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"Partners in Change":

An Analysis of the 2011 B.C. Liberal Leadership Contest

by

Brett Allen Loewen

A THESIS
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Abstract

This thesis will analyze the weighted-constituency method of party leadership selection, using the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race as a case study. After reviewing literature on Canadian and British Columbian leadership selection and media reports of the 2011 race, it will utilize constituency-level data to analyze the support bases of each candidate, confirming and challenging existing theories about weighted-constituency contests and British Columbian politics. Regarding weighted-constituency contests, it will argue that the endorsements of political elites are advantageous to leadership candidates; that candidates do not need broad geographic support to succeed; and that candidates with narrow support bases can cooperate to find success. Regarding British Columbian politics, it will argue that regionalism is important; that leadership researchers should employ a broader definition of endorsements; that leadership candidates can mount effective campaigns from outside the caucus; and that ethnicity and immigrant status are variables worthy of future research.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

On February 25, 2011, Christy Clark stood before hundreds of British Columbia Liberal party members, minutes after being crowned both their party leader and the province's premier. Thousands of Liberals had cast ballots to select a new leader, and Clark emerged victorious after three dramatic rounds of ballot counting. A jubilant Clark addressed her party with excitement and vigor. "Change begins tonight," Clark announced. "I want you to be my partners in change in Victoria" (Sherlock, 2011).

On that night, Christy Clark became one of the most powerful political actors in Canada, as party leaders have always wielded tremendous influence in Canadian politics. Party leaders receive increased media attention, determine the party's platform, possess signing authority for the party's candidates, award critic positions to party legislators and have the final say on the party's campaign strategy during elections. When party leaders become the first minister, the centralized power within the executive makes them the chief power player within their political system. First ministers call elections, access the state's bureaucracy, select the Cabinet and make other patronage decisions, while dominating the media's attention like never before. Christy Clark's ascension to the first minister's seat was not unique, as in the last decade alone, political parties in six provinces have selected party leaders who immediately became premier (Wesley and Loewen, 2012: 256).

Given the weighty position that they assume, analyzing the processes by which party leaders are selected has been a chief concern of Canadian political scientists. Political parties have gradually welcomed larger and more diverse groups of partisans to participate meaningfully in leadership selection contests. Political scientists went through great pains to describe the direct selection methods that became popular replacements for delegate conventions during the 1990s.

While the broad differences between direct selection and delegated methods of selection were outlined, all of the models of direct selection were lumped together, leaving significant gaps in the literature on leadership selection methods.

This thesis will analyze the weighted-constituency form of direct selection, a model that is becoming increasingly popular in Canadian politics. Six parties across the country currently employ the weighted-constituency model, with three of these parties adopting the method since 2009. Despite the increasing popularity of weighted-constituency models, only one case study has made the selection method the focus of its analysis (Stewart and Carty, 2002), as others have ignored the selection method and focused on other aspects of weighted-constituency leadership races (Woolstencroft, 1992). This thesis will add significant new findings to the sparse literature on weighted-constituency selections, as it will argue that the endorsements of MLAs and political elites are very advantageous to leadership candidates; that despite the weighted-constituency model's emphasis on broad cross-regional support, candidates can rely on specific regions to increase their chances at victory; and that, while candidates who have built broad, diverse support bases have been effective in the past, the right circumstances can help a candidate with a narrow base nearly achieve victory.

The thesis will use the British Columbia Liberal leadership race of 2011 as a case study, representing a valuable contribution to past literature on British Columbian leadership selection. Repeated leadership contest participant surveys by Blake, Carty and Erickson generated books on the subject of leadership selection in B.C., together with several journal articles and book chapters. The claims made by popular and academic accounts of past leadership races will be put to the test, as this thesis will argue that political scientists should not disregard the effects of regionalism in B.C.; that, contrary to past accounts, endorsements do aid candidates seeking the

leadership of a political party; that populist rhetoric and campaigning continue to have a profound effect within the British Columbian political system; that, like past contests, leadership candidates can mount effective campaigns from outside the caucus; and that issues such as ethnic diversity and immigrant status should be part of the analysis of leadership selection in B.C.

While no leadership contest participant survey was conducted of the 2011 process, this thesis will utilize constituency-level data to analyze the support bases of each candidate and to generate some conclusions. The leadership results, Census data and constituency-level data from provincial political events will be employed to describe the types of constituencies that supported each candidate in the 2011 race, becoming their "partners in change."

The thesis begins in the second chapter with an overview of the methods of selection used to choose party leaders in Canada. The chapter will describe the history of party leadership in Canada and it will identify the four methods of leadership selection that are currently in existence across the country. A review of existing political science literature about Canadian leadership selection will describe the participatory and representative nature of these unique methods of selection.

The third chapter of the thesis will describe political life in British Columbia. The political culture, political party system and the past leadership selections of the province will all receive attention in this chapter. Understanding the political environment of British Columbia will help us to interpret the 2011 Liberal leadership race correctly and to identify the features and implications of the weighted-constituency model.

The 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race will be reviewed in the fourth chapter. Newspaper articles and leadership candidate platforms will receive attention, as the candidates and the

primary themes of the campaign are identified. The 2011 contest mimicked and differed from past leadership selections in B.C. in several ways, and theories about British Columbian politics established in these contests will be put to the test.

The fifth chapter contains significant quantitative research, as the claims of the candidates throughout the campaign and the theories posited about weighted-constituency models in political science will be compared with the existing constituency-level data. Many of the significant findings of the thesis that have been described above will be found in this chapter.

Finally, the concluding chapter of the thesis will investigate whether the "partners of change" of Christy Clark played a role in the surprise majority win of the B.C. Liberals in 2013. It will outline and summarize the key findings of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO:

CHOOSING A LEADER: LEADERSHIP SELECTION METHODS IN CANADA

At the turn of the 21st Century, R. Kenneth Carty and Donald E. Blake reflected on a decade of institutional reform amongst Canadian political parties. Cries for democratization and revitalization of their elitist and aging institutions had led many parties to adopt new forms of leadership selection, leaving behind delegate conventions that no longer served their original purposes. "Canadian parties' rush to embrace every-member vote leadership selection processes appears to mark as fundamental a transformation in their internal life as did the adoption of delegate conventions earlier in this century. Unlike that change, however, there is no obvious consensus across or within the parties on what this new institution should look like" (1999: 221).

Nearly fifteen years later, Canadian parties remain far from consensus on a preferred method of direct election. Instead, parties have chosen from a variety of selection processes to meet both the democratic expectations of the electorate and their immediate electoral goals. While unique membership requirements, voting methods and balloting procedures produce a plethora of methods of selection (Cross, 1996: 299-303), contemporary political science literature has classified leadership contests by the way in which participant votes are counted.

This chapter will describe the four methods of leadership selection employed by Canadian political parties: the delegate convention and three forms of direct election (pure one-member, one-vote models; hybrid models; and, weighted-constituency models). After recounting the history of party leadership selection in Canada, each of these methods will receive particular attention, as the ability of each method to provide both meaningful participation to party members and representation reflecting the larger electorate will be examined. Examples of past

leadership contests will be used to illustrate how these methods of selection offer political parties specific forms of participation and representativeness.

2.1 Participation and Representation in Leadership Contests

Observers have assessed the democratic nature of leadership contests for many years. Great attention has always been paid to leadership selection in federal parties, and as innovative methods of selection became popular at the provincial level, academics began to analyze the leadership races of subnational parties as well. Diverse themes and methods of study can be found throughout this literature, as scholarship hurried to keep up with the rapid experimentation of Canadian political parties.

While methods of choosing party leaders have been studied and critiqued in many ways, themes of participation and representation can be found throughout academic literature on leadership selection. Much attention has been paid to the methods of participation that are provided to partisans in leadership contests. Some leadership selection methods allow all party members to participate in the same way, while others enable those with exceptional party service to exercise special privileges in the selection process. Observers ask, how do grassroots partisans participate in leadership races? Does everyone in a leadership race participate the same way? Is there any form of mediation used by political parties or are party members able to voice their preferences equally and directly within the leadership contest?

Other analyses have focused on the representative quality of leadership selection methods. Representative critiques are often focused on the degree of similarity between the proportion of demographic groups in the leadership "selectorate" and the proportion of these groups within the larger party or even in the entire electorate. Seeking to discover which demographic groups receive increased or decreased participation in the different methods of

leadership selection, political scientists have focused on the demographics such as gender, age, ethnicity, region and class. Observers ask, who is able to participate in leadership contests? Do some methods overrepresent or underrepresent these demographic groups? How do leadership selection methods accommodate or discourage group representation?

A survey of the history of leadership selection in Canada shows that participation and representation have been significant concerns for political parties since the early 20th Century. From the creation of delegate conventions to the diversity of direct election methods that we see today, parties have sought to employ new methods of selection to engage a larger and a more diverse group of partisans in the selection of their party leaders.

Canada's first federal delegate convention was the product of these considerations. The Liberal Party of Canada decided to couple its 1919 policy convention with the selection of its next leader following the death of its generation-long leader Wilfrid Laurier. Societal expectations for both participation and representation within federal politics had changed. Significant momentum was building behind the populist Progressives, a new federal party whose message was resonating in Ontario and western Canada. The Progressives were determined to open up politics to those excluded from participating in political decision-making, accusing the old parties of elitism and failing to represent the concerns of rural Canadians (MacIvor, 1994: 16). Provincial parties had already granted party members some participation in leadership selection and the Liberals felt pressured to expand the traditional caucus vote to a larger selectorate.

The result was Canada's first nationwide delegate convention. Constituencies across the country were permitted to send three delegates to the convention, joining the caucus and members of the party brass in selecting a new leader. The party also opened up candidacy for the

leadership to those who were not federal Liberal legislators. The decisions of the party were well-received by Canadians, and after new leader William Lyon Mackenzie King formed government in 1921, observers identified the electoral success of the party with their new method for selecting party leaders. When it came time for the Conservatives to select their new leader in 1927, they quickly adopted a delegate convention as well. A precedent had been set, and Canadian political parties entered an era of delegate leadership selection.

John Courtney describes how delegate conventions slowly changed over time in response to increasing democratic demands. One of the primary ways in which delegate conventions changed was in their expansion to include more participants in the selection process. Early federal leadership conventions contained many *ex-officio*, or party brass delegates, supplemented by three or four delegates per constituency. As political parties entered the second half of the 20th Century, grassroots party members clamored for more delegate positions at conventions, and the number of elected constituency delegates rose as high as twelve in the 1990 Liberal leadership convention (1995: 129).

Political parties attempted to guarantee representation at conventions for disadvantaged groups throughout this period. Early leadership conventions limited participation to the parliamentary caucus, ex-officio delegates and constituency delegates, but calls for guaranteed delegate spots for underrepresented groups became stronger over time. Some political parties implemented quotas on the demographic makeup of constituency delegates, ensuring that women and young delegates secured some of the riding delegate positions. Many also provided guaranteed representation to members of women's organizations, youth or university campus clubs and, in the case of the federal Liberals, Aboriginal clubs.

Despite the participatory and representative reforms made by parties throughout this period, many partisans did not feel as if their level of participation and representation was adequate, demanding a further change to the method of leadership selection. The expansion of constituency delegates from three to twelve members by the Liberal Party of Canada – the widest participation recorded among pure delegate conventions – was deemed insufficient in constituencies where party membership lists reached over 1,000 members. Significant financial and time requirements also prevented many members from running for delegate positions, and participation for most members was confined to their vote for a delegate to represent them at the leadership convention.

Many partisans felt uneasy about entrusting the responsibility of selecting a leader to a delegate, as they feared that their specific preferences for a leader would not be reflected by their representative. There was no mechanism to ensure that the delegate would vote for the preferred candidate of their electors in the first or successive rounds of balloting. Even if a delegate was to declare adamant support for one of the candidates, party members who voted for the delegate would have no say in which candidate the delegate would support if their preferred candidate was eliminated from the leadership race.

Further, delegate selection votes were often "winner-take-all" contests, where a candidate could effectively win all of the delegate support from a riding if a large contingent of supporters was present at the delegate selection meeting. These high-stakes votes encouraged candidates to engage in "trench warfare" (Carty, 1988), selling memberships to individuals with no interest in serving the party after the leadership vote. Packed delegate selection meetings meant that the individual votes of grassroots party members now counted for even less, as these "party tourists" voted in large numbers for the delegates of the candidate organizer who had sold them their

membership. Disgruntlement with the unequal and indirect participation of party members soared and partisans demanded a change to increase their level of participation.

Others lamented institutional roadblocks to greater participation for underrepresented groups. These critics argued that the structured nature of delegate conventions required substantial political networks for successful delegate candidates. Empirical evidence shows a chronic underrepresentation of women in delegate conventions, as representation in these contests ranged between 30 and 40 per cent (Archer and Hunziker, 1992: 91; Carty et al., 1992: 106; Stewart et al., 1994: 145; Cross, 2002: 48; Stewart and Stewart, 2010: 38). Some academics posited that the elimination of demanding party structures would allow those without political capital to achieve greater representation within leadership contests, leading to an increase in the participation of women and other underrepresented groups (Stewart, 1997: 121).

The culmination of participatory and representative critiques of delegate conventions at the end of the 1980's and early 1990's led to the emergence of several new methods of leadership selection. These methods are identified by the broad term "direct selection." Combining direct, unmediated participation for rank-and-file members with a system largely absent of party structure, these races received high praise from populist advocates, with one party president calling his race, "the greatest exercise of democracy every seen in our province" (quoted in Stewart, 1997: 127).

Each of the methods of leadership selection that exist today – including delegate conventions – will be examined in greater detail below, as the mechanics of the selection method and its participatory and representative qualities will be discussed.

2.2 Contemporary Leadership Selection Methods in Canada

2.2.1 Delegate Conventions

Several Canadian political parties continue to employ delegate conventions to select their party leader. Political parties in the Maritimes, Newfoundland and Labrador, Ontario and Manitoba have successfully resisted populist forces and retained – and in the case of the Nova Scotia Progressive Conservatives and Liberals (Stewart and Stewart, 2010) and the Manitoba NDP (Wesley, 2010), returned to – the delegate convention method.

Delegate conventions require candidates to seek the support of delegates who represent either their constituency, an underrepresented group or an affiliated organization, or who received their seat based on the position they hold within the legislature or within the party organization. The vast majority of delegates are chosen in delegate selection meetings that take place at the constituency level. Party members cast ballots for delegates to represent them at the convention – many of whom have already pledged their support for one of the leadership candidates. At the convention, a candidate must receive the majority of delegate votes to be declared the winner. If no candidate receives more than half of the delegate votes, the candidate with the lowest amount of delegate support is dropped off of the ballot and the delegates vote again. This process continues until a candidate receives a majority of support.

As delegate conventions have come under attack for the limited participation they provide to grassroots partisans, some parties have adapted their conventions to allow party members direct input in the convention proceedings. This "Combined Primary/Convention Approach" (Courtney, 1995: 247), first employed by the Ontario Liberals in 1992, attempts to

combine the direct participation of direct election campaigns with the media-friendly, collective decision-making aspects of a convention.[1]

In this system, party members mark two ballots at delegate selection meetings. On the first ballot, party members can either indicate support for a specific leadership candidate or can choose to support undeclared delegates – that is, those who have not publicly endorsed a candidate. On the second ballot, party members choose the delegates they wish to represent them at the convention. Many delegate hopefuls have joined a candidate slate, indicating their support for one of the leadership candidates. Members are free to support delegates from their preferred candidate's slate, the slates of other candidates or from a pool of undeclared delegate hopefuls.

Delegate positions are assigned in a very complicated manner. First, delegates are selected based on the proportion of the vote their candidate received on the first ballot (or, in the case of the undeclared candidates, the proportion of the vote received by the "undeclared" option). For example, if Candidate A received 25% of first ballot support, 25% of the constituency's delegate positions would be filled by supporters of Candidate A. Second, the selection of the specific delegates who are chosen to attend the convention is determined by a combination of the amount of support a delegate candidate received on the second ballot and the demographic requirements for constituency delegates put in place by the party executive.

At the convention, slated delegates are bound to support their candidate during the first round – in fact, these delegates often receive ballots with their first round preference already

[1] These benefits have been questioned greatly in recent political science literature. For discussion on the increased media coverage received by delegate selection and convention events, see Carty, 1988; Woolstencroft, 1992; Latouche, 1992; Wesley and Loewen, 2012. For discussion on the collective-decision making element of leadership conventions, see Woolstencroft, 1992; Archer and Hunziker, 1992; Carty, 1994; MacIvor, 1994; Courtney, 1995; Stewart and Stewart, 2010; Wesley and Loewen, 2012.

indicated. After casting this ballot, slated delegates are free to support whoever they choose, allowing them to participate in convention deliberations. Unslated delegates may support whoever they choose on all of their convention ballots. Like a traditional convention, a candidate must receive the majority of delegate votes to be declared the winner. If no candidate receives more than half of the delegate votes, the candidate with the lowest amount of delegate support is dropped off of the ballot and the delegates vote again. This process continues until a candidate receives a majority of support.

Analyzing the participatory and representative quality of delegate conventions was one of the primary focuses of political scientists throughout the period when many parties abandoned their conventions for direct election methods. Political scientists frequently employed participant surveys to identify who was participating in these contests and the demographic groups to which they belonged. Comparisons were nearly always drawn between delegate conventions and one-member, one-vote contests, and a brief synopsis of the one-member, one-vote selection method is valuable before these results can be analyzed.

2.2.2 Direct Election: Pure One-Member, One-Vote Systems

A pure one-member, one-vote (OMOV) system was the first method of direct election to emerge in Canada. First utilized by the Parti québécois in 1985, pure OMOV systems give party members the most unmediated participation in leadership contests, as they are largely free of any party structure.

In pure OMOV races, candidates compete for the votes of grassroots party members. Each member is accorded one vote, which is cast directly for a leader without mediation. The votes of all party members are tallied and a candidate must receive a majority of the votes cast to be declared the winner.

A number of variants have been used to determine the winner of a race in which no candidate receives a majority of votes in the first round. Some races have employed preferential ballots, where participants indicate the order in which they prefer the leadership candidates. In the case that no candidate receives a majority of first preferences, the preferential ballots of the candidate with the lowest amount of first preferences are redistributed based on the voters' second choices. This may happen multiple times before a candidate receives a majority of votes and is declared the winner.

Other races have used a delayed run-off vote, allowing voters to choose amongst the top few vote-getters on a later date. These races often use a preferential ballot on the later ballot to ensure a winner is crowned that day. Still other contests allow participants to continue to cast exhaustive ballots on the day of the selection. Participants indicate their preferred candidate over and over again, and the candidate with the lowest amount of support is eliminated in each round. These rounds continue until a majority of participant support is received by the victorious candidate.

Advocates laud the full and direct participation that exists within pure OMOV systems. Party members in a delegate convention needed to rely on the integrity of their representative to vote for their preferred candidate, and partisans often worried about a delegate's behaviour after their preferred candidate has been eliminated. In a OMOV race, party members can be assured that their votes will be counted exactly as they mark them. Moreover, all votes within pure OMOV systems are weighted equally; the vote of each member, from the president of the party to a newly registered partisan, possesses the exact same value.

Participation is made more convenient by pure OMOV systems. Participants do not need to attend a central convention, allowing political parties to experiment with advanced

technologies to encourage participation. Parties have employed mail-in ballots, televoting and websites to gather membership votes (Cross, 2004: 85). There are few financial restrictions to participation in pure OMOV systems, as party members simply pay a minimal fee for a membership (and perhaps a small voting fee) to participate fully in the selection process. This is a significant change from delegate conventions. Convention delegates committed to both the time and financial obligations of the convention, often paying the majority of travel and accommodation costs on their own (Stewart, 1988: 169). This prevented vast numbers of partisans from seeking the direct participation offered to convention delegates.

The minimal time and financial obligations required by pure OMOV systems has led to a significant increase in the number of participants in leadership selection contests. Pure OMOV votes have enabled political parties to increase their membership totals – and financial coffers – very quickly. All parties employing pure OMOV races have experienced some growth in their membership, especially governing parties and those that eliminate membership deadlines (Cross, 1996: 303-5). Advocates for OMOV contests say that this increased participation adds legitimacy to their leadership races, as a greater proportion of the electorate has been able to cast a ballot in the contest.

Advocates for delegate conventions warn that this increase in popular participation comes at a cost. They maintain that equal, widespread participation eliminates the reward of attending a convention that is offered to devoted, hard-working members. Indeed, the "party tourists" who dominated delegate selection meetings are present in even greater numbers in the one-member, one-vote model. Only 26 per cent of the participants in the 1992 Alberta Progressive Conservative OMOV contest said they planned to work for the party in the next election, while 55 per cent admitted they had only bought a membership to vote in the leadership contest

(Stewart, 1997: 22). These "two-minute Tories" possessed the same amount of selecting power as those who had worked hard for the party for many years, leading proponents of delegate conventions to wonder if their participation really added legitimacy to the newly crowned leader.

