipped: 8

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| ANSWER CHOICES   | RESPONSES |
|--|-----------|
| A desire to do something about a community/constituency issue    | 10.26% 4  |
| A desire to do something about a national or international issue | 20.51% 8  |
| Support for one party's policies/approach to governing           | 25.64% 10 |
| Thought you were the best person for the job                     | 10.26% 4  |
| A specific desire to run for office/be an MP                     | 15.38% 6  |
| Other (please specify)   | 17.95% 7  |
| <b>TOTAL</b>   | <b>39</b> |

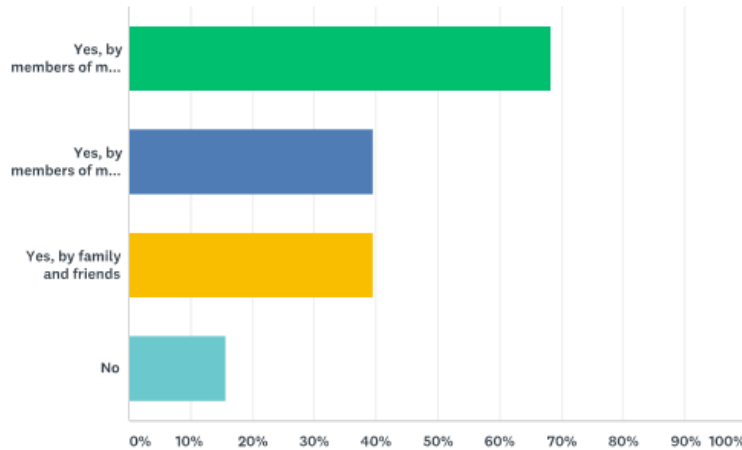
| # | OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)   | DATE               |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 | I really disliked the incumbent and his politics. I wanted real change.  | 10/19/2018 2:01 PM |
| 2 | A desire to oust Stephen Harper and the conservative government that was undermining public services and further eroding Indigenous Rights   | 10/10/2018 4:39 PM |
| 3 | support for Liberal policies and values; desire to replace government that denounced science and climate change and based policies upon ideology rather than fact/data; a multitude of perceived failings with the governing party made me want to do this as well as a strong desire to serve community and country | 10/2/2018 1:06 PM  |
| 4 | all of the above   | 10/2/2018 9:06 AM  |
| 5 | Inspired by Jack Layton and his death galvanized my desire to run.   | 9/27/2018 3:11 PM  |
| 6 | To help Harper not get elected as Prime Minister.  | 9/26/2018 6:34 AM  |
| 7 | To get rid of Stephen Harper   | 9/5/2018 7:20 PM   |

Q33 Were you asked to run or encouraged to run? (Select all that apply)

Answered: 38 Skipped: 9

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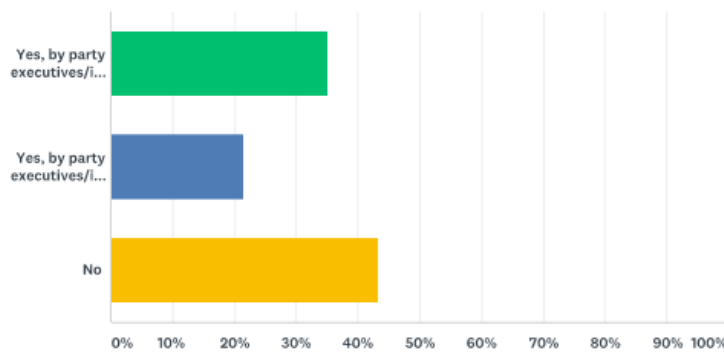
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| ANSWER CHOICES                        | RESPONSES |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| Yes, by members of my political party | 68.42% 26 |
| Yes, by members of my community       | 39.47% 15 |
| Yes, by family and friends            | 39.47% 15 |
| No                                    | 15.79% 6  |
| Total Respondents: 38                 |           |

Q34 Do you feel you were recruited by a party to run?

Answered: 37 Skipped: 10



| ANSWER CHOICES  | RESPONSES |
|---|-----------|
| Yes, by party executives/influential members of the party, specifically for my riding | 35.14% 13 |
| Yes, by party executives/influential members of the party, in an open riding          | 21.62% 8  |

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|              |        |           |
|--------------|--------|-----------|
| No           | 43.24% | 16        |
| <b>TOTAL</b> |        | <b>37</b> |

### Q35 How did being asked/not asked to run affect your decision to seek a nomination?

Answered: 30 Skipped: 17

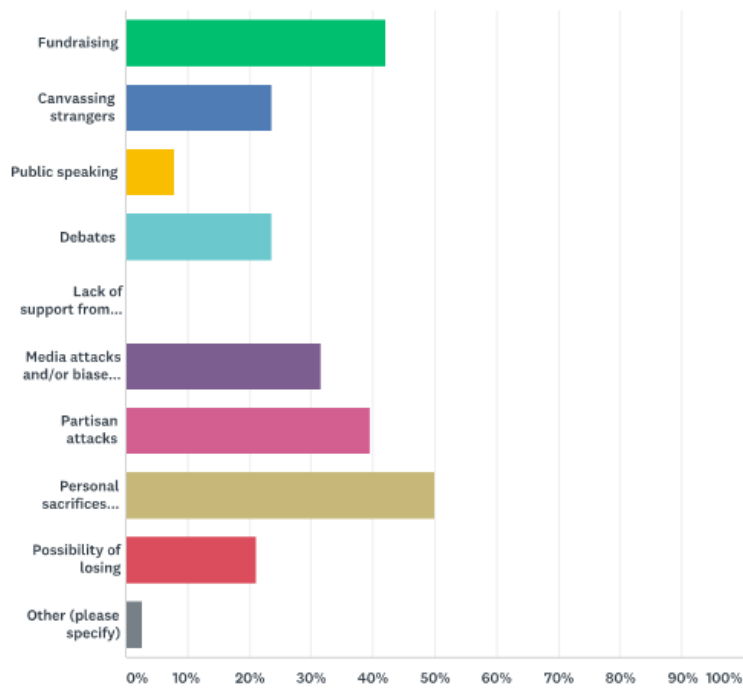
| #  | RESPONSES   | DATE                |
|----|---|---------------------|
| 1  | I felt flattered that I was asked and it was the main reason that I felt I could run  | 10/19/2018 2:01 PM  |
| 2  | no affect   | 10/19/2018 11:46 AM |
| 3  | I ran because I wanted to run. I was not asked before seeking the nomination, but I was asked by constituents to run in the sense that I won the nomination in my riding.   | 10/10/2018 4:39 PM  |
| 4  | It's always nice to be asked.   | 10/4/2018 8:06 PM   |
| 5  | I would not have envisioned myself in the role if others had not envisioned it and asked me   | 10/3/2018 9:49 PM   |
| 6  | It didn't.  | 10/3/2018 3:05 PM   |
| 7  | Not being asked/approached by the party and encouraged to run should have been (and is) a sign that you are not the party candidate of choice (lesson learned) and that the party does not seek quality candidates, but rather endorses party members that may be far less qualified for the role | 10/3/2018 2:32 AM   |
| 8  | I have always wanted to run; I would never have done it without the support of a group of women who convinced me to do it; I also found the Liberal website encouraging women to run to be of importance in my decision-making  | 10/2/2018 1:06 PM   |
| 9  | It was essential. If I had not been asked by members of the Liberal party I would likely not have run at all.   | 10/2/2018 10:16 AM  |
| 10 | I needed a little encouragement, mostly due to a lack of experience/training  | 10/2/2018 9:06 AM   |
| 11 | I would not have considered running had I not been approached.  | 10/2/2018 8:03 AM   |
| 12 | It was my idea, but I wasn't savvy enough to know I needed backing from key people in the party/unions to roust major support.  | 10/1/2018 7:49 PM   |
| 13 | Being asked made me feel wanted and validated that I had potential. It was essential to my running  | 10/1/2018 5:04 PM   |
| 14 | I would not have run had I not been asked.  | 10/1/2018 4:59 PM   |
| 15 | It was an uphill battle with my local EDA, but I was committed to run. There was one other candidate that came forward during the nomination process.   | 9/27/2018 3:11 PM   |
| 16 | I was steadfast in my desire to run regardless of extrinsic motivations, though in retrospect, I'm not sure why!  | 9/27/2018 1:40 PM   |
| 17 | I was glad they had asked me to run for the second time.  | 9/27/2018 11:59 AM  |
| 18 | two weeks   | 9/27/2018 9:42 AM   |
| 19 | I honestly would have never considered it.  | 9/27/2018 3:43 AM   |
| 20 | I wanted target support before committing.  | 9/25/2018 8:15 AM   |
| 21 | I declined running multiple times. I received encouragement by our party leader, elected MP's, staff and members of my riding association.  | 9/24/2018 6:30 PM   |
| 22 | Being asked was 100% the reason I ran. It had never occurred to me previously that this would be something I could do.  | 9/24/2018 2:26 PM   |
| 23 | It did not affect my decision.  | 9/5/2018 8:12 PM    |