Case studies have provided mixed results about the participation of underrepresented groups in pure OMOV contests. Advocates for OMOV systems expect the removal of institutional roadblocks to result in an increase to the proportion of women and low-income participants, while reducing the overrepresentation of students and youth in leadership contests. A survey of the 1992 Alberta Progressive Conservative race found a marked increase in the number of female participants, as the proportion of women increased from 30 per cent in the 1985 leadership convention to 47 per cent in the pure OMOV contest (Stewart and Archer, 2000: 116). However, analysis from other pure OMOV races indicates that only marginal increases in female participation exist in these direct selections (Cross, 2002: 47; Stewart and Stewart, 2010: 38).

More equitable representation can be seen in the amount of youth, less-educated and low-income participants in pure OMOV contests. In each of the three cases cited above, the proportion of youth fell considerably as guaranteed representation was removed from the system (Stewart, 1997: 122; Cross, 2002: 48; Stewart and Stewart, 2010: 38). Similarly, low-income and less-educated voters achieved far greater representation in pure OMOV votes than in the delegated conventions that preceded them (Cross, 2002: 48; Stewart and Stewart, 2010: 38). While an increase in the representation of women is not certain in pure OMOV systems, existing research suggests that some of the representational inequalities of delegate conventions can be balanced through the implementation of pure OMOV votes.

Pure OMOV votes eliminate the equitable regional representation that was provided by leadership conventions. Delegate conventions ensured constituency equality by sending the same number of delegates from each constituency to the leadership convention. This forced candidates to seek support from delegates across the "selectorate." OMOV contests allow candidates to spend considerable amounts of time in geographic areas of political strength, as the vote equality in these systems provides no incentive for parties to sell memberships in regions where the party or the candidate do not have support. Such techniques can be seen in the campaigns of the candidates in the 2006 Alberta PC leadership race, as the levels of support attained by each candidate differed greatly in the regions across the province (Sayers and Stewart, 2009: 101).

2.2.3 Direct Election: Hybrid Systems

The second type of direct election method is one that appears to be fading from use. First used by the federal NDP in 2003 and again by the Ontario NDP in 2009, the hybrid model combines the direct voting of pure OMOV contests with the guaranteed representation of delegate conventions.

In hybrid systems, candidates compete for the votes of grassroots party members and affiliated members. Each member is accorded one vote, but these votes are weighted according to the rules set out in the party's constitution. The votes of members of underrepresented communities and affiliated groups (unions, in the case of the NDP) are assigned greater value than those of rank-and-file party members. For example in the case of the federal NDP in 2003, the votes of non-union party members were weighted to be worth 75 per cent, while those of affiliated labour groups were counted for 25 per cent of the total votes. The weighted votes are tallied and a winning candidate must receive a majority of the weighted votes. In cases where no

candidate receives majority support, parties using this method have relied on the preferential ballot to avoid run-off races.

Hybrid methods offer participants the same direct participation that voters in pure OMOV races receive. Each member is assured that their votes will be assigned exactly as they marked it on their ballot. Parties are free to employ the same innovative voting opportunities as parties who utilize OMOV, making participation convenient. The limited number of hybrid contests makes generalizations about participation rates and membership growth difficult to ascertain, although the federal NDP did increase their membership by 40 per cent in their 2003 leadership campaign (Harper, 2002).

However, the hybrid model does not possess the individual vote equality of OMOV systems. Not all votes are worth the same amount, as the votes of affiliated and underrepresented group members are weighted to a predetermined percentage of the party vote. The federal NDP chose not to provide a voting summary of rank-and-file and labour participants in their 2003 race, but reporters used available membership and potential labour delegate numbers to illuminate the disparity in voting power. Nearly 82,000 party memberships had been sold during the campaign period, while unions could potentially send 1,630 participants to the event. If all eligible participants cast a ballot on the day of the selection, reporters surmised that a union vote would be worth approximately 12.3 rank-and-file votes (Chung, 2003).

Parties that employ hybrid systems are willing to trade vote equality for guaranteed group representation. Parties are free to give guaranteed representation to the same groups that received this representation in delegate conventions. Women's organizations, youth and campus organizations and ethnic communities could all receive representation within this system.

Representation for these groups is given precedence over constituency equality, as the regional parity of voting power found in delegate conventions is also lost in this system.

It is worth noting that both of the parties that have employed the hybrid model are New Democratic parties. In these cases, labour unions possessed guaranteed representation in the leadership selection contests, retaining the presence they possessed at the party's old delegate conventions. The presence of labour representation in leadership contests has been a frequent criticism of the NDP by conservative and populist parties across the country. Labour unions also receive special positions at party policy conventions where decisions on leadership selection methods are made, making it increasingly difficult for the NDP to adopt leadership selection methods that eliminate this special representation.

The federal NDP were successful in adopting a OMOV vote for their vote in 2011. The system was implemented in two steps: first, by passing a resolution to use OMOV without addressing the issue of union representation, and then passing an executive council ruling five years later, stating that the absence of union representation was implied by the 2006 decision (Leblanc, 2011). The Ontario NDP is currently the only party in the country to retain the hybrid system within its constitution, and it remains to be seen whether its labour contingent will allow the party to follow the federal wing's lead.

2.2.4 Direct Election: Weighted-Constituency Models

Weighted-constituency models are an increasingly popular method of leadership selection. First employed by the Ontario Progressive Conservatives in 1990, weighted-constituency models combine the direct votes of pure OMOV systems with the constituency equality that is found within delegate conventions.

In weighted-constituency models, candidates compete for something completely different from the other two direct election systems: constituency points. Each electoral constituency is assigned 100 points and these points are distributed based on the percentage of the vote each leadership contender receives. For example, if Candidate A receives 40 per cent of the vote in a constituency, 40 points are added to Candidate A's total. The points that the candidates receive in all ridings are totaled, and a candidate must receive the majority of constituency points in order to secure the party leadership. Parties have employed run-off rounds, preferential ballots and same-day exhaustive ballots to determine a leader in the absence of a first-round winner.

Weighted-constituency models give all members the same direct vote that is offered by pure OMOV and hybrid systems. All party members are voting directly for a leader and their votes are counted exactly as they have been marked. Participation remains convenient, and while mass membership sales are tempered by the necessity to enlist supporters in regions where the party has few members, parties have been able to secure widespread participation in their leadership selections.

However, vote inequality exists within these contests as well. Tom Flanagan describes the inequality that existed in the Conservative Party of Canada leadership contest in 2004. Flanagan describes how some constituencies in Quebec possessed only eight party members, while other Albertan constituencies had more than one thousand people on the membership list. As a result, a vote for a party leader in one of these Quebec ridings was worth more than one hundred times more than a single vote in one of the large Albertan constituencies (2007: 135).

Weighted-constituency contests trade vote equality for equal representation of every constituency within the selectorate. This constituency equality encourages candidates to look beyond areas of partisan strength and to sell memberships in areas where the party has few

members. No candidate can secure the leadership by selling memberships in only a few constituencies, as the candidates who struggle in the majority of constituencies will find themselves with few constituency points. Theoretically, weighted-constituency contests force candidates to build a geographically-diverse coalition of support, securing points in all areas of the selectorate.

These advantages have not gone unnoticed by party members. Ontario Progressive Conservative delegates from rural constituencies lobbied strongly for this equality in their 1990 contest to ensure that candidates did not campaign solely in urban areas with concentrated populations (Woolstencroft, 1992: 212). Members of the federal Progressive Conservative party hoped that the use of a weighted-constituency model in 1998 would show critics that the PCs were a pan-Canadian party with support across the country (Stewart and Carty, 2002: 60). Parties that wish to show their strength throughout the entire electorate could find success with this system.

While the regional representative quality of weighted-constituency contests is obvious, little is known about how these models provide representation to those underrepresented in leadership selection contests. While existing literature suggests an uncertain hypothesis, additional research is required to illuminate the demographic representation in weighted-constituency contests.

Empirical research suggests that successful candidates in weighted-constituency models must build both regionally and demographically diverse coalitions. Stewart and Carty analyze the support bases of candidates in the 1998 federal Progressive Conservative leadership contest and identify narrow support bases for most of the candidates in the race.

> "Orchard's and Fortier's campaigns were constrained by the linguistic boundaries of the communities they came from; Pallister's campaign was rooted in agricultural constituencies but also in areas of economic well-being… Clark emerges as a genuinely pan-Canadian candidate in this preliminary analysis, for there was virtually no structure to his support base" (2002: 58).

Clark's leadership coalition crossed linguistic, employment and economic cleavages, making his coalition highly representative of the selectorate as a whole. The authors recognized that Clark was the overwhelming favorite throughout the leadership contest and that he had secured the leadership on the first ballot. Was Clark's success amongst diverse electoral constituencies simply a product of his dominance in the leadership race? Or do weighted-constituency contests provide incentives for leadership hopefuls to form demographically-diverse support bases? If the latter is true, these contests are surely worth the consideration of many parties across the country.

Applying similar research techniques to a competitive race like the British Columbia Liberal leadership race of 2011 will expand our knowledge of the makeup of successful coalitions in weighted-constituency races. As we prepare to examine the Liberal candidates' support bases, understanding the provincial politics of the province within which they were formed is a valuable next step.

CHAPTER THREE:

UNDERSTANDING THE SELECTORATE: POLITICS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Provincial politics in British Columbia is not for the faint of heart. Colourful, charismatic premiers have been unafraid to speak their mind and have been accused of both private and public legal misgivings. Governments have disregarded the opposition when making policy choices, revealing legislation packages that have sparked both peaceful and violent protest in front of the provincial legislature. Hard-fought elections are full of dramatic and sweeping rhetoric, as political parties paint their enemies as "barbarians", "socialists" and "Nazis".

Despite the contentious nature of its political competition, the British Columbian political system has experienced marked stability and continuity throughout the past sixty years. Personalities, governments and even political parties have come and gone, and yet the nature of the province's political culture, party competition and leadership selections remains largely intact.

A proper interpretation of the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership contest requires a deep understanding of the political environment in which it takes place. This chapter will focus on its political culture, political party system and leadership selections that have taken place in years past. The chapter will not only help us to understand the 2011 leadership race, but it will also suggest several themes and theories about political life in B.C. which will be tested in the fifth chapter of the thesis.

3.1 Political Culture

Studying political culture is fundamental in a province like British Columbia. Political scientists have argued that political divisions in the province are not primarily based on ethnicity, language or region, but rather on the ideas that guide the political debates in the province (Blake,

1996a: 67). Examining the values and ideas that guide and constrain political behaviour will aid in our efforts to understand and challenge the common theories about political life in British Columbia.

There is a marked difference between the perceived political culture of British Columbia and the realities of its political system. A two-party, competitive party system has led many observers to believe that there are few shared values amongst British Columbians. Ideological polarization and public policy disagreements appear normal, both within the provincial legislature and in the culture of the people living without.

Political scientists have noted that popular accounts of British Columbian political history are not always reflective of the true political culture that exists within the province. Through repeated provincial surveys, they have shown that the two primary features of British Columbian political culture are populism and polarized views on collectivism, while claims of widespread ideological polarization and class require further clarification.

Populism has always been perceived to be one of the essential components of British Columbia's political culture. British Columbians have maintained a deep distrust of the political establishment, feeling that ordinary people are better capable of managing the state's affairs than the political elite. Politicians who enter the political arena from outside the legislature have found particular success amongst the public, and general suspicion of experts has been a common theme in British Columbian politics.

Popular accounts of provincial political history simply assume that populism is a component of British Columbian political culture. These accounts describe the political success of parties that utilize populist rhetoric and offer election victories as their primary evidence for the existence of populism within the province's political culture. Populist rhetoric was used

frequently by British Columbia's longest-serving premier, W.A.C. Bennett. Bennett preferred to call his Social Credit a movement instead of a party, naming his caucus a "government of the people" (Mitchell, 1995: 138). Colorful Social Credit premier Bill Vander Zalm's popularity soared as he displayed his folksy charm, leading observers to admit that he "understood what moved British Columbians" (Mason and Baldrey, 1989: 66). Former NDP premier Mike Harcourt received praise in the media for his "populist brand of politics," distancing himself from the establishment by self-identifying as a "non-partisan politician" (Harcourt and Skene, 1996: 48).

While popular literature claims that politicians who use populist rhetoric have a keen sense of British Columbian political culture, they do not go so far as to prove that British Columbians do, in fact, possess populist ideals. Donald E. Blake examined the populist aspect of British Columbian political culture in two quantitative provincial surveys, conducted in 1979 and 1995. In both cases, Blake asked respondents to respond to several questions designed to ascertain the degree to which they proscribe to populist ideals, combining their responses into a populism index which he then applied to several demographic variables.

Blake finds that populism has persisted as an important value within British Columbian political culture. In his 1979 survey, he notes that some differences in populism do exist within British Columbia, as British Columbians with higher incomes, higher levels of education and those who live in urban areas exhibit lower populism scores than other respondents (1985: 63). However, strong responses to populist ideas exist within both surveys, as the 1995 survey nearly mirrors the results found in 1979 (1996b: 9-10). "Populism," writes Blake, "remains a significant feature of the provincial value pattern" (1996b: 16).

Some academic accounts of British Columbian politics associate populist tendencies with the Social Credit party and with those who espouse right-wing views of society. Critics disapprove of the populist rhetoric that was employed by Social Credit leaders, highlighting that their election slogans were rarely accompanied by democratic reform (Resnick, 1986: 209). Others argue that Social Credit was originally a populist, grassroots protest movement, but years in government changed the party's attitude into a "politician's populism" – empty speech that emerged during elections to garner the support of center-right voters (Ruff, 1986: 224). R.B.J. Walker goes the furthest in identifying populism with right-wing politics in British Columbia, stating that the Social Credit used populist arguments during elections to polarize the electorate and to prevent British Columbians from learning more about complex policy issues (1986: 330). A firm association between populism and right-wing politics in British Columbia is asserted, leading readers to believe that right-wing adherents are populist and left-wing adherents are not.

Blake's provincial studies show something very different. Populist scores obtained from the surveys show that populist sentiment can be found within both right- and left-wing parties. In the 1979 study, no significant difference in the mean populist scores exists between the Social Credit and the New Democratic Party (1985: 85), while the 1995 survey shows similar levels of populism between the resurgent Liberals and the NDP (1996b: 14). Blake shows that differences in populism exist *within* parties instead of *between* parties, poking holes into the theories offered by critics of right-wing parties in B.C. The existence of populist sentiment within both right- and left-wing parties in British Columbia shows the prominence of populism within British Columbian political culture.

British Columbians can be forgiven for assuming a deep ideological divide within their political culture. All popular accounts provide exciting stories of the hostile polarization that

exists between parties within the provincial legislature. Hateful labels were frequently exchanged between Social Crediters and New Democrats for decades. New Democrats were described as "barbarians" (Mitchell, 1995: 389) and likened to Karl Marx (Persky, 1983: 44), while a dispute over electoral boundary redistribution led to W.A.C. Bennett being called a "little Hitler" (Mitchell, 1995: 368).

Despite the angry barbs exchanged by political parties in the legislature, Donald Blake's provincial surveys suggest a different form of ideological difference within the political culture. Blake claims that British Columbians agree on many issues that divide citizens in other electorates, identifying similar attitudes on policies related to economic development, health care, education, minimum welfare benefits and individual advancement (1985: 67). Significant differences in ideological beliefs appear when British Columbians are asked about individual and collective responsibility – whether the individual or the collective should bear the risks, costs and benefits that accompany the competitive economic system of capitalism.

Blake constructs an "Individual versus Collective Responsibility" index in his 1979 survey and his results shed light on the specific ideological difference that exists within British Columbian political culture. Respondents to the survey exhibit a wide variation of index scores, indicating that some respondents were very individualist and others were very collectivist (1985: 69). Blake also finds that NDP supporters are much more likely to be collectivist, while supporters of the Social Credit are more individualist (1985: 70). The 1995 survey shows similar results when measuring neoconservatism. 44.8% and 11.4% of NDP supporters profess liberal views and conservative views, respectively, while the same numbers for Liberal supporters are 23.2% and 30.1% (1996b: 14).

While many popular accounts produce perceptions that British Columbian political culture is polarized, several observers also make astute observations about the existence of divided opinion over individual and collective responsibility. “For every person attracted to this province in search of personal fortune and the good life, therefore, there has been another whose vision of political culture is distinctly more co-operative in nature,” writes Philip Resnick (1986: 206). Case studies of government policy are offered as examples of differing views over individual and government ownership (Persky, 1983: 109), while other authors note that politicians have intentionally sought to instill perceptions of a polarized electorate for their personal electoral gain (Garr, 1985: 30). These arguments support Blake’s claim that the ideological division that is said to exist in British Columbia is in fact a division over individual and collective responsibility.

The politics of class in British Columbia has been the theme of many books produced by social activists and political leaders. Periods of public outcry and public demonstrations are recounted in many of these volumes, and authors describe government action against the working class in stark terms (Palmer, 1987). Former NDP premier Dave Barrett writes in his memoirs that W.A.C. Bennett’s tenure as premier was one of “paradise” for the upper class, as profits from infrastructure and resource development went “directly into the deep pockets of the corporate elite” (Barrett and Miller, 1995: 2). Class warfare appears to be alive and well in British Columbia, and the necessity for attitudinal evidence to support these claims is disregarded.

Once again, quantitative provincial surveys complicate simplistic characterizations of British Columbian political culture. Not only does Blake reveal that relatively few respondents to the election survey in 1979 willingly identify themselves in terms of class (1985: 78), he also

shows that members of all social classes exist within left-wing and right-wing political parties (1985: 71). A relationship between partisanship and class can be found (1985: 80) – a finding also seen in a study following the 2005 referendum on electoral reform (Erickson, 2010: 142) – but these classes are by no means homogenous in terms of ideological belief. In his 1995 study, Blake goes so far as to identify a "working-class conservative streak" within British Columbian political culture, showing the lack of uniformity amongst classes within the province (1996b: 9). Any claims made by activists and political leaders that they are the sole defenders of the working class should be regarded with skepticism, as attitudinal differences within these classes paint for a complex picture of political culture within British Columbia.

3.2 Party System

Most incorrect assumptions of British Columbia's political culture are based on the province's party system. Characterized as a polarized system for the ideological division that exists between parties (Carty and Stewart, 1996: 83), the party system of British Columbia is known for its competitive, rhetoric-filled campaigns.

While political parties have experienced varying levels of electoral success, the polarization that pervades the British Columbian party system has existed for more than half of a century. Donald Blake explores the development of this party system, dividing British Columbian party history into five distinct eras (1996a). Recounting the province's party history will aid an explanation of the fierce left-right divide that remains.

Blake's first era, the pre-party period, spans between British Columbia's entrance into Confederation in 1871 and the election of 1903. In this period, no parties were found within the provincial legislature. Politicians were unabashedly self-interested, pursuing policy that would favour their business holdings outside of the legislature. The dominance of John A. MacDonald's

Conservatives at the federal level provided few incentives for provincial legislators to divide along party lines. Indeed, it was only after Wilfrid Laurier assumed the leadership of the federal Liberals that a divide within the legislature between Liberals and Conservatives emerged. A conflict of interest scandal, competitive federal elections and a provincial cabinet stocked with devout Conservatives culminated in the first provincial election fought between political parties in 1903.

Thirty years of traditional, two-party competition followed the first era of provincial politics. The Conservative and Liberal parties exchanged 13 and twelve year periods in office, and both parties employed patronage for partisan benefit when in power. While parties on the left did exist during this period, the disunity of labour forces led to weak showings at the polls. Blake explains while some left-wing supporters saw electoral participation as the means to achieve better working conditions for the working class, others believed that successful labour politicians would give up their ideals when given legislative power, preferring social demonstrations over entry into the political system (Blake, 1996a: 69). Left-wing interest would eventually coalesce after the creation of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the official opposition following the 1933 provincial election.

The entrance of the CCF into the political system marks the shift from British Columbia's second political era to its third. Blake characterizes this period as "Transition and Party System Transformation" (1996a: 69), as dramatic shifts would take place within the party system that would set the course for future partisan competition.

After a setback in the 1937 election, the CCF shocked British Columbians by garnering more votes than both the Liberal and the Conservative parties. A favorable electoral map helped the Liberals form a minority government, and rumors stirred of the possibility of a wartime

coalition government. John Hart emerged from a party leadership challenge as Liberal leader, consulting both the Conservatives and the CCF about the possibility of coalition. Both party leaders responded quickly to Hart's proposal, as CCF leader Harold Winch declined and Conservative leader Pat Mainland accepted the offer to join the Liberal party in government.

David Mitchell identifies two primary consequences from the experience of coalition government in British Columbia. First, Winch's decision to refuse the coalition offer allowed his party to be the sole opposition of the government – a position his party would maintain for much of the rest of the 20th Century. The party gained legitimacy and a firm place within the province's party system: "By not joining the coalition, the CCF maintained its separate identity; as the only opposition party in the legislature, it was the province's sole alternative government" (Mitchell, 1995: 78).

Second, the coalition government represented the first of a series of elections in which a united coalition of the right countered the party of the left. While the coalition was initially struck in good faith in a time of war, the electoral advantages of partisan cooperation proved too great for Liberals and Conservatives to ignore. Indeed, in the aftermath of the Second World War, the Liberal and Conservative parties remained coalition partners, turning their attention from the reality of war to the spectre of socialism and CCF rule. "[T]he threat of a CCF victory in the next provincial election became the political glue that would hold the Liberals and Conservatives together," writes Mitchell (1995: 77).

Polarization followed quickly on the heels of the formation of the coalition government. As early as the 1945 provincial election, sharp ideological rhetoric was employed by coalition candidates, as comparisons to Nazi Germany were made frequently by aspiring legislators (Mitchell, 1995: 80). The characterization of the CCF in such stark terms became a regular

feature of provincial election campaigns, and the "politics of paranoia" would persist for many years in British Columbia (Mitchell, 1995: 94).

One other political decision precipitated great change within this era of British Columbian politics. Election victories in 1941, 1945 and 1949 created restlessness within the governing coalition. Decreasing CCF constituency victories led members within both the Liberal and Conservative caucuses to believe that they could secure political victory without the help of their coalition partner. The two parties engaged in electoral reform, implementing an alternative vote system for provincial elections. The parties believed that the preferential balloting used within this system would work to their advantage, as Liberal and Conservative supporters would identify the other coalition party as their second choice over the opposition CCF.

The two parties ran in the 1952 election separately, both believing that political success would follow the electoral system change. Only W.A.C. Bennett and his supporters predicted that the upstart Social Credit party would benefit most from the electoral reforms, as the Liberals and Conservatives were relegated to the opposition benches. Bennett would win seven consecutive provincial elections, firmly establishing the Social Credit as the only right-wing party that could stop the CCF as British Columbia entered its next political era.

Blake characterizes his fourth era of party history by the "politics of polarization" that dominated the provincial landscape during this time. After two election wins under the alternative vote electoral system, W.A.C. Bennett reinstated single member plurality, which produced large Social Credit majority wins and encouraged two-party competition within the province. Bennett also effectively criticized the Liberals and Conservatives for being elitist and out-of-touch with the concerns of ordinary British Columbians, cementing the third-party status

of both parties. Party competition was now clearly between the Social Credit and the CCF/New Democratic Party (NDP), as two-party competition had returned to British Columbia.

After the Social Credit won their seventh consecutive majority in 1969 (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2), Bennett's party became seen as the very establishment he had railed against for many years. A strong showing by the Progressive Conservatives in the 1972 election siphoned many votes from the Social Credit, forcing the dominant party to form the opposition and enabling the NDP to secure government for the first time in provincial history. W.A.C. Bennett resigned as party leader, and many wondered whether the Social Credit would disappear from provincial politics as quickly as they emerged.

The Social Credit would come back in the next election, and under the premiership of W.A.C. Bennett's son Bill, the political system in British Columbia would become the most polarized that it has ever been. Bill Bennett succeeded not only in returning the Social Credit to government in 1975, but also in convincing several Liberal MLAs to join the party before the election. Only a single Liberal and Progressive Conservative candidate were elected in 1975, and the third parties found themselves shut out of the legislature after the 1979 campaign.

Bennett further polarized the political system by implementing a series of neo-conservative labour reforms in 1983. As protestors marched through the streets of Vancouver, angry critics characterized Bennett's legislative package as "devoid of economic purpose, a purely political and ideological act of coercion" (Palmer, 1987: 23). Indeed, the legislative package fit very nicely with the image that Bennett's advisors were trying to present to the electorate, portraying Bennett as the only politician willing to make difficult decisions and to stand up to the NDP (Garr, 1985: 50). The combination of electoral maneuvering and divisive legislation intensified the ferocity of two-party competition within the legislature.

The Social Credit and the NDP succeeded in keeping the two traditional parties out of contention for power until the early 1990s. Bill Bennett was succeeded by Bill Vander Zalm in 1986, and a series of conflict of interest scandals forced Vander Zalm's resignation in 1991. Vander Zalm alienated both Social Credit supporters and Cabinet members with his outspokenness about social issues and with the centralization of power that existed under his leadership. Many Social Crediters abandoned their party for the Liberals, sparking another realignment of the provincial party system.

The 1991 provincial election represents the most recent fundamental change within the provincial party system. Mike Harcourt's NDP secured 51 seats in the provincial election, followed by a surprising performance by the Liberals with 17 seats and the Social Credit with seven. Social Credit disappeared completely from the legislature in 1996. Blake finds that former Social Credit voters threw their support firmly behind the Liberals, as two-thirds of the variance in Liberal vote gains in the 1991 election are statistically explained by Social Credit losses (1996a: 77).

Blake and Carty note that new party leader Gordon Campbell was also successful in attracting Social Crediters to the Liberal party in his 1993 leadership campaign. Campbell championed a vision of the Liberals as the new right-wing alternative to the NDP, and Blake and Carty show that leadership contest participants in 1993 possessed attitudes that were far more right-wing than those who acclaimed Gordon Wilson in 1986 (1995-6: 71).

Blake's analysis of the five eras of British Columbian political history ends with uncertainty, as the BC Reform party secured representation within the legislature in the 1996 provincial election. However, a brief look at the past two decades shows a clear return to two-party competition in British Columbia. Election victories in 1991 and 1996 gave the NDP a full

decade to form government – enough time for the right-wing in British Columbia to organize behind Gordon Campbell's Liberals. Major scandals and a united right-wing effort combined to give the Liberals a crushing victory in the 2001 campaign, securing 77 of the 79 seats within the legislature.

Campbell's decision-making in his first term as premier mirrored that of Bill Bennett back in 1983, as he introduced a series of neo-conservative reforms that critics believed "produced clear winners and losers" (Beers, 2005: 7). Cuts to personal income taxes, freezes on health care and education spending and broad deregulation greeted those who anticipated a right-wing Liberal party (Phillips, 2010). Some have associated Campbell's moves with those of Mike Harris in Ontario, as unions were the primary targets for the Campbell Liberals (Dyck, 2006: 92).

A stiff challenge from new, centrist NDP leader Carole James in the 2006 provincial election produced a reduced majority and a more moderate Campbell in his second term in office. Policy positions on First Nations relations and the environment changed greatly in his second term, as Campbell signed several agreements with First Nations leaders and implemented a carbon tax. These changes in position "raised eyebrows," as Campbell "totally shocked observers" with his centrist decision-making (Dyck, 2010: 346).

While Campbell's actions successfully placated critics for his second term, tempers flared quickly in the summer of 2009 as the government announced the harmonization of the provincial and federal sales taxes within the province. Little consultation took place before the government announced the decision, and angry British Columbians believed Campbell had reneged on an election promise to avoid the harmonized sales tax (HST). Former premier Bill Vander Zalm emerged to lead anti-HST forces in a citizen's initiative campaign, collecting signatures and

forcing a referendum on the issue. Before the referendum could take place, Gordon Campbell stepped down as premier and leader of the Liberal party, calling for a party leadership contest.

The party system that exists today maintains the polarized nature of the fourth era of British Columbian politics, but the Liberals and the NDP are now the contenders for political power. Two characteristics of campaigns that took place during the fourth political era were visible in the 2011 Liberal leadership race: populist rhetoric and an emphasis on a right-wing coalition. These themes will be explained here and then picked up in the following chapter.

Parties in campaigns often employ populist rhetoric in response to assertions of elitism and centralized power. In some cases, politicians make these claims about their partisan enemies. W.A.C. Bennett succeeded in characterizing the Liberal and Conservative parties as being old, establishment parties that catered to the interests of the elites. David Mitchell calls this strategy the "politics of protest," and Bennett used this strategy frequently as he led his group of political neophytes to victory in the 1950s (1995: 148). At other times, politicians would take aim at their partisan predecessors, arguing that while party leaders in the past may have clung to power, times have changed. Bill Vander Zalm frequently reminded British Columbians that he had left Bill Bennett's Social Credit government in the 1980s and had been unafraid to oppose cabinet members to stick up for his constituents (Mason and Baldrey, 1989: 38).

The claims of both Bennett and Vander Zalm can be seen as highly ironic, as most parties in government have centralized power within the executive and within their offices. Norman Ruff chastises W.A.C. Bennett for espousing a "'politician's populism' which gives the leader complete freedom to maneuver under the guise of direct representation of the 'ordinary citizen'" (Ruff, 1986: 224). While Vander Zalm's complaints about Bill Bennett's contentious legislative package in 1983 were well received by British Columbians, the Vander Zalm regime itself

became infamous for their levels of secrecy and the centralization of power within the premier's office. Following several significant policy announcements, caucus and cabinet members alike were unable to provide comment to the press, as it was the first they had ever heard about such a policy (Persky, 1989: 130-3). These instances showed how centralized decision-making had become in the Vander Zalm administration, and many Social Credit supporters eventually deserted the centralized party for the Liberals. Making decisions without consulting caucus and ultimately, the people, has proved to be the death knell of several provincial premiers.

Finally, many campaigns throughout British Columbian political history have featured a coalition of the right against the CCF/NDP. Political strategy by the Liberal-Conservative coalition in the 1940s and 1950s focused solely on defeating the CCF, as the coalition even attempted electoral reform to thwart the efforts of the left. W.A.C. Bennett's explosive rhetoric attempted to foster fear in the electorate and helped him to consolidate right-wing support within his Social Credit party for many years (Mitchell, 1995: 438). Bill Bennett worked hard to recreate his father's "free-enterprise coalition" by attracting financial support from big business and convincing Liberal members to join him to defeat the incumbent NDP in 1975 (Persky, 1979: 50).

Academic work confirms the existence of a diverse coalition on the right. Acknowledging that parties in government attract followers from many walks of life, Blake Carty and Erickson show that a substantial amount of diversity in public policy opinion existed within the Social Credit in 1986. Party members disagreed on issues like government restraint and deregulation, but possessed nearly uniform beliefs on the role of unions and independence from government (Blake et al., 1991: 37). Few politicians mention the diversity that exists within right-wing parties, preferring instead to emphasize the necessity of countering the NDP in their

stump speeches. Politicians continue to urge the electorate to support the "right-wing coalition," as this rhetoric was evident within the leadership campaign of the Liberals in 2011.

3.3 Leadership Selection

Leadership selection contests are critical events within the polarized party system in British Columbia. These intra-party competitions reveal much about the character of provincial parties and about political life within British Columbia. Brief reflection on the characteristics of past leadership races provides additional context to the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership contest.

Since 1952, thirty leadership races have been organized by British Columbia's three largest parties – the Liberals (eleven contests), the CCF/NDP (eleven contests) and the Social Credit (eight races). The number of candidates in these races has varied from nine acclamations to the 1986 Social Credit contest which featured twelve candidates. Leadership contests have been held as close together as 363 days (Larry Gillanders' win of the 1993 Social Credit race) and as far apart as 21 years (Bill Bennett's succession of his father in 1973).

Figures 3.3 to 3.5 show the diverse methods of leadership selection that parties have employed since 1952. Party decisions on what form of leadership selection to use have been based on the democratic expectations of the electorate, the subculture and values that exist within the party and the ability of each selection method to increase their electoral standing.

These motives for choosing methods of leadership selection can be seen between 1986 and 1993, when each party crowned a leader who would become premier of the province. At the time of the 1986 Social Credit contest, only one Canadian political party had deviated from the delegate convention model of leadership selection, but the subculture within the party demanded that the grassroots population have significant input in selection of the province's next premier (Mitchell, 1987: 78). The party also desired renewal in the wake of an imminent election call, as

the Social Credit had experienced a drop in the polls following Bill Bennett's 1983 restraint legislative package. As a result, the Social Credit executive opted for a large delegate convention in which all delegates would be selected at the constituency level (Blake et al., 1991: 89). No ex-officio positions would be granted to members of the party's executive or to legislators, as each delegate would have to earn their way to the convention.

A completely different set of circumstances faced the NDP in their 1987 contest. The NDP had suffered a sound election defeat in the fall of 1986 and they sought a selection method without fanfare, an event where devoted partisans could come together and unite around a candidate with a new, long-term vision for the party. The eventual contest winner, Mike Harcourt, described the NDP's unique situation:

> First of all, our convention was not there for media hoopla. There were not twelve people down in the gladiator pit bloodying each other and making it exciting for the commentators and the media. [The Social Credit's] leadership convention was taking place two or three months prior to an election. That's when you want to generate interest and excitement. Ours took place three years before an election, so there was no need to build up that hoopla.
>
> Secondly, there were some very serious splits within the Social Credit Party about where they should be going and who would be their leader. And that showed up in all the people who were running. In our party, there was tremendous unanimity about what needed to be done, and I was seen to be the right person at the right time to do it—to change the tone, the attitude and the approach of the New Democratic Party (quoted in Mitchell, 1987: 181).

The cooperative subculture of the NDP has also placed great value on delegate conventions, and New Democratic parties at both the provincial and federal levels have been slow to change their party structure in response to societal demands for greater participation within party politics. Based on an entirely different set of objectives, the NDP chose the same form of leadership selection as the Social Credit – the delegate convention.

A different choice was made by the B.C. Liberals in 1993. The Liberals desired increased participation for disillusioned party members, many of whom had lamented the incompetence of leader Gordon Wilson (Blake and Carty, 1994: 12). Further, the impressive growth of provincial

parties employing direct methods of selection appealed to the Liberals, who had failed to turn their electoral success in 1991 into significant membership gains. The Liberals utilized a one-member, one-vote method of direct selection in 1993 and nearly quadrupled their membership. The success of the membership drive was clear in a report drafted after the contest – only 29.1% of party members surveyed after the leadership race had been members of the Liberal party five years earlier (Blake and Carty, 1994: 38). The Liberals used their leadership race to firmly establish their position as a political party vying for control of the legislature, and their selection of a one-member, one-vote system was critical to their success.

Party executives also make decisions on spending limits in leadership campaigns. British Columbia possesses some of the most relaxed campaign finance legislation in the country, preferring public disclosure to limits on campaign spending. Decisions on leadership contest spending limits remain the decision of each individual party, but executives in the past have often been seduced by the prospect of increasing their party coffers, allowing candidates to fundraise without hindrance. Candidates in the 1986 Social Credit leadership race were rumored to have spent between two and three million dollars on their campaigns – more than their party spent in total in the past provincial election (Mitchell, 1987: 106). Indeed, almost two-thirds of convention delegates responding to the post-selection survey indicated that they believed the candidates had spent too much money on their campaigns (Blake et a., 1991: 102).

Leadership participants have been joined by leadership candidates in lamenting the excessive corporate spending in political campaigns, as several candidates have utilized insider-outsider rhetoric over the course of their campaigns. This is a reflection of the populist political culture of the province, as leadership hopefuls claim to be the sole representatives of the people while highlighting the relationship between their political foes and the economic elites.

Echoes of W.A.C. Bennett's populist rhetoric could be heard in the cries of leadership candidates in the 1986 Social Credit leadership race. Grace McCarthy and Bill Vander Zalm reprimanded candidates who appeared before the "Top 20," a group of corporate Social Credit supporters whose deep pockets had helped Bill Bennett to recapture the B.C. premiership. David Mitchell says that McCarthy used this event as a central feature in her "Operation Grassroots" campaign, ensuring partisans knew she would be beholden to no one but convention delegates (Mitchell, 1987: 107). Vander Zalm, a former Cabinet minister who had left the legislature in 1983, expressed his displeasure with the centralized Bennett government at every opportunity and envisioned a political system in which "everyone… can be involved in the decision-making of the government" (Persky, 1989: 29). Charisma and style carried Vander Zalm to victory in 1986, as his insider-outsider campaign proved successful within the party system of British Columbia.

Much like provincial elections, British Columbian party leadership races emphasize personality. David Mitchell writes that one of W.A.C. Bennett's lasting contributions to British Columbian politics was the creation of a "politics of personality" in the province: "By pitting his own flamboyant personality against those of struggling leaders of other parties, he won seven consecutive general elections and sent a legion of impressive opponents to ignominy" (1987: 18). While the actions of political leaders remain constrained by economic forces (Howlett and Brownsey, 2001), a popular leader can hold great sway with the provincial electorate.

In a similar way, leadership contests within the province have emphasized the personalities over the policy positions of the candidates. Post-election surveys of the 1986 Social Credit leadership race identified the personal characteristics of the candidate as the second most important factor in their voting decision – a determinant following only the potential of the

candidate for electoral success (Carty et al., 1992: 103). Personality overwhelmed delegates at the 1986 convention, with Vander Zalm's folksy charm wooing many undecided supporters. In her speech to the convention, leadership hopeful Kim Campbell put words to the feelings of many disappointed, policy-savvy participants: "Charisma without substance is a dangerous thing" (Mason and Baldrey, 1989: 25).

The lack of policy offered in British Columbian leadership selections is one reason why these contests remain fairly non-ideological, a somewhat surprising characteristic within a deeply polarized party system. In their synopsis of the 1986 Liberal, 1986 Social Credit and 1997 NDP leadership campaigns, Carty, Erickson and Blake note that ideological division did not exist within any of the three campaigns. Rather, they assert that ideological division within British Columbia is strong *between* parties and weak *within* them: "It is as if partisans were determined to maintain a façade of ideological unity in the face of opposition" (1992: 114).

Past leadership selections have highlighted the importance of building organizations to mobilize party members. Gordon Campbell owes much of his success in the 1993 Liberal leadership race to his campaign staff and volunteers. The one-member, one-vote selection method chosen by the Liberals rewarded campaign organizations that could sell memberships to party members, regardless of where they live. Campbell's team sold thousands of memberships over the course of the campaign, welcoming many former Social Crediters into the Liberal camp. Blake and Carty show that new members to the Liberal party in 1993 were overwhelmingly more likely to vote for Gordon Campbell than for any of the other six candidates (1995-6: 67). Campbell's dominant victory provides evidence that grassroots organizational strength has been advantageous in past leadership selections.

Past leadership races have also shown that attracting endorsements from caucus members is not required to secure the leadership of political parties. Bill Vander Zalm counted only three MLAs as his campaign supporters in his 1986 victory. It has been argued that endorsements had little impact on the outcome of the convention, as endorsing MLAs were unable to secure the support of delegates from their constituency on the day of the vote (Blake et al., 1991: 106). The diversity of leadership selection methods makes generalizations about endorsements difficult, but past races have been won with minimal caucus support.

3.4 Conclusion

British Columbian political life remains one of a kind. Populist sentiment is extremely prevalent within the province, persisting as a powerful component within its political culture. While ethnic, linguistic and regional cleavages loom large in other jurisdictions, divided opinions on individual and collective responsibility remain the deepest source of political divide amongst the citizens of B.C.

Political parties within the province are brash and unafraid to show their ideological differences from their enemies. Populist arguments are frequently employed by parties in the legislature, as great animosity towards political and economic elites exists within the province. The necessity of a right-wing coalition has convinced many voters to support first the Social Credit party and now the Liberals, a party moved towards the right under Gordon Campbell's leadership.

Leadership campaigns remain some of the most exciting and revealing events within the British Columbian political system. Selection methods are chosen to suit the democratic demands of the electorate, as well as the subculture and the electoral desires of the party. Establishment candidates find little success within right-wing party selections, as the accusations

of "outsider" candidates prove palatable amongst Social Credit and Liberal supporters. Candidates of all partisan stripes are advised to stick to personality politics and avoid lofty policy briefs if they wish to emerge victorious from leadership battles.

As we examine the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race, these lessons will add depth and context to the campaign. This common knowledge will be reinforced, questioned and challenged throughout the account of the contest to replace Gordon Campbell.

CHAPTER FOUR:

A NEW LEADER: THE 2011 BC LIBERAL LEADERSHIP RACE

"It's time for a new person to lead the province" (Cooper and Austin, 2010a).

With these words, Gordon Campbell resigned as the 34th premier of the province of British Columbia. Rushed out of Canada Place after reading a short, pre-written statement, Campbell shocked the roomful of reporters with his announcement. Campbell had served as premier since 2001 and Liberal party leader since 1993, and suddenly, on November 3, 2010, the man who had won three consecutive majority governments was leaving.

Reporters regained their composure quickly, publishing rumors that an internal caucus revolt was afoot and that Campbell made his decision to avoid an embarrassing leadership review on November 19 (Cooper and Austin, 2010a). While the premier was adamant that he retained the support of colleagues, even he admitted that persistent media focus on his unpopularity had prompted his resignation. "I thought for the good of the province we had to get back to talking about what is important," said Campbell (Cooper, 2010).