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|    |   |                    |
|----|---|--------------------|
| 24 | I think I went in with both eyes open. I wasn't asked to run or encouraged by the party - I just knew it was something I wanted to do.        | 9/5/2018 7:20 PM   |
| 25 | I did not expect to be asked because no one knew I was interested   | 8/16/2018 8:55 AM  |
| 26 | I wanted to help achieve NDP values for Canada  | 8/9/2018 9:44 AM   |
| 27 | I ran because I was asked a few times to run.   | 8/3/2018 10:27 AM  |
| 28 | I gained confidence having support from multiple members of my community specifically from other political parties who understood my ability. | 8/1/2018 6:01 PM   |
| 29 | If no one asked me I would never have considered running.   | 7/31/2018 3:52 PM  |
| 30 | I sought advice from family and friends in politics and after I told them I was interested in running, they encouraged me to run.             | 7/31/2018 12:13 AM |

**Q36 What aspects of becoming a candidate were you most nervous about while deciding whether to run for office? (Select up to three)**

Answered: 38 Skipped: 9



| ANSWER CHOICES       | RESPONSES |
|----------------------|-----------|
| Fundraising          | 42.11% 16 |
| Canvassing strangers | 23.68% 9  |
| Public speaking      | 7.89% 3   |

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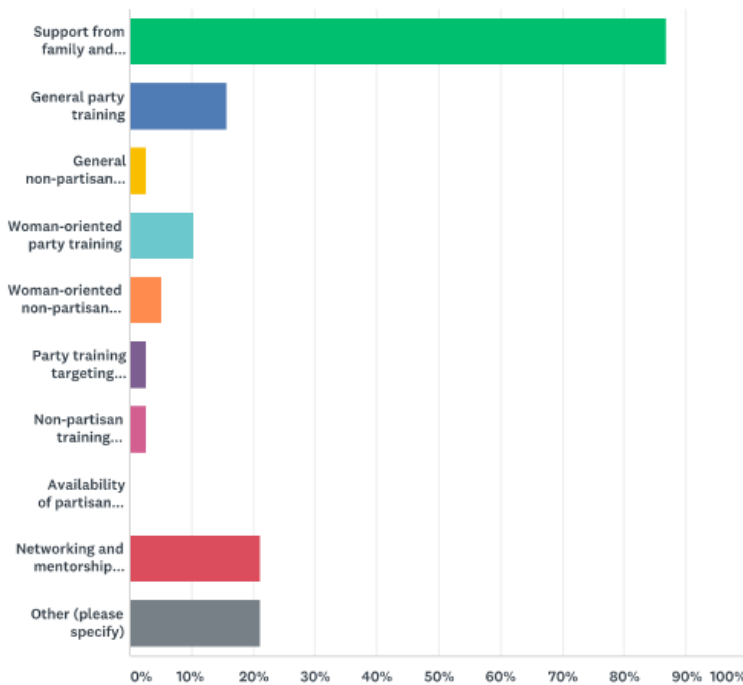
|   |        |    |
|---|--------|----|
| Debates   | 23.68% | 9  |
| Lack of support from friends and/or family          | 0.00%  | 0  |
| Media attacks and/or biased media coverage          | 31.58% | 12 |
| Partisan attacks                                    | 39.47% | 15 |
| Personal sacrifices affecting family and/or friends | 50.00% | 19 |
| Possibility of losing                               | 21.05% | 8  |
| Other (please specify)                              | 2.63%  | 1  |
| Total Respondents: 38                               |        |    |

| # | OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)  | DATE              |
|---|---|-------------------|
| 1 | Not having the understanding of how to run an effective campaign, nor the people resources who did know | 9/27/2018 1:40 PM |

**Q37 What supports/encouragements convinced you it would be possible for you to run for office? (Select up to three)**

Answered: 38 Skipped: 9



| ANSWER CHOICES | RESPONSES |
|----------------|-----------|
|----------------|-----------|

| S-06-18-740 - Getting women nominated to run for office        |        | SurveyMonkey |
|--|--------|--------------|
| Support from family and friends                                | 86.84% | 33           |
| General party training   | 15.79% | 6            |
| General non-partisan training                                  | 2.63%  | 1            |
| Woman-oriented party training                                  | 10.53% | 4            |
| Woman-oriented non-partisan training                           | 5.26%  | 2            |
| Party training targeting another underrepresented group        | 2.63%  | 1            |
| Non-partisan training targeting another underrepresented group | 2.63%  | 1            |
| Availability of partisan and/or training childcare options     | 0.00%  | 0            |
| Networking and mentorship opportunities                        | 21.05% | 8            |
| Other (please specify)   | 21.05% | 8            |
| Total Respondents: 38  |        |              |