Campbell's declining political fortunes began with a surprise announcement on the heels of the 2009 provincial election. Campbell and finance minister Colin Hansen announced that the federal Goods and Services Tax and the Provincial Sales Tax would be replaced with a 12 per cent Harmonized Sales Tax (HST) that would be applied to all goods and services sold in the province of British Columbia. The government's new policy was not an election issue, and opposition members responded with incredulity, citing a lack of consultation of the British Columbian people.

As they took the government to task for their independent decision, NDP critics were joined by an unlikely ally. In an open letter to the media, former premier Bill Vander Zalm

criticized the Campbell government, claiming members of government had "lied and deceived" British Columbians with their policy move ("Vander Zalm," 2009). Campbell claimed that the opportunity to pursue the HST emerged after the spring election, but animosity reached new heights after evidence came to light, proving that provincial bureaucrats had engaged in HST negotiations with the federal government throughout the 2009 campaign period ("B.C. minister," 2010). An anti-HST initiative petition created by Vander Zalm was signed by 700,000 British Columbians, and a date for a provincial referendum on HST was set for August 2011.

Campbell's popularity continued to wane in the fall of 2010. New policy announcements and Cabinet shuffles did little to change the mood of British Columbians, and on November 3, Campbell announced his resignation.

The ensuing leadership selection campaign would capture the attention of Canadians across the country. Competitive, divisive and fear-based, the 2011 Liberal leadership contest would confirm, challenge and disprove several long-held presumptions about British Columbian leadership races. This chapter will explore the events of the campaign and will compare the race to succeed Gordon Campbell with British Columbian leadership contests of the past. It will also seek to identify the demographic communities that the candidates courted throughout the campaign.

4.1 The Candidates

Political pundits began to identify the candidates who might enter the Liberal leadership race mere hours after Campbell announced his resignation. Vancouver-based newspaper *The Province* published a list of eight potential contenders for the province's top job ("B.C.'s next premier," 2010), leaving readers to wonder whether the party was preparing for a large, competitive field of candidates like the Vander Zalm selection in 1986.

Many potential candidates wasted little time ruling out a run for the premiership. Popular Surrey mayor Diane Watts withdrew quickly from the leadership contest, joining other MLAs in urging former Cabinet minister Carole Taylor to run for the position (Fowlie and Woo, 2010). Taylor's silence regarding her candidacy was correctly interpreted as disinterest (Fayerman, 2010), while ex-Liberal Blair Lekstrom publicly announced he would not be seeking the leadership (Fowlie, 2010c). Nearly three weeks would pass before the first candidate would declare their intention to be premier.

In the end, six candidates would announce their candidacy in the leadership contest (see Figure 4.1). First to declare was neophyte Cabinet minister Moira Stilwell. Serving as the MLA for Vancouver-Langara since 2009, Stilwell offered her credentials as a practicing radiologist and nuclear medicine physician. She proposed several health care, education and skills training initiatives throughout the campaign (Fowlie, 2010c). Never seen as a true contender for the leadership, Stilwell withdrew late in the campaign and endorsed George Abbott for premier.

Education minister George Abbott was the second candidate to enter the race. Newspapers had been discussing Abbott's candidacy days before he held his press conference on November 25. Abbott, a four-term MLA for the constituency of Shuswap, was known for both his 31 years of public service and his humble roots as a berry farmer from the Interior. A new, inclusive leadership style was needed in Victoria, claimed Abbott, and his conciliatory, consultative nature stood in marked contrast with the aggressive, self-confident style of the resigning Campbell (Palmer, 2010a). The Abbott campaign matched their consultative rhetoric with action, as new citizen engagement technologies were utilized to hold policy discussions and town hall meetings with thousands of Liberal supporters throughout the campaign.

Abbott's entry into the leadership race prompted two fast announcements from fellow Cabinet ministers Kevin Falcon and Mike de Jong. Kevin Falcon entered the leadership race on November 30, announcing his candidacy with press conferences in both his home constituency of Surrey-Cloverdale in the morning and in Prince George that evening (Fowlie, 2010b). The health services minister was immediately identified as "a polarizer and a fighter," a reputation earned during his campaign to recall all members of Glen Clark's NDP government (Palmer, 2010f). Falcon's leadership website noted his love for physical activity and his eleven month-old daughter, echoing his campaign slogan: "A New Generation of Leadership" (Falcon, 2011). Falcon repeatedly reminded British Columbians of the importance of maintaining the right-wing coalition against the NDP, portraying himself as the best candidate to maintain Liberal success at the polls.

Mike de Jong was the longest-serving MLA in the field, having won five terms in office despite his young age of 47. While de Jong possessed a long political resumé, he entered the race promising a "fresh start" to British Columbians, characterizing himself as "open Mike" (de Jong, 2011b). De Jong succeeded in introducing several democratic reform issues into the campaign, but his efforts to present himself as the candidate for transparency and honesty failed when candidates brought up his forgiveness of legal fees to two public sector employees involved in the B.C. Rail scandal ("One issue," 2011). De Jong's chances at victory were virtually eliminated when the B.C. Liberals moved away from a one-member, one-vote selection method to a weighted-constituency model.

Liberal members seeking a candidate from outside of the government had to wait until December 8, when radio talk show host Christy Clark announced her intention to run for premier. Clark had served in the legislature early in the Gordon Campbell era, holding Cabinet

posts as deputy premier, minister of education and minister of children and family development during her ten year political career. Clark had cited family reasons for leaving the provincial government in 2005, but launched a failed bid to secure the Non-Partisan Association mayoral nomination a year later ("A host," 2010). Talk radio and community involvement had made her a familiar name and face to British Columbians across the province, and Clark led public opinion polls from the beginning of the leadership race (Sinoski, 2010). Clark made great political hay of the fact that she had not been in government during the HST decision, effectively portraying herself as a political outsider in a field full of insiders.

Entering the field nearly a month after the other competitors, Parksville mayor Ed Mayne was the last candidate to enter the leadership contest. While he touted his business acumen as a small business owner on Vancouver Island, the media paid him little attention amongst political heavyweights like Clark, Falcon and Abbott. Mayne would ultimately withdraw from the leadership race a day after Moira Stilwell, also endorsing Interior MLA George Abbott (Austin, 2011a).

These were the candidates that entered the field in the 2011 BC Liberal leadership race. Although only four would appear on the ballot on February 25, all six candidates offered policies that addressed the chief concerns of British Columbians.

4.2 Campaign Issues

Several campaign issues surfaced throughout the three months that the candidates campaigned. The media demanded policy announcements on leadership style and the HST, while candidates frequently released other policies to attract the media spotlight. Divisive name-calling and candidate criticism became a theme of the leadership contest, and some candidates tried to

make B.C.'s right-wing coalition a leadership issue. Provincial polls, candidate endorsements and regional concerns also received attention during the campaign.

The 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race featured many policy announcements by all of the candidates, contrasting greatly with the policy-less campaigns in the past. As discussed in Chapter Three, many politicians in past B.C. selections failed to make any policy announcements, and leadership surveys in the past indicated that participants didn't consider policy positions to be important. In the 2011 campaign, contestants released detailed policy platforms on their websites and tried to use announcements to focus media attention on themselves. While some candidates were successful in using policy to attract the media spotlight, not all of the attention that they received was positive.

The most widely covered policy announcements were those that focused on two salient issues in British Columbian politics at the time of the race: leadership style and the HST. All candidates made announcements regarding these issues, as they tried to present themselves as a unique alternative to Gordon Campbell.

Central to the campaigns of all major candidates was the style of leadership that they would adopt as leader of the Liberal party and of the province of British Columbia. Gordon Campbell's decision to adopt the HST without consulting British Columbians had left a bad taste in the mouth of many across the province, and Campbell's headstrong personality was highlighted by Cabinet minister Bill Bennett's firing during the week of the premier's resignation (Palmer, 2010d). The media portrayed Campbell as a "bully" and "the boss who rules by intimidation" (Palmer, 2010b), and candidates expended great energy convincing voters that they would be a more inclusive, consultative premier than their predecessor.

Many candidates described their style of leadership as they announced their candidacy to the public. Moira Stilwell promised to "listen to people, and talk to people about everyday concerns" as she began her campaign (Fowlie, 2010e). George Abbott said he would provide a "new collaborative style of leadership" (Palmer, 2010a), releasing an 18 point plan for a new style of leadership in British Columbia (Abbott, 2011a). Kevin Falcon echoed his fellow candidates, pledging to "listen to people, learn from people and then lead" on the day he entered the race (Fowlie, 2010a). Mike de Jong's "Open Mike" campaign theme was full of pledges to be "respectful of other people's views," "[bring] people together" and to "[rise] above the conflict" (de Jong, 2011a).

Candidates bolstered their promises to lead differently with democratic reform policies, designed to invite more British Columbians into provincial politics. Mike de Jong and George Abbott unveiled the most inclusive platforms of the candidates. De Jong committed to lower the voting age (Ward, 2010e), force MLAs to disclose all expenses (Shaw, 2010) and to cut the budget of the premier's office (Ward, 2011c). Abbott was praised frequently by the media for his democratic reform initiatives. Abbott proposed several institutional changes to Cabinet and to caucus committees, decentralizing power from the office of the premier to ministers and committee members (Palmer, 2011e). Abbott also showed a great willingness to consider the views and opinions of others, as he answered difficult questions posed by party members at his well-attended online town hall meetings (Abbott, 2011b).

While other candidates made public statements about renewed leadership styles and policy announcements to prove their desire for greater openness, no candidate was more effective in capturing the populism of British Columbian political culture than Christy Clark. The only competitive candidate from outside of the Campbell Cabinet, Clark used every opportunity

to speak on behalf of British Columbians and to lament the exclusivity of the current Liberal regime. “If you make time to let people have their voice heard, you are showing them a kind of respect that they haven’t been used to in the past while,” jabbed Clark during a policy announcement (Ward, 2011b). “The HST is going to a referendum because it was foisted on us after the election, without consultation,” she responded to another candidate’s referendum proposal (Ward, 2011c). When doubts surfaced about Clark’s ability to lead a caucus from which she had few endorsements, her response was equally sharp: “The insiders can make their decisions about things. I’m going to continue to focus on all the people who feel like they’ve been left out of the process – many of them are in our own party” (Fowlie, 2011f). Newspaper articles from the campaign are littered with Clark quotations identifying her with ordinary British Columbians, capturing the populist sentiment so vital within British Columbian politics.

Throughout the campaign, leadership contestants were pressed on what they would do with the Harmonized Sales Tax if they were selected to be the next premier of British Columbia. The candidates recognized that it was time to listen to British Columbian opinions regarding the HST, and instead of describing how they would scrap the unpopular tax, candidates presented the way in which they would listen to British Columbians on the issue.

George Abbott was the first candidate to present a position on the HST, saying that the policy was “dumped” on British Columbians and that they should be able to cast their referendum ballot on June 24 instead of waiting for the September 24 deadline (Ward, 2010a). Stilwell (Fowlie, 2010d) and Falcon would move quickly to echo Abbott’s popular suggestion, with Falcon offering a further proposal to gradually decrease the HST to ten per cent (Palmer, 2010g). Mike de Jong’s criticism of the HST were widely reported, but he did not offer clear policy alternatives to the new tax (Palmer, 2010g).

It was Christy Clark's position on the HST that generated the most scrutiny from fellow candidates and the press. As Clark declared her candidacy on December 8, she called for a free vote in the legislature on the HST, choosing a policy alternative that could "put the HST behind us by March 31" (Ward, 2010c). Clark's foes immediately criticized her for bypassing British Columbians with her own political solution – a move reminiscent of Gordon Campbell. In early January, Clark claimed that she had heard from British Columbians and was now advocating a referendum in place of her proposed free vote (Fowlie, 2011i). George Abbott and Kevin Falcon both offered sharp rebukes in response to Clark's changed position, questioning Clark's ability to make solid judgments on matters of policy.

This was not the only time that the other candidates focused their criticism on Christy Clark. Clark was a frequent target throughout the leadership campaign, as she led in public opinion polls from the day that she declared her candidacy (Sinoski, 2010). Vaughn Palmer wrote an entire opinion piece about how "Genial George" Abbott had engaged in negative attacks against Clark, criticizing her for her positions on the HST and health care spending, as well as her passive response to evidence that her campaign had registered a cat as a Liberal member (2011c). Kevin Falcon sparred with Clark during the leadership debate, questioning her commitment to the party if she was unwilling to guarantee that she would run in the next provincial election (Ward, 2011a). Confrontation and divisiveness was prominent throughout the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race.

The criticism of Christy Clark that was repeated most often throughout the leadership contest was her inability to unite the right-wing coalition in British Columbia – a key feature of the fourth and fifth political eras of B.C. and another important campaign issue in 2011. Ever since W.A.C Bennett first came to power, the right wing has warned against the spectre of

socialist rule and the necessity of a united right-wing to counter the threat of NDP government. While discussions of this type were common during election campaigns, the issue of a united right-wing was prominent during the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race.

Discussions of the right-wing coalition in British Columbia were led by Kevin Falcon. Falcon used press releases and policy announcements to repeat the message that the right-wing coalition must be united before the next provincial election. As the candidate of the establishment, Falcon encouraged his endorsers to mention his unifying abilities, as Liberal MLAs Rich Coleman (Skelton, 2010) , Margaret MacDiarmid (Fowlie, 2011j), Ida Chong (Fowlie, 2011j), Colin Hansen ("HST architect," 2011) and Liberal Senator Larry Campbell (Ward, 2011d) all highlighted Falcon's ability to "unite the right" when endorsing him for party leader.

Meanwhile, members of the Liberal caucus cited Christy Clark's lack of endorsements as evidence that she would be unable to lead the right-wing of British Columbian politics. Clark was identified by the media as the candidate furthest from the ideological right-wing (Ward, 2010d), and Liberal MLA John van Dongen, endorser of George Abbott, stated that he would resign if Clark secured the leadership. Even after Clark captured the premiership in February 25, he expressed hesitation about Clark's leadership: "I know it's going to be difficult for her to unite the caucus. … There's a reason when almost all MLAs, other than one, are all going to support two people. That's significant and a big hurdle to overcome" (Sinoski and Ward, 2011). Van Dongen would eventually leave the Liberals for the B.C. Conservative party on March 26, 2012.

Falcon's team heightened Liberal concern by trying to show that Liberal party members had their doubts about Clark's ability to unite the right. Three days before the leadership vote,

Falcon supporter Ryan Beedie commissioned a poll, asking Liberals which candidate would be most likely to dissuade them from voting for their party. Beedie released the findings in the poll to the public, stating that Christy Clark "is the candidate who poses the greatest risk to the coalition, and thus the future success of the party. … By creating exposure on the right flank of the party, she is actually the candidate that poses the greatest risk" (Ward, 2011e). Despite ten consecutive years of Liberal party rule, the old message of holding onto the right-wing of B.C. still resonated with party members, as maintaining the free enterprise coalition was a central theme of the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race.

Beedie's poll was accompanied by many others over the course of the campaign, as polls gauging the horserace between candidates and fluctuating Liberal and NDP support were another central issue throughout the leadership contest. Polls assessing leadership candidate support remained stable throughout the campaign, as Christy Clark led every poll commissioned throughout the campaign period. Kevin Falcon was frequently identified as the least-liked candidate in the field (Fowlie, 2011b), but his caucus and organizational strength, coupled with the ideological divide between Falcon and Clark, helped the media paint Falcon as the primary competition to Clark.

As the day of the selection neared, candidates trailing Clark pledged to support each other, as the party required all participants to indicate at least their first two preferences on the preferential ballot. By the day of the vote, Abbott declared support for Falcon (Palmer, 2011f), de Jong organizers declared support for Abbott (Fowlie, 2011c) and Falcon announced on the morning of the event that he had supported Abbott second and expected his supporters to do the same (Fowlie et al., 2011). The "Anyone-But-Christy" movement was very clear as the day of the selection approached.

Also noteworthy in the media throughout the campaign was the relative standing of provincial parties in light of their respective leadership races. The Liberals began the campaign in trailing the NDP by 21 points, but six weeks after Campbell announced his resignation, the parties sat even at 36 points each (Palmer, 2010h). A week later, Christy Clark hinted at an early election if chosen as premier, and the Liberals jumped out to a five point lead (Ward, 2010b). The superficiality of these numbers became apparent a few months after Clark's victory, as the Liberals trailed the NDP by seven points in October 2011 ("NDP Moves," 2011) and as many as 26 points thirteen months after Clark assumed the leadership (Macleod, 2012).

Finally, candidates in the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race paid attention to the concerns of rural British Columbians. While Interior MLA George Abbott was identified by the press as the candidate of rural B.C. (Smyth, 2011a), Kevin Falcon and Christy Clark also made concerted efforts to engage with constituencies far from metro Vancouver. Kevin Falcon held one of his two candidacy announcements in Prince George and released a detailed "Northern Prosperity Agenda" on his website (Falcon, 2010). Christy Clark traveled throughout the province during her campaign and joined all candidates in praising the new weighted-constituency model adopted at the February 12 extraordinary party convention (Fowlie, 2011a). While many assumed that the new selection method would force candidates to focus on rural communities, Vaughn Palmer adeptly noted that 23 of the 36 ridings with the least amount of Liberal memberships were found in urban areas, making these constituencies strategic battlegrounds for candidates trying to boost their point totals (2011b). While strategic concerns may have motivated candidates to remain in urban areas and announce urban policies, the focus of candidates on rural communities remained a central focus throughout the leadership campaign.

4.3 2011 B.C. Liberal Leadership Contest and Leadership Contests Past

The preceding description of the prominent campaign issues in the Liberal leadership contest has already shed light on some of the differences and similarities between the 2011 campaign and those of the past. While the contest exhibited the same insider-outsider elements as past leadership races, it differed greatly from past contests in its focus on matters of policy. Several other comparisons can be drawn between the 2011 race and past contests when one considers the motives for choosing the method of selection, the candidates' perspectives on fundraising and spending, the prevalence of personality and the focus of leadership candidates on securing endorsements.

Like past contests described in Chapter Three, the Liberals' decision to use the weighted-constituency selection method considered democratic expectations, political culture and electoral strategy. Foremost in the minds of the Liberal party was the consultative demands of British Columbians in the wake of the HST. No special privileges could be accorded to MLAs or party brass, as it would be catastrophic for the political elites to determine the leadership race apart from the desires of the grassroots. An open contest with wide participation would be necessary to satisfy the democratic demands of the population.

The choice of a system that weighted each constituency equally also satisfied the populist political culture of the province. Not only would grassroots members have a significant say in the selection of a leader, but rural and northern ridings far from the provincial capital would be treated the same as those in Vancouver and Victoria. The importance of constituency parity was emphasized by B.C. Liberal vice president Martin MacLachlin: "The amendment before you has been moved by your executive because, although no system is perfect, it combines as well as possible wide participation and across the province equality" (quoted in Fowlie, 2011a). Using a

selection method that required politicians to meet with grassroots members in all parts of the province was an effective way of engaging with the political culture of the province.

The democratic demands and political culture of British Columbia appear to be the two primary motives for the Liberals' selection of the weighted-constituency model, but they also appear to have achieved some electoral benefits. A weighted-constituency model forces candidates to develop candidate organizations in each provincial constituency, as they will struggle if they do not win constituency points in many ridings. As a result, a weighted-constituency contest is a visible display of a candidate's organizational strength, as the candidates must show that they can create a partisan network to sell memberships in all constituencies. Both the partisan networks and the intelligence gathered by party members in each constituency can be utilized in a general election campaign. While not immediately apparent from the media reports, Chapter Six will show that constituencies with many participants in the 2011 leadership race were also successful in garnering 2013 provincial election votes, suggesting that the groundwork laid during the leadership race was important in the eventual election.

The Liberals also received electoral benefits by highlighting the OMOV system that the New Democrats used as they selected their leader at the same time. Parties often seek points of difference between themselves and their opponents in a polarized British Columbian legislature, and the Liberals believed they occupied the high ground. Christy Clark criticized the NDP for favoring urban voices over those outside of cities: "They are cutting rural British Columbia out of the equation and that is quite simply wrong. Rural B.C. deserves a voice and the NDP are stifling that voice" (Clark, 2011). The organizational and differentiating benefits are two electoral advantages earned by the B.C. Liberals by choosing the weighted-constituency model.

A significant difference from leadership selections past was the candidates' perspectives on fundraising and spending throughout the campaign. In the past, candidates who raised significant amounts of money were seen to be beholden to business interests and were criticized by contestants employing populist rhetoric. Candidates who catered to the business community were demonized, especially those who consulted the "Top 20" group of corporate elites in the 1986 campaign.

A very different perspective existed amongst leadership hopefuls in 2011. While the party established a spending limit of $450,000, candidates did not hesitate to fundraise over this amount and to publicize their success, using their ability to fundraise as a demonstration of organizational strength. Kevin Falcon raised nearly $200,000 more than the next successful candidate, donating the surplus of his $708,655 total to Liberal party coffers (Fowlie, 2011d). Falcon was unashamed of his appeal to the business community, as his team proudly created "Falcon 20/20," a group of business leaders backing his run for the leadership (Palmer, 2011a). Candidates were not afraid to trumpet their brimming bank accounts, a marked difference from past leadership contests.

As mentioned above, past leadership races have also focused predominantly on personality instead of policy issues. While the prominence of policy issues in the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race has already been described, it would be disingenuous to say that personality played no role within the campaign. While Kevin Falcon attempted to portray an image as a family man and the candidate for a new generation of British Columbians (Fowlie, 2010a), it was Christy Clark who was most successful in wooing audiences with her "oversized personality" (Austin, 2010).

Clark was unafraid to bring her "bold, think-out-loud style" into the campaign, engaging audiences with the same style she employed as a radio personality ("Editorial," 2010). Some opinion pieces looked past Clark's style and wondered if she possessed the policy knowledge required to lead the province; as Michael Smyth opined of Clark's candidacy announcement, "there wasn't much steak to go with the sizzle" (2010). By the end of the campaign, Clark had been compared several times to Bill Vander Zalm, and columnists wondered if the Liberal party would have an end similar to that of Vander Zalm's collapsing Social Credit (Leyne, 2011). In the end, it appears that Clark's personality earned her more supporters than detractors, as she succeeded in engaging with grassroots British Columbians.

Clark appeared to owe little credit to endorsements for her success in the leadership race, as candidates employed very different approaches in their pursuit of caucus support. Kevin Falcon and George Abbott were both very successful in attracting support from the Liberal caucus (see Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 for full lists of candidate endorsements). The two leadership contestants frequently announced new endorsements from Liberal MLAs and Cabinet ministers throughout the race, claiming momentum with each new supporter. By February 25th, George Abbott had more endorsements (21) than Falcon (18), including withdrawn candidates Ed Mayne and Moira Stilwell. However, Falcon secured the support of heavyweight Cabinet ministers like Finance minister Colin Hansen and Solicitor General Rich Coleman.

Mike de Jong and especially Christy Clark described the press releases of their competitors very differently. Clark, endorsed only by MLA Harry Bloy, shrewdly used her lack of caucus support identify herself as the people's candidate. In a leadership race dominated by populism, she cited Falcon and Abbott's endorsement efforts as an example of their ties to the centralized Campbell administration. "I think it's natural that MLAs would go and support the

people they've been working with for quite a while," Clark said wryly. "They've all been on the inside together" (Fowlie, 2011e). Clark's strategy mimicked that of Bill Vander Zalm, channeling populist rhetoric in the face of caucus disapproval.

Vancouver Sun writer Chad Skelton provided preliminary analysis on endorsements on the day of the selection. Skelton argued that endorsements did matter, highlighting the candidates' success in the constituencies in which they possessed an endorsement (Skelton, 2011). In the first round of the contest, George Abbott received the most points in eleven of the 21 constituencies in which he had secured caucus support, while Kevin Falcon led in 13 of the 19 ridings of his endorsers. Christy Clark was also victorious in the lone riding where she held an endorsement.

This was the only post-selection media coverage of the effect of endorsements in the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race, and it suggests that despite past literature on endorsements, attracting caucus support did matter in the 2011 race. The effect of endorsements will be addressed further in the fifth chapter of the thesis.

4.4 2011 B.C. Liberal Leadership Contest and "Partners in Change"

The media coverage of the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race provided some insights into the support bases of several of the leadership candidates. Discussion has already taken place on the candidates' efforts to enlist members in a diversity of regions, populists and provincial MLAs as their partners in change. Candidates also tried to engage politically-active ethnic communities as they built their leadership support bases.

Media observers took note of specific organizers for each candidate within the South Asian populations of Surrey and other ridings. There was speculation that 40 to 50 per cent of new Liberal members registered during the campaign were South Asians, and one organizer

stated that South Asian support would be decisive in as many as 22 of the 85 existing ridings (Ward, 2011f). Several candidates had specific connections to the South Asian community – Christy Clark depended on South Asian support in her bid for the Vancouver mayoral nomination in 2005 (Palmer, 2010c), while Mike de Jong had courted South Asian support since his first election win in 1994 (Palmer 2010e).

The media coverage given to leadership candidates was the primary advantage of their ethnic community recruiting, as the weighted-constituency selection method chosen by the Liberals diluted these mobilization efforts. South Asian Mike de Jong organizer Gulzar Cheema lamented the impending removal of the one-member, one-vote at the February 12 extraordinary convention, asking, "Why should some constituencies and communities be punished, simply because they are more politically active?" (Smyth, 2011b). Cheema was one of only 23 Liberal members to vote against the selection method change, overwhelmed by 1319 disagreeing Liberals (Fowlie, 2011a). Well-organized ethnic communities could not guarantee a greater say in the selection of a premier, and questions about the demographic representation provided by weighted-constituency contests remained unanswered.

Issues of representation received scant attention throughout the B.C. Liberal leadership race, as the party chose a selection method that focused on constituency parity at the expense of representation of marginalized groups. The B.C. Liberals employed the weighted-constituency model for their leadership contest, weighting each constituency to be worth a total of 100 points. Constituency parity was an essential feature in the minds of B.C. Liberals, as the party desired a contest that would force candidates to campaign throughout the entire province. The recent struggle over the HST and the populist nature of the party did not allow for any increased participation for certain wings of the party. Any voices lamenting the lack of youth, women or

ethnic representation at the contest were not found within the pages of the major B.C. dailies, as only one article lamented the lack of female and ethnic minority candidates in the Liberal and NDP leadership contests (Fowlie, 2011h).

While the weighted-constituency contest did not guarantee equitable participation to underrepresented groups, it remains to be seen whether candidates were rewarded for seeking a diverse support base. The types of electoral constituencies that supported each candidate will be analyzed in the following chapter, shedding light on whether successful candidates possessed support from a diverse collection of provincial ridings.

4.5 Conclusion

The 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race defied conventional knowledge about British Columbian leadership selections in many ways. Several candidates released detailed policy platforms, and the press rewarded those who announced their positions with media attention. Candidates proudly displayed their ability to raise money and business community support, ignoring the political risk of being associated with the corporate elites. Garnering caucus support appears to matter in ways that it did not in past leadership selections.

In other ways, the B.C. Liberal leadership race fits neatly within the mold of past leadership races. Candidates who channeled populist, outsider rhetoric found great success amongst the selectorate, and those with winning personalities soared in the polls. The Liberal party acquiesced to the democratic and political cultural demands in their selection of the weighted-constituency model, while achieving further electoral benefits for their decision.

Candidates pursued support from members in many regions, from populists, from provincial MLAs and from politically-active ethnic communities. The weighted-constituency contest employed by the Liberals made no provision for ensuring equitable representation for

demographic groups in the leadership race, provoking questions about the representative quality of the leadership race. The media's account of the leadership contest will help us greatly we consider the makeup of the candidates' support bases in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE:

PARTNERS IN CHANGE: ASSESSING THE CANDIDATES' COALITIONS

The 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race took place on February 26, 2011. The four remaining candidates voted early, rushing back to phone party members who had indicated their support in the weeks before the selection date. Each candidate expressed cautious optimism that they would be the candidate delivering the victory speech at the Vancouver Convention Centre that night.

The membership, totalling approximately 90,000 at the February 4 deadline, could vote either online or over the phone, using a PIN provided by Nova Scotia-based firm Intelivote Systems. Votes could be cast from 5:00 AM to 5:00 PM, and voters were tasked with marking a preferential ballot with at least their first two preferences.

The weighted-constituency model employed by the Liberals converted the votes in each riding into 100 points. A candidate would receive the same number of points in a constituency as the percentage of votes they received within the constituency. For example, Christy Clark obtained 29.1 per cent of first round votes in Abbottsford South; therefore, she received 29.1 points towards her overall point count. A candidate was required to receive a majority of points – 4,251 in the B.C. contest – to be declared the winner. If no candidate reached this threshold, the candidate with the lowest amount of points was eliminated, and the votes that they received were redistributed amongst the other candidates based on their next preference.

As expected, frontrunner Christy Clark led when the first ballot results were announced. Clark received 3209.7 points in the first round, followed by establishment candidate Kevin Falcon with 2411.1 points. Despite claims that he would occupy second spot on the first ballot, George Abbott fell to third place, accumulating 2090.2 points. Mike de Jong was widely

expected to exit in the first round of balloting, and his 789.0 points were not enough to keep him in the leadership race.

As shown in Table 5.1, Mike de Jong's redistributed votes did little to change the standings in the second round. Despite prominent de Jong organizers announcing that they would support George Abbott on the second ballot (Fowlie, 2011c), the plurality of de Jong's points went to Christy Clark, who widened her advantage over the other candidates with a total of 3574.6 points. Kevin Falcon maintained his second place position, mustering 2564.6 points to Abbott's 2360.6.

Before the day of the contest, George Abbott was the sole candidate who publicly declared which fellow candidate – Kevin Falcon – he would support with the second preference on his ballot (Sinoski et al., 2011). While this action was widely seen as a move to attract Falcon supporters if Abbott reached the final ballot, it is clear that Abbott's own supporters agreed with the judgment of their candidate. Abbott's support flooded to Kevin Falcon, as 64.2% of Abbott supporters indicated Falcon as their second preference on their ballot. While Falcon's point total soared by more than 1500 points, it was not enough to defeat Christy Clark, who earned 4420.2 points to Falcon's 4079.9 to secure the Liberal leadership.

As described in the last chapter, Christy Clark was the target of political attacks from both Kevin Falcon and George Abbott throughout the campaign. Criticizing Clark for being too left-wing, too headstrong and too far removed from political life, the "Anyone-But-Christy" effort of her fellow candidates was nearly enough to unseat the overwhelming favorite. Despite their best efforts, it was Christy Clark who invited British Columbians to join her in creating a new style of governance in British Columbia. "I want you to be my partners in change in Victoria," offered Clark (Austin, 2011b).

This chapter will test the media reports about the leadership contest, the candidate claims made throughout the race and the theories about leadership selection in British Columbia that were offered in Chapter Three. It will also strive to add new insight into weighted-constituency models, filling a large hole in leadership selection literature in Canada. Emulating Sayers and Stewart's research on leadership selection in Alberta (2009), it will compare the leadership results released by the party with Census data and other constituency-level data made available by Elections B.C.

The chapter will examine the effect of regionalism and the presence of vote inequality in the leadership race, two essential features of weighted-constituency contests identified in Chapter Two. It will compare the selecting power of regions in the 2011 contest with leadership selections past and identify which candidate benefitted most from the switch from OMOV to the weighted-constituency model. It will identify the regions of strength for each candidate, and it will question arguments in British Columbian literature that region doesn't matter. It will also suggest that candidates who work together against another candidate can overcome the incentives that weighted-constituency models give to establish a geographically-broad coalition of support. At the end of the chapter, it will be shown that these cooperative efforts can also be used to achieve success despite narrow demographic support bases, answering important questions raised by Stewart and Carty.

The chapter will use indicators from Donald Blake's provincial surveys to determine which candidates were most successful in bridging the populist and collectivist divides within British Columbia, as these are key elements of the provincial political culture that were highlighted in Chapter Three. It will show that candidates can find success by focusing their efforts on constituencies close to an ideological pole, so long as they work together with other

candidates. It will also argue that endorsing MLAs are valuable partners in change in weighted-constituency contests, challenging claims made in Chapter Three about the effect of endorsements in British Columbia. It will show that previous case studies of British Columbian leadership selections have used a narrow definition of endorsements, hiding the true effect of strong candidate organizations.

The chapter will conclude with an examination of the candidates' efforts to harness anti-Campbell sentiment and to engage with politically-active ethnic communities, two issues raised in Chapter Four. It will show that while many candidates tried to appeal to disgruntled British Columbians, finding appropriate indicators for anti-Campbell sentiment is a difficult task. It will also suggest that British Columbian political scientists should no longer overlook ethnicity and immigrant status in their analyses, as these variables appear relevant in the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race.

5.1 Methodology

Assessing the nuances of the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race is not an easy task. Specifically, the lack of a leadership participant survey and the limited transparency offered by the B.C. Liberal party makes this analysis difficult.

For the first time in 30 years, no leadership participant survey was conducted during the leadership race of the major right-wing party in British Columbia. Effective surveys were employed during the 1986 Social Credit selection of Bill Vander Zalm, the 1987 Liberal acclamation of Gordon Wilson and the 1993 Liberal race won by Gordon Campbell. These surveys led to the publication of books, book chapters and journal articles, explaining the transition of the right-wing coalition from the Social Credit to the Liberals. No survey was

administered to participants in the 2011 B.C. Liberal race, to the detriment of our understanding of politics in British Columbia.

Further, despite the party's insistence of openness and inclusiveness in its recent selection, limited leadership results were released by the B.C. Liberals. Riding-by-riding, weighted point totals for each candidate were released, but the party did not indicate their membership totals in these constituencies or specify how many votes each candidate received in each round. Fortunately, an internal error by the B.C. Liberals during the third round of the leadership contest led to the release of the final round vote totals to the public.

To be fair, the Liberals did offer greater information to political observers than the opposition NDP in their leadership selection. The NDP only released the total number of votes for each leadership candidate across the whole province, rendering any comparison of the two simultaneous campaigns futile.

While the absence of a participant survey and the limited amount of leadership information are roadblocks to analysis of the leadership race, the available data does provide some insight into the features of the weighted-constituency model and leadership selections in British Columbia. Simple calculations can be used to determine the effects of endorsements and region from the raw leadership results. Specific, individual-level data generated by surveys does not exist, but correlations can be drawn between constituency-level leadership results and Census data, suggesting what types of constituencies supported each of the candidates. Conclusions drawn from this data will be contrasted with media reports, candidate statements and theories about the weighted-constituency model and British Columbian politics, generating new knowledge from the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race.

5.2 Region and Vote Inequality

At an extraordinary convention on February 12, 2011, the B.C. Liberals adopted a weighted-constituency model for their upcoming leadership contest. All candidates praised the new selection method, arguing regions far from Vancouver and Victoria would now have a voice in the campaign. "The old system, if we'd stuck with it, would have meant we elected a leader from the Lower Mainland, and I don't think that's good enough," said Christy Clark. "I think it will strengthen whoever the leader is by ensuring they can demonstrate they can get support from every part of the province," added Kevin Falcon (Fowlie, 2011g).

Journalists appeared confused as to whether or not rural communities would achieve greater representation in the contest. Those who believed rural communities would benefit from the new selection method highlighted the membership drives taking place in Vancouver and Surrey, arguing that far more members had been enlisted in the Lower Mainland than in the rest of the province (Smyth, 2011a). Those unconvinced that greater rural representation was guaranteed noted that weighted-constituency contests encourage candidates to campaign in areas where few party members exist, showing that 23 of the 36 ridings with the least Liberal memberships were urban constituencies (Palmer, 2011c). Still other articles emphasized constituency population density and the sheer population totals of ridings in their analysis of the regional benefactors of a weighted contest, showing a lack of understanding of the rules of leadership campaigns (Smyth, 2011b; Smyth, 2011c). Questions about which region would receive a boost in selecting power remained unanswered by the close of the campaign.

Comparing the regional selecting power in the 2011 contest to those in years past reveals the truth about which region benefited from the Liberals' selection method. The weighted-constituency model represented a compromise in regional representation between the delegate

convention model employed by the Social Credit in 1986 and the one-member, one-vote model used by the Liberals in 1993 (see Table 5.2). Constituency equality was used in both the 1986 and 2011 models, but more ridings existed in rural British Columbia in 1986, giving these members greater influence. Social Crediters in the North, Interior, Okanagan, the Kootenays and the Fraser Valley held 46.5% of delegate positions – nearly more than ridings in the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island combined.

In contrast, the 1993 one-member, one-vote contest was dominated by Lower Mainland participants. Little incentive was offered for candidates to reach out to voters outside of population-dense Vancouver, and former Vancouver mayor Gordon Campbell tasked his political organization with selling as many memberships as possible within city limits. As a result, 50.4% of participants – and selecting power – were found Lower Mainland ridings. Only 23.5% of votes came from the rural ridings that held so much sway in the 1986 selection of Bill Vander Zalm.

The 2011 leadership race presented a balance between the selecting power distributed to the regions in past contests. In 2011, Lower Mainland ridings controlled 43.5% of the points allocated to leadership candidates, while Upper Mainland ridings and constituencies on Vancouver Island and the South Coast held 38.8% and 17.6% of available points, respectively. No complaints about regional selecting disparity were heard throughout the campaign, as the Liberals found an effective compromise between rural and urban constituencies.

How would the selecting power of constituencies have differed in a one-member, one vote contest? The available data provides an imperfect assessment of this selecting power. Firstly, it is impossible to identify how many party members participated in the contest in each constituency. The party mistakenly released third round vote totals, showing that 54,530 party

members participated in the third round of the vote. However, due to the rules employed by the Liberal party, not all participants will be included in those figures. The Liberal party only required party members to indicate their first two choices for premier, so those who indicated a combination of George Abbott and Mike de Jong as their preferred choices with no third preference do not appear in the third round vote results.

Secondly, candidates in a one-member, one-vote campaign would certainly have undertaken different strategies for selling memberships, focusing their efforts in areas where their candidate was particularly strong amongst partisans. Their strategy would mimic the 1993 Liberal leadership race, making an accurate comparison of the two leadership models impossible.

Acknowledging the limitations of the available data, third round vote totals show that the selecting power of each region would have been very different in an OMOV race. The average number of votes cast in Lower Mainland ridings was 777.11, while the average number of third round votes outside of these constituencies was only 415.76. The 33 ridings found in the Lower Mainland would have controlled 52.7% of selecting power in a one-member, one vote campaign – a larger total than the 1993 campaign. It is worth noting that constituencies in Surrey boost this average significantly, as these eight constituencies averaged 1632.50 participants in the third round (see Table 5.3).

The third round votes confirm that the weighted-constituency model offered candidates a strong incentive to sell memberships outside of the Lower Mainland. Strategic candidates in the weighted-constituency contest would consider selling memberships in ridings outside of Vancouver, as each individual vote would be worth more points than a vote in a member-rich constituency.

It is easy to see why Mike de Jong organizer Gulzar Cheema highlighted the vote inequalities found within the race, lamenting how Liberal support in his constituency would be diluted by the move to a weighted-constituency model (Smyth, 2011b). A vote in Cheema's constituency of Surrey-Panorama, the riding with the third-most third round participants in the contest, was worth 0.039 points – slightly more than the 0.031 point value of Surrey-Newton (see Tables 5.4 and 5.5). In comparison, the votes of the 110 third round participants in Peace River South were worth a full 0.909 points – 23.5 times the value of a vote in Cheema's constituency and 29.2 times the value of a vote in Surrey-Newton. The B.C. Liberals sacrificed vote equality for constituency equality in their 2011 leadership contest, striving for regional inclusivity over individual equality.

Which candidate was the primary benefactor from the switch to a weighted-constituency model? Journalists surmised that Shuswap MLA George Abbott would receive the largest boost in support in the new system. Noting Abbott's lack of urban membership support, opinion columns asserted that Abbott's fate "hangs by [a] thread" and that a decision to stay with an OMOV system would all but eliminate his chances of victory. The Abbott campaign did not disagree, as even Abbott told a Campbell River audience that if the party did not adopt the weighted-constituency method, "my chances of success are slim" (Smyth, 2011a).

The leadership results confirm the media's identification of George Abbott as the candidate who gained the most from a weighted-constituency model. George Abbott averaged 44.53 first round points in the 16 ridings in the Okanagan, Cariboo-Thompson and Columbia-Kootenay regions, possessing a 14 point advantage over any other candidate in these ridings (see Table 5.6). These three regions averaged only 488.06 third round participants. It appears as if the

other candidates abandoned the southeast region of the province, as constituencies in the Columbia-Kootenay region averaged 290.20 third round participants.

In contrast, Abbott only averaged 15.32 first round points in the 37 Liberal-heavy ridings in Vancouver. Abbott confessed to having little support in the region of Surrey, where strong organizational efforts were mounted by Christy Clark, Kevin Falcon and Mike de Jong. The leadership results confirm his assessment, as Abbott only received averaged 8.49 first round points per Surrey constituency. Votes in these ridings were weighted heavily in the leadership contest, highlighting the advantage that Abbott gained from the party's decision to abandon the one-member, one-vote model.

Abbott's benefit was also clear when his support is correlated with the number of third ballot votes cast in each constituency (see Table 5.7 for all correlates mentioned in this chapter). When the number of third ballot votes – our best measure of the number of Liberals in a constituency – is correlated with both Abbott's first and second ballot support, strong, negative correlations emerge (-0.35 and -0.37, respectively). In other words, Abbott does much more poorly in constituencies with more third ballot participants than in constituencies with fewer third ballot participants. These strong, statistically significant results make it clear that Abbott was the candidate with the most to gain from a switch to the weighted-constituency model.