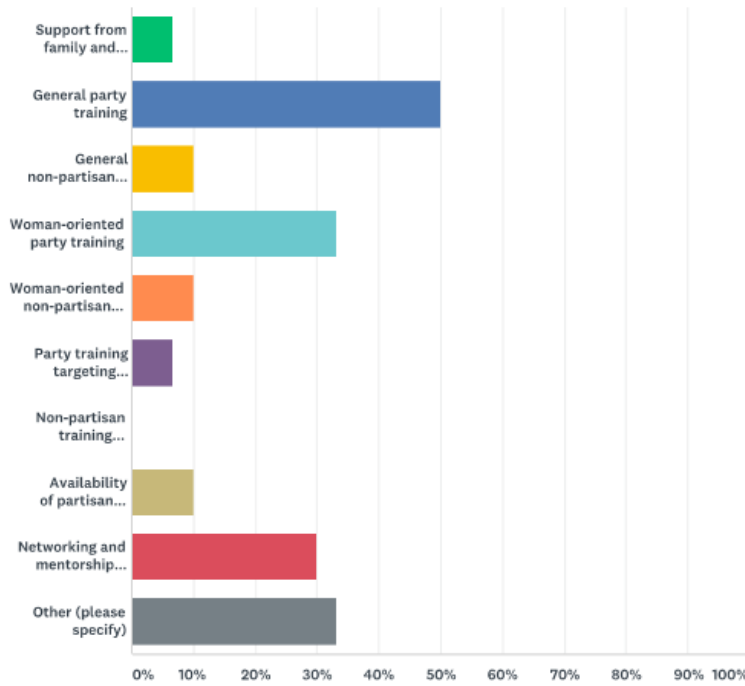
| # | OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)   | DATE               |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 1 | No support at all other than my immediate family and a few friends   | 10/19/2018 2:01 PM |
| 2 | Feminist ND party policy and precedence  | 10/10/2018 4:39 PM |
| 3 | support from key members of the riding as well as my family's long history in the NDP  | 10/3/2018 9:49 PM  |
| 4 | A firm belief that I could, if I wanted to pursue this path.   | 10/3/2018 3:05 PM  |
| 5 | family, friends, and other Liberals convinced me that I could do this. I had always wanted to run but had to put career, family and then elderly ailing parents first. For some, there is a "right" time to run and for me it was the right time | 10/2/2018 1:06 PM  |
| 6 | all of them - if political parties wish to recruit new MPs or MPPs, like any other job, they must fully train their candidates. period.  | 10/2/2018 9:06 AM  |
| 7 | Party support  | 9/25/2018 8:15 AM  |
| 8 | I negotiated an agreement to have campaign resources paid for by the party such as a campaign staff, mail outs and ads.  | 9/24/2018 6:30 PM  |

**Q38 Were there any supports you felt were lacking and could have made your candidacy easier or more successful? (Select up to three)**

Answered: 30 Skipped: 17

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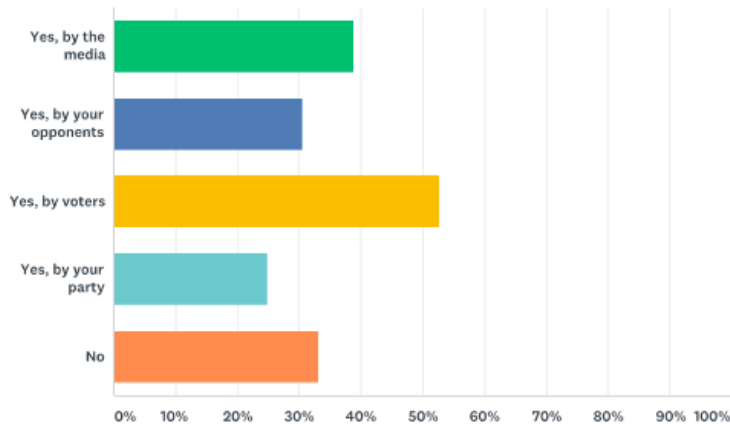
| ANSWER CHOICES   | RESPONSES |
|--|-----------|
| Support from family and friends                                | 6.67% 2   |
| General party training   | 50.00% 15 |
| General non-partisan training                                  | 10.00% 3  |
| Woman-oriented party training                                  | 33.33% 10 |
| Woman-oriented non-partisan training                           | 10.00% 3  |
| Party training targeting another underrepresented group        | 6.67% 2   |
| Non-partisan training targeting another underrepresented group | 0.00% 0   |
| Availability of partisan and/or training childcare options     | 10.00% 3  |
| Networking and mentorship opportunities                        | 30.00% 9  |
| Other (please specify)   | 33.33% 10 |
| Total Respondents: 30  |           |

| # | OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)   | DATE                |
|---|--|---------------------|
| 1 | assistance with finding a campaign manager   | 10/19/2018 11:46 AM |
| 2 | If the federal government allowed for electronic/phone attendance of committee meetings as well as in the legislature - allowing me to work from my home riding more | 10/10/2018 4:39 PM  |

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|---|---|--------------------|
| 3   | Assuming you have now migrated to my time as candidate and not still pursuing the nomination, local support from party members was soft.  | 10/3/2018 3:05 PM  |
| 4   | training just after making the decision to run would have been helpful; the period before announcing you are running and the nomination meeting is a very lonely period of time as you are "on your own" and have to find your own volunteers and money. I was able to do this because I am a lawyer and have a pretty good network but it would have been helpful to understand some of these things in advance. I did not know who to approach to be a financial agent; I did not know the financing rules; I did not appreciate that our Board would not be able to help at all until after the nomination meeting - I know so much more now and looking back, it would have been helpful to have a training kit or program provided back then | 10/2/2018 1:06 PM  |
| 5   | Support from family and friends was available prior to putting my name forward (they encouraged me), however after I submitting my nomination papers, the support disappeared as I believe they felt if I wanted to win, I would have to prove it to them and others.   | 10/2/2018 10:45 AM |
| 6   | Support from the liberals.  | 10/2/2018 10:16 AM |
| 7   | politics is very polarized - one must understand what to expect in their journey as a candidate. From beginning through to the end.   | 10/2/2018 9:06 AM  |
| 8   | Financial support especially for travel.  | 10/2/2018 8:03 AM  |
| 9   | People who knew how to be campaign managers, fundraising directors and other specific roles   | 9/27/2018 1:40 PM  |
| 10  | Not applicable  | 8/9/2018 9:44 AM   |

**Q39 As a woman, did you feel you were treated differently than a man running for office? (Select all that apply)**

Answered: 36 Skipped: 11



| ANSWER CHOICES         | RESPONSES |    |
|------------------------|-----------|----|
| Yes, by the media      | 38.89%    | 14 |
| Yes, by your opponents | 30.56%    | 11 |
| Yes, by voters         | 52.78%    | 19 |
| Yes, by your party     | 25.00%    | 9  |

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|                       |        |    |
|-----------------------|--------|----|
| No                    | 33.33% | 12 |
| Total Respondents: 36 |        |    |

### Q40 If yes, please explain how

Answered: 21 Skipped: 26

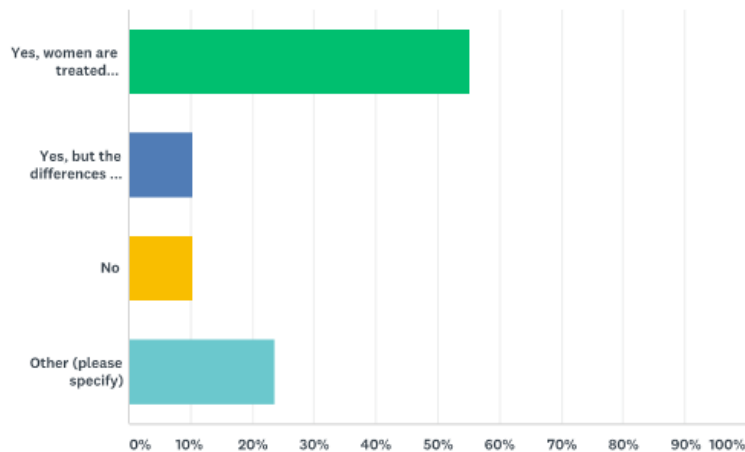
| #  | RESPONSES  | DATE                |
|----|--|---------------------|
| 1  | People would focus on how old I looked. People talked down to me.  | 10/19/2018 11:46 AM |
| 2  | Many voters expressed sexist sentiments at the door and were less likely to vote for me because I was the mother of a young child. Also, the party treated me differently because they believe in the principle of equity and they have a rule that constituency associations cannot hold a nomination meeting until they have a woman or other minority in the running (or have tried to recruit one). This policy enabled me to become the candidate because they had to hold off on the nomination meeting when I expressed interest in running and give me enough time to be vetted.   | 10/10/2018 4:39 PM  |
| 3  | SOMETIMES (not all the time) there was too much focus on gender rather than the qualifications (knowledge, passion, expertise) of the candidate.   | 10/4/2018 8:06 PM   |
| 4  | I had a very bad experience running in a contested nomination. The other candidate was very unethical and sexist and managed to find a lot of support for very unfortunate behavior aimed at me and at my supporters   | 10/3/2018 9:49 PM   |
| 5  | Traditionally very male dominant party, without much diversity. Take a male with less experience than a female with more experience and credentials.   | 10/3/2018 2:32 AM   |
| 6  | The other nominee created an atmosphere that was negative and rude...his party supporters made rude comments when I was introduced to them. The other nominee, in his address to the riding association at the nominee selection meeting, made a comment that he was so happy to be married and his beautiful wife, the most beautiful woman in the room, was meant as a slight as to my physical appearance. I do not believe that would have happened if two men were seeking the nomination. He would have focused on his policies and what he wanted to achieve.   | 10/2/2018 10:45 AM  |
| 7  | A male candidate had already been chosen before I began my campaign. I found this out too late but most of the liberals in the riding had already been told that this man was the one they should vote for before I even began. Many told me they had "agreed" to vote for him before he announced his candidacy. I was asked to run in a different riding than I ran in. This was more important than I realized. The liberals like to put on a nice show about the nomination process, but the winner is decided before anyone knew the riding would be open. As a riding member, it became apparent that they had chosen not to tell me. They wanted people to run so that they had a "race". Advantages in the form of money, direct hands on help from the political party and even advance notice of the venue to allow additional space (which was limited) to be secured before the nomination event, were given to the man they wanted elected. What people did not know was that the winner had been chosen. I was basically used. | 10/2/2018 10:16 AM  |
| 8  | It is evident that there continues to be gender role issues/stereotypes in politics. Much of the time, while many supported my nomination, many others openly suggested that I should stay at home and raise my family and let the "men" do the work.  | 10/2/2018 9:06 AM   |
| 9  | Media often commented on my age and appearance. When canvassing, voters often asked who would take care of my children if elected.   | 10/1/2018 6:23 PM   |
| 10 | As a woman you are viewed as "too young" by the voters until you are very clearly older. Men don't get the same age criticism to the same extent.  | 10/1/2018 5:04 PM   |
| 11 | At a public forum a television reporter wanted to interview my husband, mistaking him for the candidate.   | 10/1/2018 4:59 PM   |
| 12 | I was instantly less credible and asked more difficult questions than the male candidates. Voters commented on my appearance.  | 9/27/2018 3:11 PM   |
| 13 | experience racism, discrimination and mysogny people question my qualifications  | 9/27/2018 9:42 AM   |

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|    |   |                    |
|----|---|--------------------|
| 14 | Even though I ran a very small, quiet campaign due to resources, the fact that I was young and female was voiced by media several times and not my qualifications or opinions.  | 9/26/2018 6:34 AM  |
| 15 | Media is more critical, voters ask more personal questions  | 9/25/2018 8:15 AM  |
| 16 | I didn't feel that I was treated differently exactly, although once the campaign was underway, I was admittedly surprised by how male politics is. I was on a weekly Radio Canada TV panel where all other candidates and host were all male. This happened frequently. | 9/24/2018 2:26 PM  |
| 17 | More easily dismissed or not treated respectfully. Underestimated.  | 9/5/2018 8:12 PM   |
| 18 | Ran in a predominately conservative riding only the second woman in history to run in this riding at the federal level.   | 9/5/2018 7:20 PM   |
| 19 | People were surprised that I was running and said I was too nice a person to open myself to media bashing.  | 8/16/2018 8:55 AM  |
| 20 | Media is looking for gotcha moments; my party is very supportive of women and encourages women to run. That support helps hesitant candidates.  | 8/9/2018 9:44 AM   |
| 21 | Questions about children that were not asked of opponent. Sexualized comments and attacks from strangers.   | 7/31/2018 12:13 AM |

**Q41 Do you feel women are treated differently or unfairly compared to men when they run for office?**

Answered: 38 Skipped: 9



| ANSWER CHOICES   | RESPONSES |
|--|-----------|
| Yes, women are treated unfairly  | 55.26% 21 |
| Yes, but the differences in how they're treated don't affect their likelihood of being elected | 10.53% 4  |
| No   | 10.53% 4  |
| Other (please specify)   | 23.68% 9  |
| <b>TOTAL</b>   | <b>38</b> |

| # | OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY) | DATE |
|---|------------------------|------|
|---|------------------------|------|

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|   |   |                    |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | Yes - they are treated differently. Men are not asked about their "experience" when they decide to run but women are (even if men have no experience at all). Social media/media are unkind to women and make commentary about irrelevant things or post unflattering photos of women. It is harder for women to fundraise, likely because many of them have stayed home for a few years or the nature of their jobs means that they do not have large social networks. I was lucky to run at a time when my children were adults; I cannot imagine how difficult it would be to have young children and be out campaigning and I believe there would be a stigma attached to having young children with you at events, etc. I was lucky to run in a progressive riding held by a female incumbent but I saw the struggles of other women. Aegism is also an issue for women more than it is for men. | 10/2/2018 1:06 PM  |
| 2 | I believe that the success of a woman is measured by her marital status and appearance. Her education, career and experience is secondary.  | 10/2/2018 10:45 AM |
| 3 | Of course women are treated differently, by party, media and community. A sub conscious bias makes it difficult for people to even understand that they are looking at a candidate differently, but the language used in reporting, questions asked and general communications makes it obvious.  | 9/27/2018 1:40 PM  |
| 4 | Asked questions about how you are going to "manage" it all. Mnaage means look after your family, etc. Men are never asked these questions.  | 9/27/2018 3:43 AM  |
| 5 | In many cases, yes. But my experience was such that I didn't feel my gender was a big barrier in terms of how I was treated. Perhaps in part because I ran in a highly educated urban riding. I was asked a lot about my family situation (3kids etc) but it never felt like a big issue for people- more just interesting personal fact.   | 9/24/2018 2:26 PM  |
| 6 | Women are treated differently and are more harshly judged.  | 9/5/2018 8:12 PM   |
| 7 | I believe there were a lot of people who felt I was at an advantage as the "only woman". This of course, was ridiculous!  | 9/5/2018 7:20 PM   |
| 8 | Totally depends on the region and the candidate   | 8/1/2018 6:01 PM   |
| 9 | I didn't feel I was treated differently during the campaign but at the same time I didn't really have anything to compare it to   | 7/31/2018 3:52 PM  |