The three other candidates suffered in varying degrees due to the weighted-constituency model. Mike de Jong's organizers made their rejection of the new system public, claiming that politically-active constituencies should not be penalized for their engagement (Smyth, 2011b). The complaints of his supporters are validated by the leadership data, as Mike de Jong's first round support is positively correlated with constituencies with many third round participants.

However, de Jong did not receive enough support to achieve much greater success in an OMOV campaign.

Kevin Falcon's early leadership results suggest that he may be the candidate most negatively affected by the switch to a weighted-constituency model. Falcon's support in the first two rounds of the leadership contest is strongly and positively correlated with constituencies with many third round participants, as Falcon averaged eight more points in ridings inside Liberal member-heavy Vancouver than in constituencies outside of the city. However, that correlation disappears completely in the third round. The overwhelming majority of George Abbott's Upper Mainland supporters rallied behind Kevin Falcon in the third round, eliminating Falcon's disadvantage from the switch from OMOV.

Christy Clark experienced a consistent disadvantage from the weighted-constituency model. The positive correlation between Clark's second ballot support and the number of third ballot participants in each constituency suggests that she did better in ridings with more Liberals. While Falcon received a significant amount of Abbott's rural support in the third round, neither candidate was particularly advantaged or disadvantaged by the system. Clark garnered 52.10% of votes in the third round of balloting, but the weighting process left her with 52.00% of points. The difference between the votes and points in the third ballot is negligible, leaving Clark only slightly disadvantaged by the weighted-constituency model.

Who were the regional "partners in change" of each of the candidates? Did any candidates possess a strong regional base, and did successful candidates manage to garner points in many areas of the selectorate?

George Abbott certainly possessed the strongest regional base of all of the candidates. Abbott's average support on the first ballot ranged from 8.49 points in Surrey constituencies to a

dominant 49.63 points in ridings in the Okanagan. As mentioned, the wide gap between his support in the Upper and Lower Mainland made him a divisive candidate – a poor choice for a party seeking to unite partisans across the province.

Kevin Falcon's early support was fairly concentrated, as his first ballot support ranged by 27.33 points in British Columbia's twelve regions. Falcon provided stiff competition for Christy Clark in Vancouver ridings, but lagged behind Abbott and Clark in four of the six regions outside of the Lower Mainland.

Christy Clark possessed the broadest, most consistent support base throughout the campaign. Clark's first round support ranged from 26.75 points in the Okanagan to 46.18 in Tri-Cities – her support range of 19.43 was much lower than those of Abbott or Falcon. By the second round, Clark had achieved more than 40 per cent of support in seven of the province's twelve regions and she garnered at least 45 per cent of support in all twelve regions in the third ballot of the contest.

There are two primary hypotheses drawn from the highly regional support bases of Abbott and Falcon. First, these bases question claims in political science literature that studying regionalism is largely irrelevant in British Columbia. Political scientists have suggested that political divisions are not based region, but rather on ideology (Blake, 1996a: 67), while others have argued that regional tension has diminished greatly due to the province-building actions of past premiers (Howlett and Brownsey, 1996). Abbott and Falcon's success in some areas and failure in others suggest that deep regional rifts do exist within the Liberal party, and political scientists would be wise to consider these divisions in the future.

Second, Falcon's surge of participant support in the third round challenges theories that weighted-constituency contests guarantee victory to the candidate with the broadest geographical

support base. While a victorious Clark did possess support in all regions of the province, Kevin Falcon nearly passed Clark in the final round as he was aided by Abbott supporters, nearly all of which came from the Interior. These supporters may not have voted in the third round in an exhaustive balloting contest, but the Liberals' decision to force participants to indicate their first two preferences enabled this significant transfer of support.

It appears possible for a group of leadership candidates with focused regional support to find success in weighted-constituency models, so long as they work together to overtake candidates with broad, cross-regional strategies. The "Anyone-But-Christy" campaign's effectiveness was clear, and it offers significant questions to those who assume that the candidate with the broadest support base will win in a weighted-constituency contest.

5.3 Populism and Collectivism

As described in Chapter Three, populist and collectivist feelings represent critical divides within British Columbian political culture. Each will be explored through the lens of the 2011 British Columbia Liberal leadership selection.

Populism is one of the most common and enduring features of British Columbian political culture. Donald Blake has shown that populists exist within both the Liberal party and the NDP in British Columbia, as opinions on populism differ within the two parties instead of between them. The leaders of both parties must be careful to bridge the populist divides that exist within their memberships.

This internal tension can easily be seen within right-wing British Columbian political parties, as the populist and neo-conservative wings of the primary right-wing party have often battled in leadership contests past. Premier Bill Bennett made an abrupt turn from his father's populist ways, endorsing a set of neoconservative policies to guide the party through the late

1970s and early 1980s (Palmer, 1987). While the establishment sought to crown Bud Smith in 1986, Bill Vander Zalm's folksy charm resonated with British Columbians and the populist wing regained control of the leadership (Mitchell, 1987). A populist divide can be seen in Liberal contests as well, as newcomers to the Liberal party for the 1993 leadership selection exhibited much higher levels of populism than veterans within the party (Blake and Carty, 1995-6: 67).

What about the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership contest? Do these two wings still exist in the B.C. Liberal party? If they exist, can any of the leadership candidates be identified as the standard-bearer for one of the wings? And did Christy Clark succeed in bridging the populist gap, if one exists within the party?

It is difficult to deny that populist attitudes continue to exist within British Columbia, especially in light of the cause of the 2011 Liberal leadership race. British Columbians of all political stripes signed the HST petition initiated by Bill Vander Zalm, reprimanding the Liberals for failing to consult average British Columbians before making such a significant political decision. A simple correlation between constituencies with high numbers of petition signatures and number of party votes in the constituency during the 2009 election confirms this statement – no relationship between partisanship and petition signatures can be found (see "Anti-Campbell Sentiment" section below). As discussed in Chapter Four, the reaction of the leadership candidates to the HST decision and their efforts to portray themselves as a conciliatory, consultative leader also suggests populist tendencies within the province.

How do we measure populist attitudes in the 2011 Liberal leadership race? Given the lack of information known about leadership contest participants, any conclusions drawn about attitudes within the party must be taken with caution. No participant survey was conducted in 2011, and the only data available to researchers is at the constituency level. It should also be

noted that the Liberals increased their membership significantly in 2011, and the surge of "party tourists" may cloud the true character of the Liberal party.

That said, Donald Blake's surveys provide some clues as to potential indicators of populism amongst British Columbians. Blake states that British Columbians with higher incomes, higher levels of education and those who live in urban areas exhibit lower levels of populism than other respondents (Blake, 1985: 63). It stands to reason that constituencies exhibiting high average income, highly educated constituents and urban populations may contain fewer populists as well. Analyzing these ridings suggests that Kevin Falcon welcomed few constituencies with many populists as his "partners in change."

Correlating candidate constituency support with the average income value in a constituency produces several statistically significant figures. Christy Clark possesses a negative correlation that gets stronger in each of the three rounds, indicating that she does poorly in constituencies that have a high average income. A strong negative correlation also exists between Mike de Jong's first round support and the average income in a constituency. Kevin Falcon does especially well in constituencies with higher income, receiving strong positive support in each of the three rounds. Falcon's success in constituencies with a high average level of income indicates that he did not find success among constituencies with many populists.

Falcon also found great success in constituencies with many post-secondary grads, another one of Blake's indicators of decreased populist sentiment. Falcon possesses strong positive correlations in highly educated ridings during the first two rounds of the contest, while Abbott possesses negative correlations in these ridings during the same ballots. As Abbott's support floods to Kevin Falcon in the third round, his correlation is no longer significantly significant. While Falcon's third ballot support does not indicate poor populist support, his core

base of support contains constituencies with many post-secondary grads, suggesting a lack of success among constituencies with many populist partisans.

The candidates' regional support has already been discussed, further cementing Falcon's status as the candidate who did not receive support from populist Liberals. Falcon competed well in the urbanized parts of the Lower Mainland, struggling in the Interior and other parts of the Upper Mainland. George Abbott's success in rural regions has also been outlined, while Christy Clark possessed broad support in all regions. Falcon's success in constituencies with high incomes, high levels of education and urban voters suggests that he did not do well amongst constituencies with many populists.

The collectivist divide in British Columbia was another key aspect of the provincial political culture identified in Chapter Three. British Columbians hold very different views on whether individuals or the collective should bear the risks, costs and benefits that accompany the competitive economic system of capitalism. Donald Blake's 1979 and 1995 surveys indicate that there is a strong relationship between party support and collectivist views, as NDP supporters are much more likely to be collectivist and supporters of the Social Credit and the Liberals are more individualist. Analyzing the effect of incumbency and vote preference in provincial constituencies may help us discern which 2011 leadership candidates were able to bridge the collectivist divide.

To be clear, the absence of a participants' survey leaves political scientists with no ability to make firm statements about the selecting preferences of 2009 NDP voters who participated in the 2011 race. A survey can ask participants which parties they have voted for in the past or questions about party identification, but no individual-level data exists to provide statistics on who these tourists supported.

Despite this lack of evidence, some media outlets did try to understand the partisan character of the constituencies who supported the different candidates. Chad Skelton of the Vancouver Sun looked at incumbency to determine which candidates did well in constituencies held by Liberals or New Democrats. He analyzed the third round data and found that Christy Clark won the most points in 32 of 34 constituencies held by the NDP, while Kevin Falcon led in 26 of the 47 constituencies held by Liberals – five more than Christy Clark. Digging deeper, Skelton revealed that Clark had received 1,959 points in NDP ridings to Falcon's 1,441, while Falcon outpaced Clark in Liberal ridings, garnering 2,446 to Clark's 2,254 (Skelton, 2011).

Skelton identifies a difference in candidate support in Liberal- and NDP-held ridings – a divide that becomes even more pronounced when the first two rounds are examined. In the first round of balloting, Christy Clark earned an average of 43.09 points in constituencies held by the NDP; her nearest competitor, Kevin Falcon, earned an average of only 25.56 points in these ridings. Clark led in all but three NDP-held ridings in the first round.

Clark also held the most points among Liberal ridings in the first round, but only by a small margin. Clark earned an average of 33.08 points in Liberal ridings, but Kevin Falcon trailed by less than three points. Clark, Falcon and Abbott each had earned the highest number of points in several Liberal constituencies, leading in 17, 16 and 12 constituencies, respectively.

The elimination of Mike de Jong made Clark's lead in NDP-held constituencies even greater in the second round of the contest. Clark widened her advantage over Kevin Falcon in these ridings to an average of just over 20 points, while also increasing her average lead in Liberal ridings to five points. It is clear that most of Mike de Jong's limited support base went to Christy Clark after he was eliminated from the ballot.

The fact that Christy Clark possessed a lead in the number of points earned in Liberal constituencies heading into the final ballot shows how strongly Liberals supporting George Abbott wanted Kevin Falcon to win the leadership. Clark's advantages in both NDP and Liberal ridings declines in the final round – Clark's average lead in NDP ridings decreases to just less than fifteen points, while she eventually trails Falcon in average Liberal support by a margin of four points.

Running bivariate correlations adds more support to claims that Christy Clark benefitted from NDP ridings while remaining merely competitive in Liberal ridings. A negative correlation exists when Clark's support in each of the three rounds is measured against the number of votes for the Liberals in the 2009 provincial election in a constituency. Very strong positive correlations exist when Clark's support in each round is compared with NDP votes in a constituency, while Falcon possesses negative correlations when his support his compared with total riding votes cast for the NDP.

Falcon and Clark's divided support bases are clear. While Falcon achieves success in Liberal constituencies, he struggles greatly in NDP-held ridings. The opposite is true for Clark, although she was certainly more competitive in Liberal ridings that Falcon was in ridings with NDP MLAs. If Blake's suggestion of a strong relationship between party preference and collectivist feelings is true, it appears as if Clark achieved great success in ridings with many collectivists, while performing reasonably well in constituencies with many individualists. Falcon, on the other hand, performs well in ridings with many individualists while struggling greatly in collectivist-heavy ridings.

Falcon's success amongst constituencies with many non-populists and individualists suggests that he was the candidate of the more conservative wing of the party. His ability to

secure caucus and especially Cabinet support also fits with this synopsis. Despite Falcon's failure to reach out to constituencies with many populist and collectivist participants in the Liberal race, he came very close to securing the Liberal leadership due to the assistance of George Abbott supporters. The narrow base of Kevin Falcon is very clear, and it questions whether achieving broad ideological support is necessary to succeed in a weighted-constituency contest.

Kevin Falcon is not the only candidate with a narrow partisan base, as surprising trends emerge when analyzing correlations between candidate support and B.C. Conservative and Green votes in the 2009 provincial election. George Abbott appears to be a popular candidate in these ridings, achieving very strong correlations in ridings where the Conservatives polled strongly and somewhat strong positive correlations in stronger Green ridings. Abbott's support from B.C. Conservative-voting ridings can be explained easily, as six of the eight ridings with the highest number of B.C. Conservative votes are found in the Okanagan – Abbott's primary base of support.

Abbott's support in constituencies with high numbers of Green votes is more difficult to explain. Abbott announced his intention to increase parks funding by 10 per cent and also to eliminate day-use parking fees during the campaign (Smyth, 2011b), while most of his competitors ignored environmental issues during the campaign. That said, neither he nor his Liberal competitors decided to fill out a survey on environmental policy issued by the Vancouver Sun a few weeks before the leadership selection (Pynn, 2011). Abbott's home constituency of Shuswap and its neighbour, Vernon-Monashee are the ridings with the eleventh- and third-most Green votes respectively, and Abbott earned 92.1 and 51.2 points in these ridings the first round. While constituencies with high levels of B.C. Conservative support are obvious allies of George

Abbott, Green-supporting constituencies make unique "partners in change" for George Abbott in his bid for the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership.

5.4 Endorsements

As we examine the "partners in change" of each candidate, analyzing whether endorsing MLAs were effective "partners" is critical. None of the chapters or journal articles written about weighted-constituency contests have addressed the issue of candidate endorsements. Our survey of past leadership contests in Chapter Three indicated that achieving caucus support has not been a necessity to secure the leadership. Media coverage following the 2011 Liberal leadership race challenged this claim, and Chapter Four also noted that organizational strength is critical in weighted-constituency contests. Exploring the effect of endorsing MLAs in the 2011 race will add a significant contribution to our knowledge about leadership selection.

A deeper look at the support levels of the candidates confirms the media's suggestion that caucus support did matter in the 2011 race. It also suggests that past analyses of British Columbian leadership selection have employed a definition of endorsements that is too narrow, hiding the true effect of endorsements in leadership contests.

An accurate depiction of the effect of MLA endorsements can be seen when the average point total of candidates in ridings with an endorsement is compared to average total in ridings where they do not have the support of the local MLA. As Table 5.8 shows, all three candidates perform better in constituencies where they have an endorsement. In the first round of balloting, Kevin Falcon and George Abbott received an average of 15.23 and 13.05 more points, respectively, in constituencies where they had an endorsement, while Christy Clark received 12.34 more points in the lone constituency where she had support than she averaged in other ridings. While this figure diminished in successive rounds, both Clark and Falcon received an

average of over seven and a half more points in constituencies where they had an endorsement in the final round of the contest.

It is important to note that MLA endorsements were not the only form of organizational support that led to gains in the contest, as candidates also enlisted of former MLAs in their campaigns. Christy Clark was quick to criticize her competitors for recruiting political elites in their leadership efforts, but astute political columnist Vaughn Palmer noted that Clark enlisted the organizational help of many former MLAs who joined Clark in the Liberal caucus after the party's 2001 landslide victory (2011b). Several of these organizers had been elected in constituencies that were now held by the NDP – key strategic battlegrounds in the weighted-constituency campaign. Palmer listed a dozen ex-MLA Clark supporters, and these organizers had a significant effect on the campaign.

Analyzing the ridings of the ex-MLA endorsers shows another advantage for candidates who sought the support of political elites (see Table 5.9). Kevin Falcon's first-round, 25 point boost in his lone constituency with an identified ex-MLA supporter is misleading, but the average point difference for the other three candidates range between three and eight points. Clark led the way with 15 ex-MLA endorsements, and she gains an average of 4.28 points in these constituencies.

There appears to be a significant advantage afforded to candidates in a weighted-constituency contest who pursue the support of current or former MLAs. While candidates repeatedly spoke of the need to listen to ordinary British Columbians instead of political insiders, they did not hesitate to employ the organizational skills of political elites to bolster their leadership campaigns.

5.5 Anti-Campbell Sentiment

In his press conference following his resignation as premier, Gordon Campbell conceded that the media's focus on his unpopularity was one of the primary reasons he decided to step down. "I followed the commentary taking place throughout the week, and when the focus of the discussion around [announced tax and education] initiatives seemed to be about me, my popularity, one person … I thought for the good of the province we had to get back to talking about what is important," shared Campbell (Cooper, 2010).

None of the candidates in the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership contest aided Campbell in his efforts to distract the media from his past indiscretions. All candidates discussed their vision of leadership and how they would offer an inclusive, consultative leadership style to replace Campbell's abrasive, controlling ways. While Cabinet ministers Kevin Falcon and George Abbott offered words of tribute to their former leader, Falcon's promise of a new generation of leadership and Abbott's focus on democratic renewal showed a desire to tap into the growing resentment across the province for Gordon Campbell.

No candidate sought to channel anti-Campbell sentiment into leadership support more than Christy Clark. She frequently decried the decision-making of the Campbell administration, lumping her competitors into her criticisms. Portraying herself as a political outsider and the candidate of the people, Clark invited frustrated British Columbians to become her partners in change.

How can we determine which candidate was the most successful in capturing support in constituencies with great anti-Campbell sentiment? Measuring anti-Campbell sentiment can be a difficult task. The aforementioned lack of individual-level data is coupled with a limited supply of constituency-level data, as a voting area redistribution took place in 2008 in B.C. Events like

the tightly contested 2006 provincial election and the coinciding Referendum on Electoral Reform cannot be correlated with leadership data because of the unique constituency boundaries in 2011.

One potential indicator of anti-Campbell sentiment is the level of opposition to the Harmonized Sales Tax, the policy issue that forced Campbell from office in 2011. Constituency-level data from both the 2010 initiative petition effort and the 2011 referendum on the HST is available, and correlations between these figures and candidate support can be created.

The 2010 initiative petition effort led by Bill Vander Zalm was launched to strike down the HST legislation passed by the Campbell government. Initiative volunteers had a specific objective – 10 per cent of citizens in each riding were required to sign the petition for a province-wide referendum to take place. It appears as if the campaign did not stop collecting signatures after it reached the 10 per cent threshold, as 30 of the 85 constituencies accumulated the signatures of more than 20 per cent of the riding. The successful initiative effort collected the signatures of between 11.77 and 34.71 per cent of the constituencies across the province, providing a range of data suitable for statistical analysis.

Correlating the percentage of constituents who signed the initiative petition with candidate support reveals that constituent support of the initiative may not be the best indicator of anti-Campbell sentiment. In the case of Falcon, the indicator appears effective, as support for Kevin Falcon dips dramatically in constituencies where there are a high percentage of constituents who want a referendum. The media believed that Kevin Falcon would pursue a similar policy platform to Campbell – so much so that reporters asked Falcon if he would be a "clone" of the former premier if chosen to lead the Liberals (Cooper and Austin, 2010b). It is

therefore not surprising for Falcon's support numbers to decline in constituencies where many want to hold the Campbell government to account through a referendum.

When petition signature constituency totals are correlated with constituency support for the other candidates, the poor ability of the petition numbers to indicate anti-Campbell sentiment is apparent. A negative correlation exists between Christy Clark's second round support and the percentage of signatures in a riding, indicating that Clark's support goes down in constituencies where people want a referendum. This is surprising, given Clark's frequent criticism of Campbell for the manner in which the tax was brought in. Further complicating the results is the fact that Abbott, a long-time member of the Campbell Cabinet, succeeds in constituencies where a high percentage of constituents demand a referendum.

It appears as if the percentage of British Columbians signing the HST petition is a better indicator of populism than of anti-Campbell sentiment. Populists would be the individuals most likely to sign the initiative petition, as they would be unimpressed by the centralized decision-making of the Campbell administration. This would explain Abbott's strong result in constituencies with many initiative signatures, as he succeeds in the populist Interior that was dominated by populist premiers like Bill Vander Zalm and W.A.C. Bennett in the 20th Century. The Cariboo-Thompson, Okanagan and Columbia-Kootenay regions where Abbott achieves high levels of leadership support are also the areas with the second-, third- and fourth-highest average number of signatures on the petition.

This finding coincides nicely with the strong negative correlation that exists between Kevin Falcon's support and signatures demanding an initiative petition. Falcon's struggles among populist-heavy constituencies has already been outlined, so it is no surprise that Falcon struggles in constituencies where many demand a petition to overturn the HST policy.