**Q42 Some researchers and political parties believe setting quotas for women will help increase the number of women elected. How do you feel about this?**

Answered: 33 Skipped: 14

| # | RESPONSES   | DATE                |
|---|---|---------------------|
| 1 | Quotas are good, but much more support is needed as well.   | 10/19/2018 2:01 PM  |
| 2 | Yes it will but I want people to realize it is a minimum not maximum  | 10/19/2018 11:46 AM |
| 3 | quotas are fine. Ensuring all parties have empowering policy such as the policy that the NDP have established would also help.  | 10/10/2018 4:39 PM  |
| 4 | Would help  | 10/10/2018 2:40 PM  |
| 5 | I'm not supportive of setting quotas.   | 10/4/2018 8:06 PM   |
| 6 | I think if quotas are going to be set and if women are going to be encouraged to run (which I objectively think is a good thing) then there needs to be better supports in place for women. The culture of misogyny is still very strong and there is still a lot of push back for women hoping to step up. | 10/3/2018 9:49 PM   |
| 7 | Quotas promote "filling spaces" and not garnering worthy candidates. If you want women to run, go out and find worthy women. Encourage them to run.   | 10/3/2018 3:05 PM   |
| 8 | I agree.  | 10/3/2018 2:32 AM   |

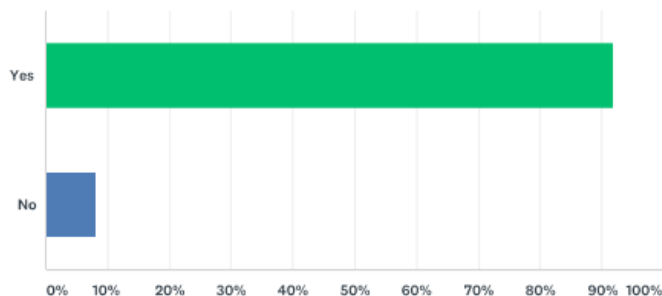
| S-06-18-740 - Getting women nominated to run for office |  | SurveyMonkey       |
|---|--|--------------------|
| 9   | I am not generally in favour of quotas. But - contemporary politics is in a crisis - lack of truthfulness in powerful leaders like Trump, populism that is dangerous to democracy, demeaning of women by people like Trump, tribalism and hyperpartisanship, and on and on. Perhaps setting quotas and adding more women would substantially change politics for the better, given that women tend to be more collaborative problem-solvers. | 10/2/2018 1:06 PM  |
| 10  | I support this as it is disappointing to me to see a party showcase their elected officials as a group of white older-aged men.  | 10/2/2018 10:45 AM |
| 11  | I think it is a step in the right direction - but it's not just about quotas, the issues are much more complex than that. In making more seats available to women, a party must also consider the additional factors at play. Particularly, families, institutional discrimination that continues to exist for women and groups of minorities. etc.  | 10/2/2018 9:06 AM  |
| 12  | If you are going to put those quotas in ridings that are winnable than it is just a token gesture. Without adequate resources, support, training and access to ridings which are winnable there is no point in setting quotas.   | 10/2/2018 8:03 AM  |
| 13  | Fine   | 10/1/2018 7:49 PM  |
| 14  | I believe that the NDP policies of requiring candidate search committees to demonstrate attempts to identify diverse candidates and to run women in half of all winnable ridings are both good policies. It is also essential to support women during campaigns.   | 10/1/2018 6:23 PM  |
| 15  | Quotas at the party level should be set.   | 10/1/2018 5:04 PM  |
| 16  | I think that quotas are bad. I think representative numbers of qualified population groups are good.   | 10/1/2018 4:59 PM  |
| 17  | I think women should be supported to run and enter the democratic process for being nominated.   | 9/27/2018 3:11 PM  |
| 18  | I believe this to be true. Setting goals, ideally with metrics and/or revenue attached to them, is the only way we'll ever achieve something close to parity. This should be tied to someone's job performance rather than just lip service -- that's how any company achieves any goal.   | 9/27/2018 1:40 PM  |
| 19  | No, it should be who is a good candidate. They should offer more financial support for women to run. I think the problem is more after elected.  | 9/27/2018 11:59 AM |
| 20  | Have to start someplace  | 9/27/2018 9:42 AM  |
| 21  | No really in favour. We just need more women running.  | 9/27/2018 3:43 AM  |
| 22  | Agree  | 9/26/2018 6:34 AM  |
| 23  | If parties don't make electing women a goal it doesn't happen  | 9/25/2018 8:15 AM  |
| 24  | Yes this is a good idea. We need a threshold of 35% of a governing body to be women before women's issues receive equal consideration & priority.  | 9/24/2018 6:30 PM  |
| 25  | I think it's Worth exploring how it's worked in other places but would have reservations in that women might then be treated as lesser than their male colleagues if they were perceived as having had some advantage. Could hinder the important cultural change that's needed to elect more women.   | 9/24/2018 2:26 PM  |
| 26  | Quotas can be a challenge, however targets are helpful.  | 9/5/2018 8:12 PM   |
| 27  | I strongly believe we need more women to run - and the argument is always if you have a quota you aren't qualified (face palm). I don't have any problem with a quota system but I have a problem with people thinking I was only selected because I was a woman.  | 9/5/2018 7:20 PM   |
| 28  | I feel the best candidate should win regardless of gender  | 8/16/2018 8:55 AM  |
| 29  | Quotas work in the short term but must become an ingrained part of the party policy so there is an increasing number of successful women.  | 8/9/2018 9:44 AM   |
| 30  | Legislated Incentives but not quotas   | 8/2/2018 9:11 PM   |
| 31  | Do not support   | 8/1/2018 6:01 PM   |
| 32  | Good idea. The system needs to incentivize nomination women. Otherwise we will be stuck at 25% of elected MPs are women for a very long time.  | 7/31/2018 3:52 PM  |
| 33  | Setting a target or a specific goal is a good idea. I am not sure that it has to be a quota. There are so many qualified women who would be great candidates if a party makes a specific ask and seeks women to run in winnable ridings, more women will win.  | 7/31/2018 12:13 AM |

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### Q43 Do you think we need initiatives to increase the number of women running for and elected to public office?