Could the percentage of constituents who voted against the HST in the eventual 2011 referendum be a better indicator of anti-Campbell sentiment? The 2011 referendum results produce very different correlations with candidate support than those produced by the petition signature statistics. Christy Clark's succeeds in ridings where a high percentage of constituents vote to eliminate the HST. This is a confusing statistic, as in the petition campaign, she succeeded in ridings where few residents signed the initiative petition. Abbott's support is also flipped – he succeeds in constituencies where many people sign the petition, but also in ridings where a small percentage of referendum voters want to axe the tax. Falcon's correlations only become significant when Abbott's supporters flock to his campaign in the third round, creating a strong, negative correlation between his support and constituencies with many who voted to eliminate the HST.

Additional statistical analysis reveals that the initiative and referendum campaigns were very different political events. It is clear that while petition signatures were offered by a diversity of British Columbian constituencies, the referendum results were highly partisan and political. Incredibly strong correlations are produced when referendum results are correlated with party vote totals in the 2009 provincial election. Constituencies with many Liberal voters also possessed many who voted to keep the HST in the referendum, while ridings with many NDP voters also possess high numbers of votes to eliminate the HST.

The partisan element of this contest explains the correlations of Clark and Abbott. Clark achieved great success in NDP constituencies and her negative correlations suggest that the same constituencies that voted NDP also voted against the HST. While Abbott's supporting constituencies demanded a referendum, it appears that the Liberal party was either able to placate disgruntled partisans in these ridings or that they were simply very effective in driving HST

advocates to the polls. Either way, Abbott's Liberal-voting constituencies tow the party line in the referendum by voting to keep the HST.

Determining an appropriate indicator for anti-Campbell support is very difficult. The issue of the HST explains the strains of populism that exist within the B.C. Liberal party and the partisan nature of the eventual referendum, but it does little to explain which candidate was most successful in attracting the support of those displeased with Gordon Campbell.

5.6 Ethnicity and Immigrant Status

The 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race shows that ethnicity and ethnic origin should no longer be ignored by students of British Columbian politics. Academic literature has claimed that birthplace has little effect on the ideological position of British Columbians (Blake, 1996b: 8), generating little interest in the effect of ethnic communities on politics within British Columbia. However, media reports highlighted in Chapter Six indicated that visible minorities and specifically South Asians were mobilized effectively by several of the leadership candidates, showing that these British Columbians do have an effect on the political system.

A strong, positive correlation exists between the total number of visible minorities in a constituency and the number of third round participants that exist within a constituency, suggesting that constituencies with many visible minorities possessed many of the participants in in the contest. This correlation skyrockets when only the number of South Asians in a constituency is correlated with the number of third round participants in a riding – the correlation of 0.84 is the strongest that was produced throughout the statistical analysis of the leadership race.

Constituencies with high South Asian populations dwarfed other constituencies when considering the number of third round participants in each riding. Surrey-Newton, Surrey-Green

Timbers and Surrey-Panorama, the three provincial constituencies with the highest number of South Asians, possessed the second-, first- and fourth-most third round participants in the leadership contest. The five constituencies with the highest number of South Asians averaged 2218.2 third round participants – a shocking figure when compared to the overall constituency average of 641.5 voters.

All of the correlations between candidate support and South Asian population within a constituency are statistically significant. Significant mobilization efforts were employed by the Clark, Falcon and de Jong campaigns, which all fared better in constituencies with many South Asians than in ridings with few. The strongest positive correlation belongs to the de Jong camp, indicating that he did much better in constituencies with a large South Asian community than constituencies without one.

On the other hand, George Abbott struggles greatly in constituencies with many South Asians. The correlation between his first round support and the number of South Asians in a constituency is a startling -0.50, indicating that his support plummets in communities with many South Asians. This figure drops only slightly in the second round, indicating that George Abbott struggled greatly to welcome constituencies with many South Asians as his "partners in change."

Several statistically significant results are also generated when the number of first-generation immigrants in a constituency is correlated with candidate support. Kevin Falcon achieves great success in constituencies with many immigrants, while George Abbott achieves even less success than he did amongst South Asians. Clark and de Jong also possess strongly positive results at different rounds of the leadership contest. The lack of political science literature or media reports on these communities suggests that subject of immigrant status and politics in British Columbia is one that is ripe for further research.

5.7 Representation

Now that the support bases of each candidate have been uncovered, attention can be paid to questions raised by Stewart and Carty about the demographic broadness of successful leadership candidates. In their analysis of Joe Clark's dominant victory in the 1998 Progressive Conservative Party of Canada leadership race, Stewart and Carty noted that the participant support received by Joe Clark was unstructured, as he received significant support from partisans of diverse linguistic, regional and socioeconomic backgrounds (2002: 58). Questions in Chapter Two asked whether Clark's diverse base was simply a product of his popularity in the 1998 contest, or whether it suggested that successful candidates needed to form a broad demographic support base to find success in weighted-constituency models.

The 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race suggests that while candidates with a broad base of support can have success in weighted-constituency models, candidates can work together and succeed with a limited demographic base. A brief synopsis of the support bases of each candidate explains this point.

While all candidates struggle to develop a broad base of support, Christy Clark achieves the least number of statistically significant correlations between her support and specific types of constituencies. Clark does especially well in constituencies with many NDP voters in the 2009 provincial election and ridings with many South Asians, but variables like education, marital status and age do not influence Clark's levels of support. She also possesses the widest regional support base of any candidate, as highlighted in the "Region" section above.

George Abbott, on the other hand, appears to have the most narrow support base of any candidate. Abbott succeeds in the Interior, in constituencies with many B.C. Conservative and Green votes in the 2009 election, in ridings with many seniors, and those with many primary

industry workers. His support plummets in constituencies with many visible minorities and South Asians, in ridings with a high average number of children at home per census family, and in those with a high average level of education. The vast majority of correlations produced between Abbott's support and demographic variables are statistically significant, bearing evidence to his very narrow support base.

Kevin Falcon also possesses a narrow support base, as described earlier in the thesis. Falcon's base is centered in Vancouver, as it only broadens once George Abbott's supporters join his camp in the third round. He appeals to constituencies with high levels of income, high levels of education and many South Asians and visible minority voters. He struggles in ridings with many NDP voters, many seniors and many primary industry workers. Falcon's base is slightly more diverse than Abbott's, as the average number of children in a constituency and the number of B.C. Conservative and Green voters do not appear to affect his support. That said, Abbott and Falcon certainly possess a narrower base than the winner Christy Clark.

Falcon's near-victory in the leadership contest is particularly startling given his narrow base of support. Abbott's narrow base combines with Falcon's in the third round to give the runner-up a tremendous boost, one nearly enough to help him secure the Liberal leadership. While achieving a broad base of support can increase a candidate's chances of winning a weighted-constituency contest leadership contest, Falcon's success shows that a broad base does not ensure victory.

5.8 Conclusion

The preceding analysis has questioned many commonly-held opinions about the 2011 B.C. Liberal race, weighted-constituency contests and leadership selections in British Columbia.

Unique findings can be seen as regionalism, populism and collectivism, endorsements and ethnicity and immigrant status are observed.

Studying the effects of regionalism showed that urban constituencies possessed far more leadership participants than rural ridings. George Abbott was the candidate who benefitted most from the weighted-constituency model employed by the B.C. Liberals, adding many Upper Mainland constituencies as his "partners in change." While Kevin Falcon depended heavily on Lower Mainland constituencies in his quest for the leadership, the wave of Abbott supporters that flocked to his camp suggests that if candidates work together in a weighted-constituency contest, they can succeed without a regionally-diverse core of support.

Kevin Falcon struggled to bridge the political culture divide in British Columbia. Falcon appears to lack support in constituencies with many populists, succeeding in constituencies with many high income earners, highly educated constituents, and urban dwellers. He was also unable to reach out collectivist, NDP-held constituencies, as his support was limited to ridings with Liberal MLAs. The fact that Kevin Falcon almost secured the Liberal leadership shows that candidate co-operation can mitigate a failure to reach out to partisans with differing ideological views from your own.

All candidates relied on political elites to mobilize partisans in their current or former constituencies. Despite losing efforts in the leadership race, Kevin Falcon and George Abbott's endorsements proved very effective in bringing Liberal members to the polls in their constituencies. Christy Clark also received an increase to her support in constituencies where she garnered an endorsement from a former MLA. This broader definition of endorsements should be considered by future political scientists analyzing leadership contests.

Anti-Campbell sentiment proved to be a difficult variable to measure, but statistical analysis on HST opinions produced insight into the makeup of the B.C. Liberal party. The initiative petition demonstrated George Abbott's strength in populist Interior ridings instead of providing a clear picture of which candidate utilized anti-Campbell sentiment to their advantage. The referendum on the HST was shown to be a highly partisan campaign, with Clark possessing a strong lead in NDP-held constituencies that wanted to discard the HST.

Several candidates benefitted from their pursuit of the politically-active South Asian community in the leadership race, as Clark, Falcon and de Jong all saw their support increase in constituencies with many South Asians. Abbott received hardly any support in these constituencies, revealing the narrow scope of his campaign's support base. The strong correlations produced between candidate support and visible minority, South Asian and first-generation immigrant constituency figures suggests that political scientists ought to spend more time discerning the effect of these groups in British Columbian politics.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

On the night of Christy Clark's victory in the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race, Liberals across the province breathed a collective sigh of relief. The leadership contest had exposed the fractures and divisions within the party, revealed through name-calling, press releases and policy platforms. But the picture in the Vancouver Sun of the candidates, holding hands in a physical display of unity, was evidence that the party had bent but had not broken over the course of the campaign. The Liberals had chosen a new, popular leader and a premier for the province of British Columbia.

But partisans realized the challenges their party faced as they looked to the future. The Liberals had not only chosen Clark to be their new party leader, but also to be their lead campaigner in the next provincial election. Great vitriol existed amongst British Columbians over the Harmonized Sales Tax decision of the Liberals, and many did not believe that the dismissal of Gordon Campbell was sufficient to rectify the trust lost by the governing party. Clark's performance during her first twenty-six months in office did little to change her party's fortunes. The boost in the polls provided to the Liberals by the leadership contest quickly disintegrated, and the Liberals would not win a provincial poll from late November 2011 until the provincial election in May 2013. As the day of the election approached, British Columbians were sure that the Liberals were on their way out.

Christy Clark's majority win on May 14 shocked political observers across the country. "A win for the ages," "Historic victory" and "Everyone was wrong" read headlines in the province's daily papers. Clark's Liberals won 49 seats to the NDP's 34, stealing six seats from New Democrats and independents while losing five.

The media was given the difficult task of explaining the election outcome, and it seemed like everyone had a theory about how the Liberals came to power. NDP leader Adrian Dix's unpopular policy position on Kinder Morgan, offered the Vancouver Sun ("Bread and butter," 2013). His performance in the debate, thought Christy Clark (Palmer, 2013). David Mitchell maintained his long-held opinion that politics in B.C. is based on personality – something Clark had and Dix did not (2013). Others touted the Liberal's negative ads (Fowlie, 2013c) and their get-out-the-vote campaign (Skelton et al, 2013), their focus on the economy (Chan et al., 2013) and their focused campaign tour (Fowlie, 2013b).

None of the media outlets referred back to Christy Clark's performance in the 2011 leadership race in their assessment of the 2013 campaign. Perhaps this was because of the marked differences between the 2011 and 2013 campaigns. Clark's campaign was no longer built upon the need for change and consultation, focusing instead on the need for stability in tough economic times. She even criticized the NDP for listening to the whims of the people when making their decisions (Fowlie, 2013a), forgetting she changed her position on the HST during the leadership campaign after listening to the people (Fowlie, 2011i).

Despite the evident differences in style that existed between the two campaigns, a brief comparison between the 2013 election results and the 2011 leadership race suggests that the leadership selection may have helped Clark's Liberals secure victory in 2013. This chapter will argue that while Christy Clark's "partners in change" had little effect on Liberal success in the 2013 provincial election, the leadership campaign may have a foundation for Liberal electoral success. These answers will be followed by a brief review of the primary findings in the thesis and some suggestions for future areas of research.

6.1 Impact of 2011 Liberal Leadership Race

During the 2011 Liberal leadership contest, Christy Clark welcomed a diverse group of Liberal members into her support base. Chapter Five showed clear examples of the broad support that Clark received during the leadership race, and Liberals hoped that Clark would use her populist appeal to find electoral support in the 2013 election. How successful was Christy Clark at translating her broad leadership support into votes in the recent campaign?

Clark appears to have been relatively unsuccessful in securing Liberal votes in the constituencies where she found success in the leadership race. The correlations between Clark's constituency support in the leadership campaign and Liberal votes in constituencies in the 2013 election are nearly identical to the ones created between Clark support and constituency vote totals in the 2009 election (see Table 6.1). Constituencies that supported Clark in the contest do not appear to vote more strongly Liberal in the following election. Clark continues to post strong, positive correlations between her support and NDP votes in 2013, showing that she excelled greatly in constituencies that voted NDP in both of the past two elections.

Simple comparisons between constituencies where Clark succeeded and Falcon succeeded also show that Clark's supporting constituencies did not vote differently than they did in 2009. In the 56 constituencies where Clark beat Falcon in the third round of balloting, the Liberals received an average of 0.93 per cent less votes in the 2013 election than they did in the 2009 election; in the 29 constituencies where Falcon led, Liberal vote support dropped by an average 3.08 per cent. This minimal difference gets even smaller when the constituencies where each candidates did exceptionally well are compared. In the 33 constituencies where Clark beat Falcon by ten points or more, the Liberals received an average of 3.17% less votes in the 2013 provincial election. By contrast, Falcon's strong-supporting constituencies averaged 2.09% less

votes in the 2013 provincial election. These minute differences in support indicate that the constituencies that supported Clark in her leadership campaign did not support her with their votes during the 2013 provincial election. It appears as if Clark's 2011 "partners in change" did not wish to continue their partnership in 2013, casting doubt on whether her broad coalition of support was truly behind its candidate.

Analyzing the six constituencies that changed hands from the NDP and independent members to the Liberal fold indicates that there may have been some enduring loyalty amongst Clark's "partners in change". Five of these six constituencies were won by Christy Clark in the 2011 leadership race, and of these five constituencies, Clark led in four of them by nine points or more. While not all of the constituencies that strongly supported Clark voted Liberal in 2011, it is possible that supporters of Clark in these four constituencies voted Liberal in 2013.

It is in the area of party mobilization that the 2011 leadership contest appears to have had an influence on the 2013 provincial election. Existing literature on leadership selection laments the lack of lasting commitment that exists amongst participants in a leadership campaign, claiming that the only partisan participation that these "party tourists" experience takes place on the day of the selection. Large memberships may increase the coffers of the political party, but political scientists have maintained that parties have not succeeded in convincing these instant party members to labour for the party in future campaigns.

While no participant survey was offered to those who cast ballots in the 2011 race, the available constituency-level data suggests that constituencies with strong Liberal memberships may have played a role in the 2013 campaign. A positive correlation exists between third round participants in the leadership selection and Liberal votes in the provincial election, indicating that ridings with many leadership participants tended to vote Liberal. This is noteworthy because no

such statistic can be generated when third round leadership participant constituency totals are correlated with 2009 election results. The strength of this newfound correlation indicates that Liberals were successful in getting-out-the-vote in constituencies where they sold many memberships in 2011. The claim of the media that the Liberals performed well in their ground game is one that should be explored by political scientists seeking to uncover what happened in the 2013 British Columbian provincial election.

6.2 Conclusion

This case study of the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership race adds to the political science literature on leadership selection and provincial politics in B.C. Raising new issues about the weighted-constituency selection method while validating and challenging common assumptions about British Columbian politics, several findings deserve special attention at the end of this thesis.

The thesis produced several new insights about the weighted-constituency selection. First, acquiring endorsements from political elites is a valuable strategy in weighted-constituency contests. The Liberal race showed that candidates with the support of a sitting or former MLA received a significant boost in leadership support in the ridings where these MLAs have served. In a system that rewards candidates with strong constituency-level networks, seeking the support of these elites is invaluable.

Second, the B.C. Liberal leadership race challenged the theory that candidates must achieve broad geographic support to have success in weighted-constituency contest. While Christy Clark did win the leadership with her broad regional base, Kevin Falcon nearly overtook her in the final round due to the assistance of George Abbott supporters. The contest suggests that candidates with narrow but strong regional bases, enabled by a preferential ballot and party-

mandated preference quotas for leadership participants, can work together to succeed in later rounds of these leadership contests.

Lastly, the contest showed that a broad demographic base is also not required for candidates to succeed. Christy Clark was again successful in welcoming many types of constituencies into her winning support base, but Kevin Falcon proved to be a strong competitor despite his limited base of demographic support. The effectiveness of united candidate campaigns against the frontrunner in weighted-constituency contests is evident.

The Liberal race also confirmed and challenged several assumptions about British Columbian politics and leadership selection. First, regionalism appears to matter in British Columbia. Despite academic accounts that region has little political salience in B.C., Kevin Falcon and George Abbott possessed strong regional support bases in the leadership race. While ideology may drive much of the political competition in the province, the Liberal leadership contest suggests that regionalism is a powerful divider within the province of British Columbia.

Second, Christy Clark, like Bill Vander Zalm, was able to secure the leadership with few MLA endorsements, but claims that endorsements do not aid leadership candidates were proven to be false in the 2011 race. George Abbott and Kevin Falcon received significant boosts in constituencies where they possessed the support of the sitting MLA. Further, when the definition of endorsements is expanded to include former MLAs, even Clark possessed an advantage in constituencies where she enlisted the support of these political elites. Political scientists would be wise to consider a broader definition of endorsements in future literature on leadership selection.

Third, the Clark campaign showed that populist rhetoric continues to resonate with British Columbians, frequently criticizing the central players in the Gordon Campbell government during her bid for the Liberal leadership. While the effects of anti-Campbell

sentiment on the leadership race are difficult to quantify, her well-documented efforts to rail against the political elites appeared effective in the leadership contest. Clark's status as a candidate entering from outside the legislature also did not hamper her efforts. She joined former premiers Bill Vander Zalm, Mike Harcourt and Gordon Campbell as examples of party leadership candidates who found success when entering provincial politics from the outside.

Finally, the mass participation of ethnic communities and the sharp differences in candidate support in ridings with large numbers of first-generation immigrants beg questions about the place of ethnicity in British Columbia. Political scientists have argued that recent waves of immigration have not upset the traditional ideological divisions that exist within the province, and yet it is difficult to explain why these communities would so strongly support some candidates and not others. Additional research should be conducted to determine how immigrant and ethnic communities influence British Columbian politics, increasing our understanding of the polarized political system of British Columbia.

These valuable findings have all been uncovered by analyzing the "partners in change" of the four leadership candidates in the 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership contest. The fruit of this case study shows the tremendous value in studying party leadership races, as they provide an honest and revealing look at the parties who participate. The findings of this thesis can be used to inform and guide discussion of these critical political events within Canadian politics.