Answered: 37 Skipped: 10



| ANSWER CHOICES | RESPONSES |           |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| Yes            | 91.89%    | 34        |
| No             | 8.11%     | 3         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>   |           | <b>37</b> |

### Q44 What was the greatest barrier you faced as a candidate?

Answered: 35 Skipped: 12

| # | RESPONSES   | DATE                |
|---|---|---------------------|
| 1 | lack of funding, mentoring, and actual volunteer help.  | 10/19/2018 2:01 PM  |
| 2 | People's natural bias that women should not be in leadership roles  | 10/19/2018 11:46 AM |
| 3 | My party leader was not well loved by voters and this negatively impacted my electability. Ultimately, there were many racist and sexist sentiments expressed at the doors that were a barrier to me and all others in my party being elected.  | 10/10/2018 4:39 PM  |
| 4 | Being a New Democrat in the safest Tory seat in Ontario   | 10/10/2018 2:40 PM  |
| 5 | Free voice: towing the party line: confidence in the overall platform of the party priorities.  | 10/4/2018 8:06 PM   |
| 6 | Misogyny in the community I ran in  | 10/3/2018 9:49 PM   |
| 7 | Hurdling the popularity contest required to win a nomination. Popular people are not always the best choice. More emphasis should be given to longer term members of a party and not the random new ones who are there only to vote for a friend or family member and then leave the party once their membership expires.   | 10/3/2018 3:05 PM   |
| 8 | Not having the nod from the party powers to be the candidate of choice and not supported. Actually the party put up barriers, like formatting data in a way that took days for an IT expert to decode, whereas male opponent had excel formatting that was able to be quickly and easily manipulated. Also, lost batches of memberships sold by myself and would not allow, despite back up copies of memberships recognize them as eligible to vote. | 10/3/2018 2:32 AM   |
| 9 | my own lack of confidence   | 10/2/2018 1:06 PM   |

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|---|--|--------------------|
| 10  | Lack of volunteer support from the party and its local membership in assisting in selling memberships, fundraising and campaigning.  | 10/2/2018 10:45 AM |
| 11  | lack of training - and honestly, I had to change my values and my "Self" to accommodate for the Party's platform, even if I disagreed. IF I were to run again, I would need to take a deep look inside to determine what I am willing to give up and what I am not, and then decide if running is the best thing for me. Politics changes people, it makes them "hard". I wouldn't want to change my "being" and the thing I believe in or value for the sake of politics. Ever! | 10/2/2018 9:06 AM  |
| 12  | Inequity. I was a woman playing a man's game. My male counterparts weren't also working full time, looking after a young family, going to school... I was the only candidate grocery shopping at 9 pm after a debate to make sure my family had food the next day.   | 10/2/2018 8:03 AM  |
| 13  | I was new to the process.  | 10/1/2018 7:49 PM  |
| 14  | Being taken seriously at the doorstep as a small, younger woman.   | 10/1/2018 6:23 PM  |
| 15  | Party expectations and no knowledge of how to play the inside ball.  | 10/1/2018 5:04 PM  |
| 16  | Unprepared for the personal attacks.   | 10/1/2018 4:59 PM  |
| 17  | Having a good family/ campaign balance.  | 10/1/2018 4:55 PM  |
| 18  | Lack of support from my own electoral district association.  | 9/27/2018 3:11 PM  |
| 19  | Lack of campaign manager who knew what they were doing, as well as the other key roles.  | 9/27/2018 1:40 PM  |
| 20  | Who I was running against. Lack of funds so I could run full time and not have to work as well. Off  | 9/27/2018 11:59 AM |
| 21  | Large riding and voter apathy, and politics of fear that Harper would get back in which lead to "strategic voting"   | 9/27/2018 9:42 AM  |
| 22  | The insider party politics. I was asked to run and supported by the top people in our area, but they felt they couldn't support me publicly due to the others running.   | 9/27/2018 3:43 AM  |
| 23  | Being instantly discredited because I was under 30 and a woman.  | 9/26/2018 6:34 AM  |
| 24  | Time. Very hard to balance a campaign with family  | 9/25/2018 8:15 AM  |
| 25  | Not the biggest barrier but was noted that the top campaign staff were men and they delegated to what was largely women staffers & volunteers.   | 9/24/2018 6:30 PM  |
| 26  | I honestly didn't have a lot of the traditional barriers. I am a woman of considerable privilege in that I was in a comfortable economic situation with a supportive spouse and reliable childcare. The biggest obstacle for me was probably personal/emotional, convincing myself that I was up to it. The main barrier was professional (employer refused to grant me a leave of absence). That barrier was not connected to gender in any way.                                | 9/24/2018 2:26 PM  |
| 27  | Building the right team to get all the work done.  | 9/5/2018 8:12 PM   |
| 28  | The old boys network. I surrounded myself with strong women during my campaign. My campaign manager, my volunteer coordinator, my GOTV chair, my official agent, my scheduler, my liberalist expert were all women - didn't sit too well with the EDA executive who were all men. (That also changed after the election)   | 9/5/2018 7:20 PM   |
| 29  | My opponent started campaigning before I even dreamed of it.   | 8/16/2018 8:55 AM  |
| 30  | The first time i ran I had some childcare issues. That didn't apply in 2015.   | 8/9/2018 9:44 AM   |
| 31  | Family responsibilities, guilt,  | 8/3/2018 10:27 AM  |
| 32  | Nomination   | 8/2/2018 9:11 PM   |
| 33  | Time- Like many candidates, it was a long stretch that was very tiring.  | 8/1/2018 6:01 PM   |
| 34  | It was expensive.  | 7/31/2018 3:52 PM  |
| 35  | fundraising  | 7/31/2018 12:13 AM |

**Q45 What changes in the campaigning and nomination process do you feel would make it easier for more women to run?**

Answered: 29 Skipped: 18

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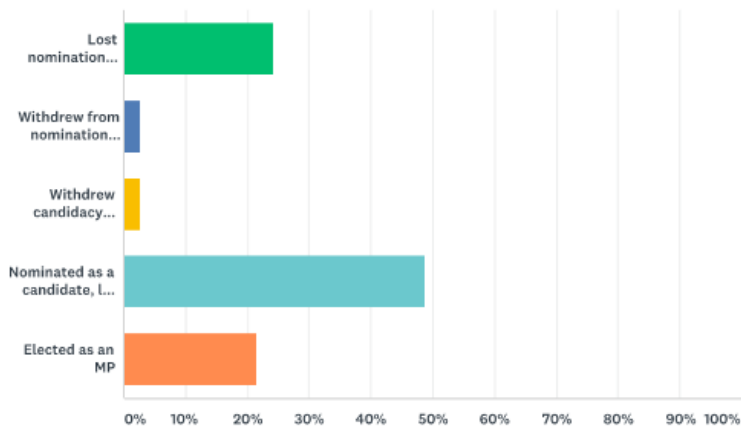
| #  | RESPONSES  | DATE                |
|----|--|---------------------|
| 1  | the party should provide actual people for each riding to help out. You can't start a campaign with nothing  | 10/19/2018 2:01 PM  |
| 2  | take the uncertainty out of the nomination process   | 10/19/2018 11:46 AM |
| 3  | - again, if all parties implemented the policies the NDP have around getting more women on the nomination ballots, that would help.  | 10/10/2018 4:39 PM  |
| 4  | Not sure   | 10/10/2018 2:40 PM  |
| 5  | Ease of completing the required documentation: consideration of financial resources (or lack thereof)  | 10/4/2018 8:06 PM   |
| 6  | Our local riding has some serious work to do with respect to divisions in the riding and lack of respect for women among many members  | 10/3/2018 9:49 PM   |
| 7  | Having a party that supports women that are equal or more qualified than male contenders.  | 10/3/2018 2:32 AM   |
| 8  | I feel that the Liberal party has a strong focus on attracting female candidates and supporting their campaigns. I can see even further improvements between 2014 when I put my name forward to the present time. One improvement I would like to see is a focus on civic responsibility in schools - if we all grew up understanding the importance of politics, of voting and of running for office, more women would likely engage. Campaign training earlier on in the process would be valuable too - say at pre-nomination stage. I don't think such training needs to be partisan - all candidates need to know how to deal with Elections Canada, how to fundraise, how to engage with voters, etc. The Liberals make it mandatory for all ridings to seek out female (and otherwise diverse) candidates before a riding will be open for the nomination process - this is a great strategy for attracting more female candidates. | 10/2/2018 1:06 PM   |
| 9  | The party should identify and encourage key supports to help the candidates with fundraising, membership sales, and campaigning.   | 10/2/2018 10:45 AM  |
| 10 | Parties need to understand women play many roles, and without perpetuating stereotypes further, women tend to be more emotional in the process. It would be critical to understand that women are strong, even stronger with proper knowledge and training, we have a lot to offer, but we do tend to spread ourselves very thin. My first priority will always be my family, no matter what, and if I had to, I would walk away from politics (or any job for that matter) to support and protect my family unit. I am because of the people I love. That's personal to me however. I also found the process incredibly frustrating - so "old school". We are in the 21st Century - why are politics still running like they did 150 yrs ago?! It is designed to "Fail" women and other minorities - it is a huge popularity contest and game which in my view tends to force out the people who actually could make a difference.        | 10/2/2018 9:06 AM   |
| 11 | Honesty about the experience. Preparing women for the sexism, sexual violence and misogyny they are about to encounter. Understanding that you are asking women to enter into a campaign where they lack power and privilege and what that experience will mean for her.   | 10/2/2018 8:03 AM   |
| 12 | To have cheaper ticket prices to parties - ex: \$200/ticket to Rachel Notley's Octoberfest to raise funds for her campaign. Most women cannot afford these prices, even when a portion is considered a tax thing. The cash flow does not allow most of us to float several of these costs for part of a year.  | 10/1/2018 7:49 PM   |
| 13 | It really helps to have other women in the party to talk to and get support from.  | 10/1/2018 6:23 PM   |
| 14 | Getting rid of the party system entirely.  | 10/1/2018 5:04 PM   |
| 15 | Standards are different for men. Me too movement is slowly changing that.  | 10/1/2018 4:55 PM   |
| 16 | Childcare is crucial, mentorship from experienced elected members.   | 9/27/2018 3:11 PM   |
| 17 | Parties could create training for all the roles needed in running a campaign   | 9/27/2018 1:40 PM   |
| 18 | Offer daycare. Women need to be asked as they seldom think they should offer. They need encouragement as much as training. If they do not see themselves as able to they will not take any kind of training  | 9/27/2018 11:59 AM  |
| 19 | recruiting earlier and getting more young people involved  | 9/27/2018 9:42 AM   |

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|    |   |                    |
|----|---|--------------------|
| 20 | A mentor of some kind would have been great.  | 9/27/2018 3:43 AM  |
| 21 | Surround her with strong, experienced female mentors or as YWCA calls them Femtors.   | 9/24/2018 6:30 PM  |
| 22 | Need more supports and experienced volunteers from the Party to help.   | 9/5/2018 8:12 PM   |
| 23 | We are making steps in the right direction. A gender balanced cabinet to me means women are more likely to see themselves in those roles. In NS we have a hard time getting women to run federally. I think we need to engage more with women to let them know they can run. Not just young women but all women. I promote women in politics every chance I get. Sadly most see themselves in municipal or provincial politics. | 9/5/2018 7:20 PM   |
| 24 | Communication, knowledge  | 8/16/2018 8:55 AM  |
| 25 | Early nominations, training and the time to effectively campaign help women to feel comfortable about running and help increase the success of a campaign.  | 8/9/2018 9:44 AM   |
| 26 | Clear timelines   | 8/2/2018 9:11 PM   |
| 27 | n/a   | 8/1/2018 6:01 PM   |
| 28 | Proportional representation (new electoral process) and per vote subsidy for all political parties vs tax breaks for personal donations and incentives for parties to ensure nomination races include women   | 7/31/2018 3:52 PM  |
| 29 | Parties should have targeted campaigns internally to attract and talented women to run for them and then provide the party campaign training to women.  | 7/31/2018 12:13 AM |

Q46 What was your outcome as a candidate in the 2015 federal election?

Answered: 37 Skipped: 10



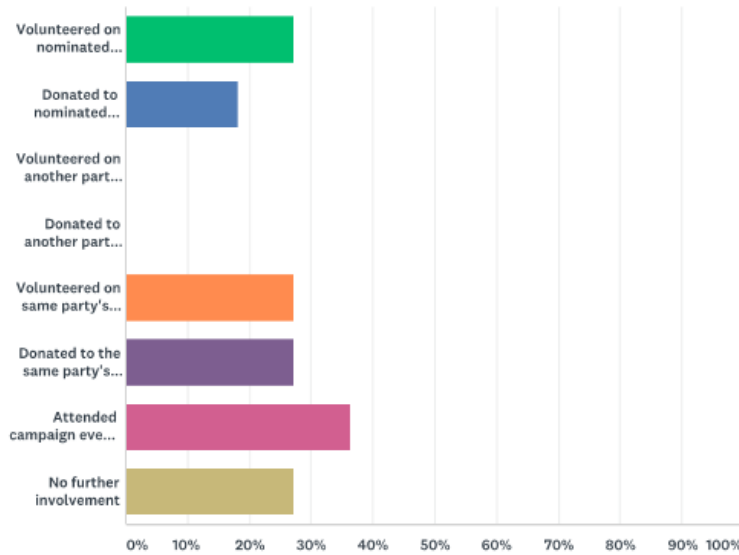
| ANSWER CHOICES                                  | RESPONSES |
|---|-----------|
| Lost nomination contest                         | 24.32% 9  |
| Withdrew from nomination contest                | 2.70% 1   |
| Withdrew candidacy following being nominated    | 2.70% 1   |
| Nominated as a candidate, lost general election | 48.65% 18 |
| Elected as an MP                                | 21.62% 8  |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                                    | <b>37</b> |

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Q47 If you were not nominated, did you remain involved in the campaign?

Answered: 11 Skipped: 36



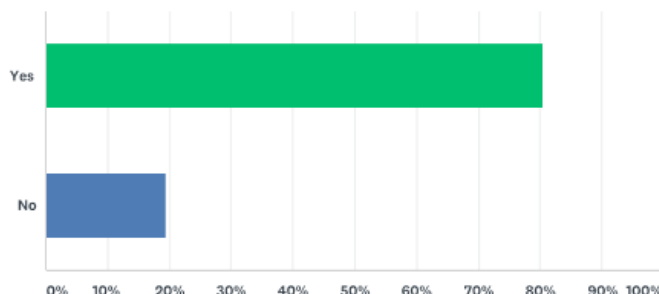
| ANSWER CHOICES   | RESPONSES |
|--|-----------|
| Volunteered on nominated candidate's campaign                                    | 27.27% 3  |
| Donated to nominated candidate's campaign  | 18.18% 2  |
| Volunteered on another party's campaign  | 0.00% 0   |
| Donated to another party's campaign  | 0.00% 0   |
| Volunteered on same party's campaign, in a different riding                      | 27.27% 3  |
| Donated to the same party's campaign, either nationally or in a different riding | 27.27% 3  |
| Attended campaign events (e.g. rallies, debates)                                 | 36.36% 4  |
| No further involvement   | 27.27% 3  |
| Total Respondents: 11  |           |

Q48 Are you still a member of the same party for which you ran?

Answered: 36 Skipped: 11

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| ANSWER CHOICES | RESPONSES |           |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| Yes            | 80.56%    | 29        |
| No             | 19.44%    | 7         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>   |           | <b>36</b> |

### Q49 Is there anything else you would like to share about your experiences as a woman in politics?

Answered: 22 Skipped: 25

| # | RESPONSES   | DATE               |
|---|---|--------------------|
| 1 | I did a study of the funding for women in Guelph between 1979 and 2015 and found women, even when they were competitive at the polls, always received less financial supports than males who ran before or after them. The sandwiching effect women face was regardless of party affiliation. The public had more confidence in women candidates than the riding associations that nominated them.  | 10/10/2018 2:43 PM |
| 2 | I'll be successful... some day.   | 10/4/2018 8:07 PM  |
| 3 | At the time that I ran for the NDP, it didn't feel safe to be a woman in that position. I felt that the party fell down pretty badly at all levels to deal with issues as they arose. Some of the issues were very serious including election fraud and feeling unsafe. I do not think I would ever consider running again.   | 10/3/2018 9:54 PM  |
| 4 | Personally, I have never encountered barriers or challenges specific to being a woman. Or possibly, I have been oblivious to them. I do not look at life as having obstacles because I am one way or another. If there is something that I want to pursue, I pursue it. I take the time to arm myself with education, experience, mentoring, etc. to move me along the path to achieving whatever goal I have. Being a woman is an asset, not an obstacle. I strongly encourage everyone, men and women alike, to live life believing they are of value and that they have something worth giving, wherever their pursuits lead them. | 10/3/2018 3:12 PM  |
| 5 | The political pace and processes are very geared towards single persons. Those with other responsibilities eg. children or parental care must find ways to balance these competing roles. Supports for women/parents/caregivers in office, e.g. childcare need to be encouraged. Also consideration to job sharing co-candidates would be welcomed.   | 10/3/2018 2:35 AM  |
| 6 | it was one of the best experiences in my life and I tell that to anyone who asks, especially women  | 10/2/2018 1:07 PM  |

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|---|---|--------------------|
| 7   | In order to run, I had to go on unpaid leave from my job. I had to sign a letter saying I would have no political involvement whatsoever to go back to work. The wording was very tight and could be interpreted as not even posting on Facebook. I had no choice but to leave the party. Several requests were made to the local riding association, the larger geographical area of the liberal party and a letter was sent to the Prime Minister's Office to have the letter, which was in conflict with the Charter of Rights revoked. The liberals did nothing. I did not receive a reply to my letter. I was completely ignored or told to deal with it myself. "Hire a lawyer". Enough said.   | 10/2/2018 10:21 AM |
| 8   | I decided to go back to school and complete my Masters' degree - so as a mom, wife, full-time employee, (along with the many other roles I play), I simply did not have time to stay involved in my political party.  | 10/2/2018 9:07 AM  |
| 9   | The aftermath of the campaign is something rarely talked about. When E day closes and you are left without any support, as if you have just been dumped off the end of a fast moving train, no one is there to thank you. The aftermath of the election was a far worst experience for me because it demonstrated that the sacrifices I and my family made, the efforts of our volunteers and the time spent on the campaign didn't matter. That I didn't matter.   | 10/2/2018 8:06 AM  |
| 10  | Training would have been awesome to have helped me make better decisions during the candidate process - if only to help me recruit support.   | 10/1/2018 7:52 PM  |
| 11  | I would never run again. I admire women who can.  | 10/1/2018 5:00 PM  |
| 12  | I still have hope for the future, but I am a bit worried about the fact that Trudeau is now the "oldest of the political leaders" The electoral system needs to be changed!   | 9/27/2018 9:44 AM  |
| 13  | I found running to be a very positive experience. Sometimes I think we don't talk enough about that. Even though I didn't win the nomination, it was a really empowering personal experience.   | 9/27/2018 3:45 AM  |
| 14  | I shared my cell phone number with the party, which they published without me realizing (a new candidate oversight). I was very uncomfortable about receiving many late night phone calls from strange men and many emails from them that had nothing to do with the campaign, but their interest in me as a younger woman/inappropriate conversations. I didn't expect that, and there was no one I could go to for support there or advice on how to deal with it. It was really uncomfortable and not being taken seriously by other parties (and some members of my own) because of my identity was disappointing and caused me to not want to run again any time soon. The paperwork was also an incredible ordeal, and took over 3 years to fully complete, due in part to my party's lack of communication, organization, and staff turnaround. I'm not sure how anyone can work full time and run a campaign. | 9/26/2018 6:38 AM  |
| 15  | I found opposition women as bad or worse than media   | 9/25/2018 8:16 AM  |
| 16  | Politics isa blood sport. Women need to be better prepared for media attacks and attacks from other parties. Next, they need to know exactly what will be done to midigate it and when attacks do happen they need to know what their party is going to do to protect and support them.   | 9/24/2018 6:34 PM  |
| 17  | I think a lot of the barriers to being a candidate are more about privilege. When I see women candidates, they are overwhelmingly white and generally middle class or even more privileged. Sometimes the women who become spokeswomen for electing more women appear tone deaf to me (i'm Thinking for ex of Catherine McKenna here) because they themselves didn't experience many of the barriers faced by women of lesser means. I would like a better sense of why it's so much harder for women to WIN, particularly at the nomination stage.   | 9/24/2018 2:28 PM  |
| 18  | It is a tough go, but worth it. We need more women at the decision making table.  | 9/5/2018 8:13 PM   |
| 19  | The overall impression that I got was that people did not want a woman running for federal office.  | 8/16/2018 8:58 AM  |
| 20  | Overall, I felt well supported by the party once I was nominated. Felt little support from my riding executive as they were supporting another candidate during the nomination process. Personally, the nomination process was the toughest part of running for office.   | 8/3/2018 10:30 AM  |
| 21  | The personal financial cost of running (ie: time off work) is something I had not anticipated   | 8/2/2018 9:13 PM   |
| 22  | Confidence is key. Mentorship is very important from both men and women. I support merit-based nominations.   | 8/1/2018 6:02 PM   |