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Tables & Figures

Table 3.1 Percentage of Popular Vote, Elections from 1952-2009

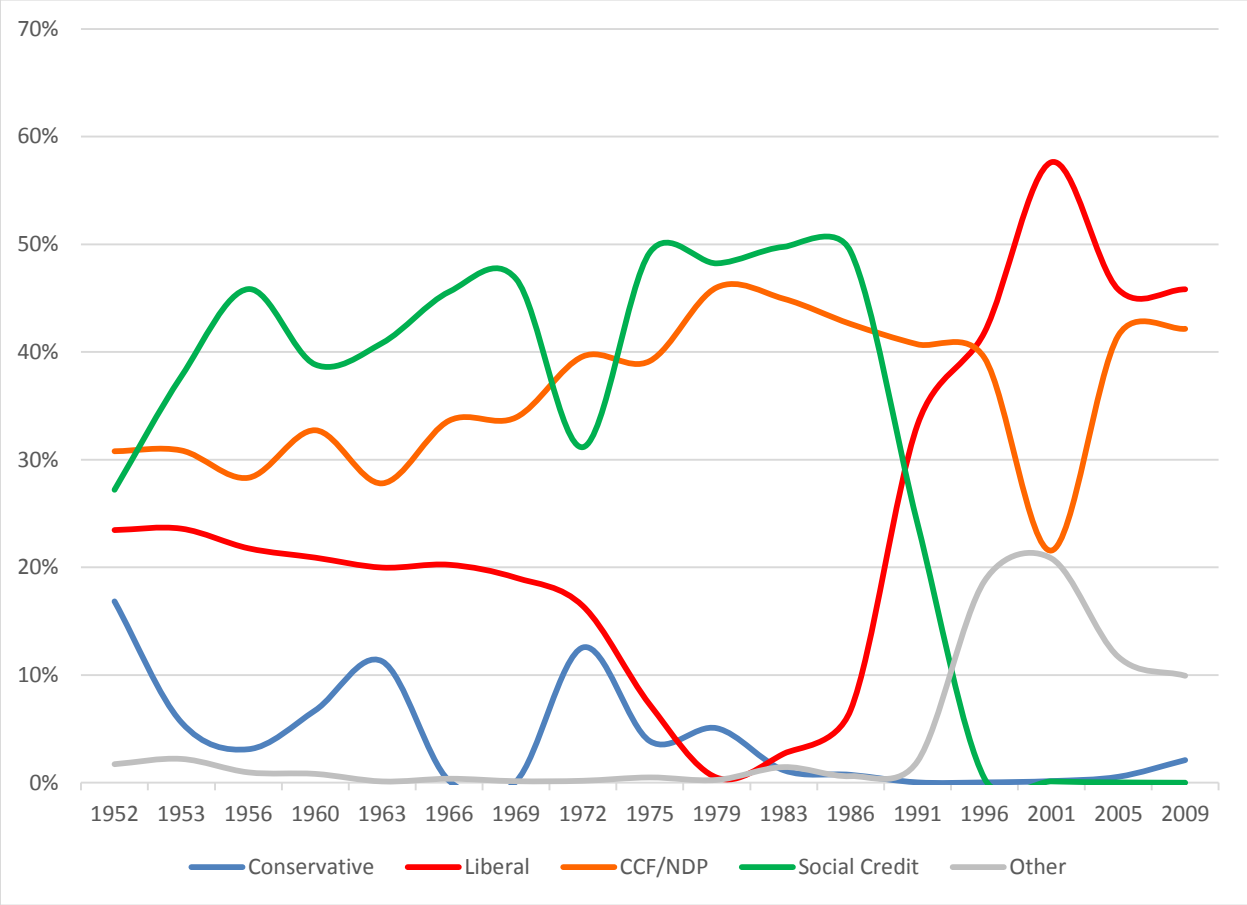


Figure 3.2 Percentage of Seats, Elections from 1952-2009

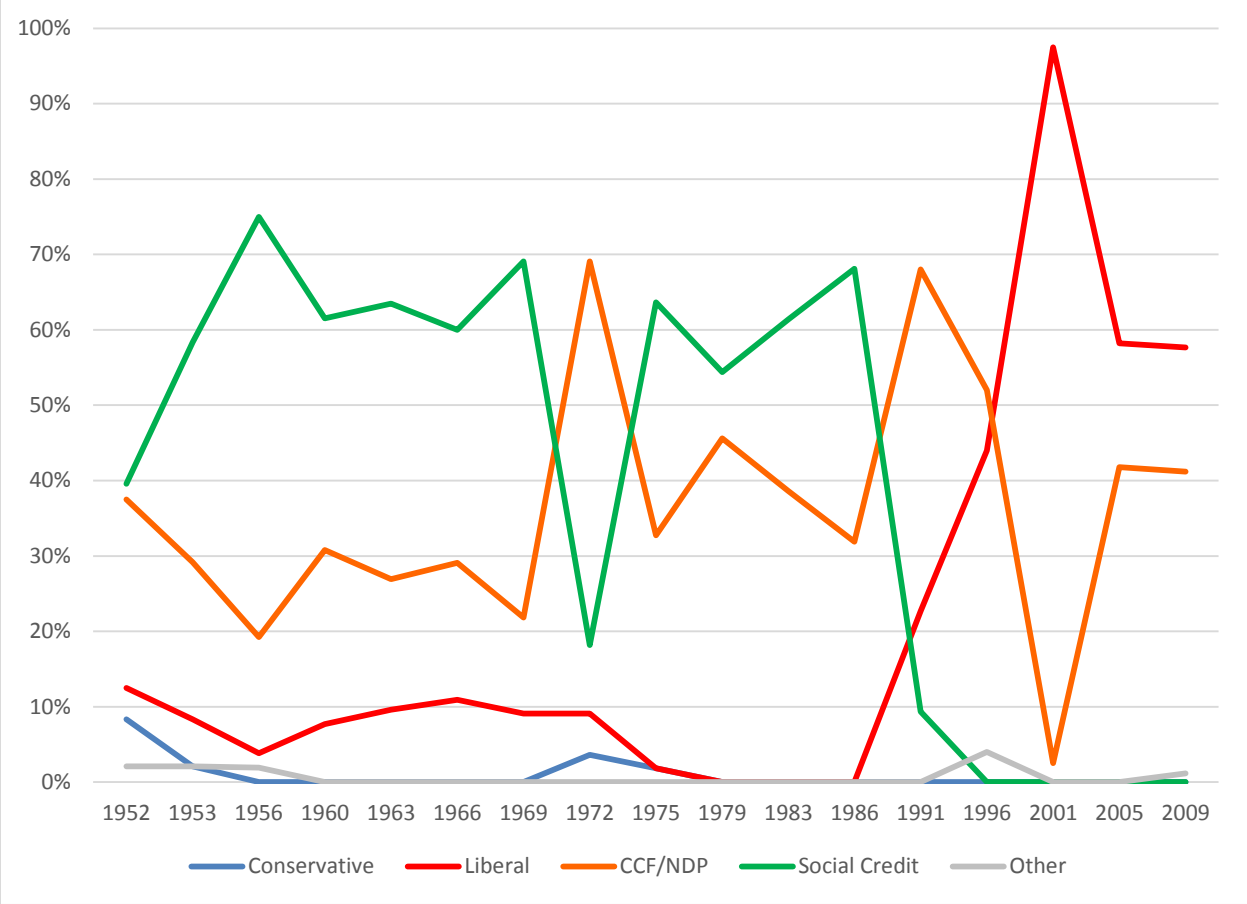
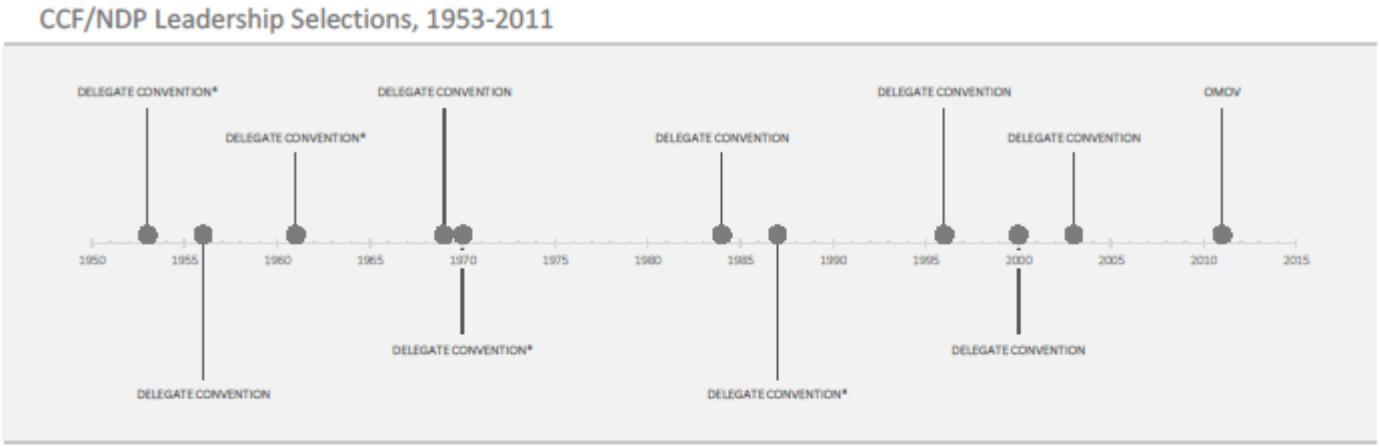


Figure 3.3 CCF/NDP Leadership Selections, 1952-2011

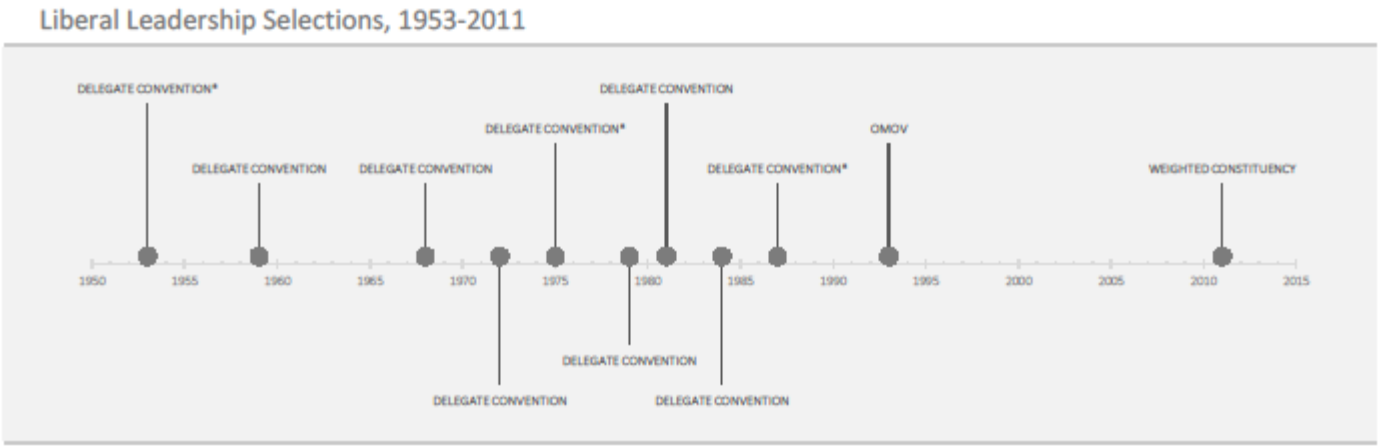


SELECTION DETAILS

DATE	Selection Method	Leader
10-Apr-53	Delegate Convention*	Arnold Webster
6-Apr-56	Delegate Convention	Robert Strachan
28-Oct-61	Delegate Convention*	Robert Strachan
12-Apr-69	Delegate Convention	Thomas Berger
6-Jun-70	Delegate Convention*	David Barrett
20-May-84	Delegate Convention	Robert Skelly
12-Apr-87	Delegate Convention*	Michael Harcourt
18-Feb-96	Delegate Convention	Glen Clark
20-Feb-00	Delegate Convention	Ujjal Dosanjh
23-Nov-03	Delegate Convention	Carole James
17-Apr-11	OMOV	Adrian Dix

* - by acclamation

Figure 3.4 Liberal Leadership Selections, 1952-2011

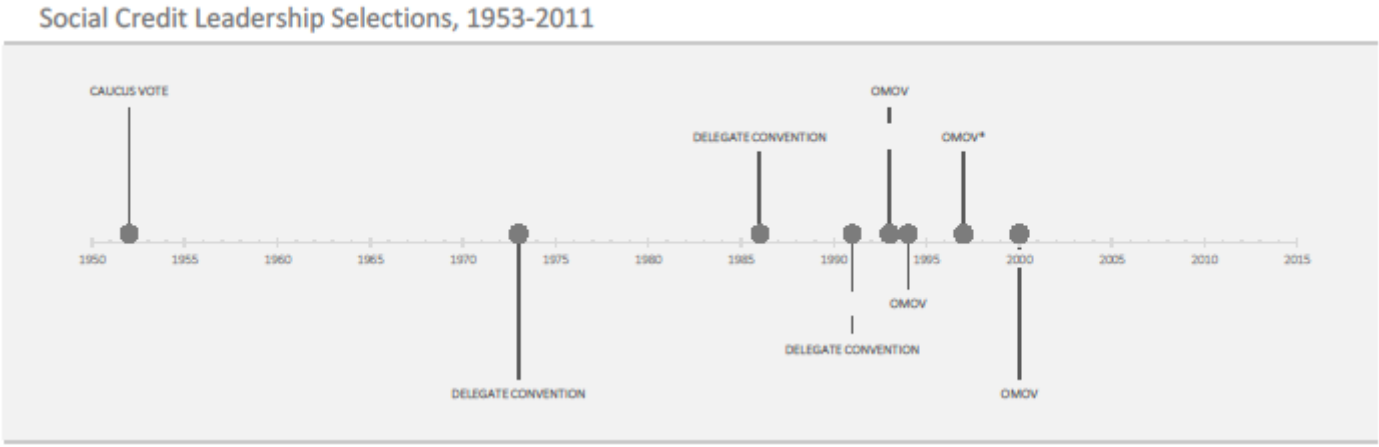


SELECTION DETAILS

DATE	Selection Method	Leader
9-Apr-53	Delegate Convention*	Arthur Laing
16-May-59	Delegate Convention	Ray Perrault
5-Oct-68	Delegate Convention	Pat McGeer
22-May-72	Delegate Convention	David Anderson
28-Sep-75	Delegate Convention*	Gordon Gibson
19-Feb-79	Delegate Convention	Jev Tothill
25-May-81	Delegate Convention	Shirley McLoughlin
31-Mar-84	Delegate Convention	Art Lee
30-Oct-87	Delegate Convention*	Gordon Wilson
11-Sep-93	OMOV	Gordon Campbell
26-Feb-11	Weighted Constituency	Christy Clark

* - by acclamation

Figure 3.5 Social Credit Leadership Selections, 1952-2011



SELECTION DETAILS

DATE	Selection Method	Leader
15-Jul-52	Caucus Vote	W.A.C. Bennett
24-Nov-73	Delegate Convention	William Bennett
30-Jul-86	Delegate Convention	Bill Vander Zalm
20-Jul-91	Delegate Convention	Rita Johnson
6-Nov-93	OMOV	Grace McCarthy
4-Nov-94	OMOV	Larry Gillanders
6-Apr-97	OMOV*	Mike Culos
1-Apr-00	OMOV	Eric Buckley

* - by acclamation

Figure 4.1 2011 B.C. Liberal Leadership Contest Timeline

Date	Event
November 3, 2010	Gordon Campbell announces resignation as premier, Liberal leader
November 22, 2010	Moira Stilwell declares candidacy
November 25, 2010	George Abbott declares candidacy
November 30, 2010	Kevin Falcon declares candidacy
December 1, 2010	Mike de Jong declares candidacy
December 6, 2010	Carole James announces resignation as NDP leader
December 8, 2010	Christy Clark declares candidacy
January 4, 2011	Ed Mayne declares candidacy
February 12, 2011	B.C. Liberals hold extraordinary convention, adopt weighted-constituency model
February 16, 2011	Moira Stilwell withdraws, endorses Abbott
February 17, 2011	Ed Mayne withdraws, endorses Abbott
February 20, 2011	B.C. Liberal leadership debate
February 25, 2011	B.C. Liberal leadership contest

Table 4.1 Endorsements of George Abbott

Constituency	MLA	Most Points, Round 1	Most Points, Round 2	Most Points, Round 3
Abbotsford South	van DONGEN, John	de Jong	Clark	Clark
Abbotsford-Mission	HAWES, Randy	Clark	Clark	Falcon
Boundary-Similkameen	SLATER, John	Clark	Clark	Clark
Burnaby North	LEE, Richard T.	Clark	Clark	Clark
Cariboo-Chilcotin	BARNETT, Donna	Abbott	Abbott	Clark
Comox Valley	McRAE, Hon. Don	Abbott	Abbott	Clark
Kamloops-North Thompson	LAKE, Hon. Dr. Terry	Abbott	Abbott	Falcon
Kamloops-South Thompson	KRUEGER, Kevin	Abbott	Abbott	Falcon
Kelowna-Lake Country	LETNICK, Norm	Abbott	Abbott	Clark
Kelowna-Mission	THOMSON, Hon. Steve	Abbott	Abbott	Falcon
Kootenay East	BENNETT, Bill	Abbott	Abbott	Clark
Nechako Lakes	RUSTAD, John	Abbott	Abbott	Clark
North Vancouver-Lonsdale	YAMAMOTO, Hon. Naomi	Clark	Clark	Clark
North Vancouver-Seymour	THORNTHWAITE, Jane	Clark	Clark	Falcon
Saanich North and the Islands	COELL, Murray	Abbott	Abbott	Clark
Surrey-White Rock	HOGG, Gordon	Abbott	Abbott	Falcon
Vancouver-False Creek	McNEIL, Hon. Mary	Clark	Clark	Falcon
Vancouver-Fraserview	HEED, Kash	Clark	Clark	Clark
Vancouver-Langara	STILWELL, Dr. Moira	Clark	Clark	Clark
Vernon-Monashee	FOSTER, Eric	Abbott	Abbott	Clark
West Vancouver-Capilano	SULTAN, Ralph	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon

Table 4.2 Endorsements of Kevin Falcon

Constituency	MLA	Most Points, Round 1	Most Points, Round 2	Most Points, Round 3
Chilliwack	LES, John	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon
Coquitlam-Burke Mountain	HORNE, Douglas	Clark	Clark	Clark
Fort Langley-Aldergrove	COLEMAN, Hon. Rich	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon
Langley	POLAK, Hon. Mary	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon
Maple Ridge-Mission	DALTON, Marc	Clark	Clark	Clark
Oak Bay-Gordon Head	CHONG, Hon. Ida	Abbott	Abbott	Clark
Parksville-Qualicum	CANTELON, Ron	Clark	Clark	Clark
Peace River North	PIMM, Pat	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon
Prince George-Mackenzie	BELL, Hon. Pat	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon
Prince George-Valemount	BOND, Hon. Shirley	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon
Richmond Centre	HOWARD, Rob	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon
Richmond-Steveston	YAP, John	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon
Surrey-Panorama	CADIEUX, Hon. Stephanie	Clark	Clark	Clark
Surrey-Tynehead	HAYER, Dave S.	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon
Vancouver-Fairview	MacDIARMID, Hon. Dr. Margaret	Clark	Clark	Clark
Vancouver-Quilchena	HANSEN, Colin	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon
West Vancouver-Sea to Sky	McINTYRE, Joan	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon
Westside-Kelowna	STEWART, Ben	Falcon	Falcon	Falcon

Table 4.3 Endorsements of Christy Clark

Constituency	MLA	Most Points, Round 1	Most Points, Round 2	Most Points, Round 3
Burnaby-Lougheed	BLOY, Hon. Harry	Clark	Clark	Clark

Table 5.1 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership contest results

Candidate	1st Round Points	2nd Round Points		3rd Round Points	
		Total Points	Points Gained	Total Points	Points Gained
Christy Clark	3209.7	3574.6	364.9 (46.2%)	4420.2	845.6 (35.8%)
Kevin Falcon	2411.1	2564.6	153.5 (19.5%)	4079.9	1515.3 (64.2%)
George Abbott	2090.2	2360.6	270.4 (34.3%)		
Mike de Jong	789.0				

Table 5.2 Regional Selecting Power in Past Right-Wing Leadership Selections

Region	1986	1993	2011 Weighted Constituency	2011 One-Member, One-Vote
North	10.2%	6.6%	9.4%	4.7%
Interior/Okanagan/Kootenays	32.0%	10.5%	18.8%	14.3%
Fraser Valley	4.3%	6.4%	10.6%	11.1%
Lower Mainland	31.1%	50.4%	43.5%	52.7%
Vancouver Island & South Coast	22.5%	26.0%	17.6%	17.2%

Table 5.3 Average Number of Third Round Votes per Constituency by Region

Region	3rd Round Votes
The North	319.13
Cariboo-Thompson	470.00
Okanagan	668.00
Columbia-Kootenay	290.20
Fraser Valley	673.00
Tri-Cities	448.75
Surrey	1632.50
Richmond and Delta	853.60
Burnaby and Westminster	475.40
Vancouver	659.36
North Shore	1010.50
Vancouver Island and South Coast	354.40
Total Average	641.53

Table 5.4 Constituencies with the Lowest Number of Points per Vote

Constituency	Party Holding Seat	Third Round Victor	Third Round Votes	Points per Vote
Surrey-Newton	NDP	Clark (65.0%)	3210	0.0312
Surrey-Green Timbers	NDP	Clark (58.1%)	2753	0.0363
Surrey-Panorama	Liberal	Clark (53.5%)	2589	0.0386
West Vancouver-Capilano	Liberal	Falcon (61.3%)	1475	0.0678
Delta North	NDP	Clark (57.2%)	1445	0.0692

Table 5.5 Constituencies with the Highest Number of Points per Vote

Constituency	Party Holding Seat	Third Round Victor	Number of Participants	Points per Vote
Peace River South	Independent	Falcon (63.0%)	110	0.9091
Kootenay West	NDP	Clark (60.3%)	116	0.8621
Stikine	NDP	Clark (52.9%)	155	0.6452
Alberni-Pacific Rim	NDP	Clark (68.8%)	176	0.5682
Juan de Fuca	NDP	Clark (59.1%)	181	0.5525

Table 5.6 Average Candidate Point Total by Region, First Round

Region	Abbott	Clark	de Jong	Falcon	Average Third Round Votes Per Riding
North	25.38	35.36	7.44	31.81	319.13
Interior/Okanagan/Kootenays	44.53	31.16	6.83	17.48	488.06
Fraser Valley	36.44	36.72	5.66	21.20	673.00
Lower Mainland	15.32	39.73	10.15	34.80	777.11
Vancouver Island & South Coast	28.77	43.37	7.60	20.28	623.87
Total	2090.2	3209.7	789.0	2411.1	
Average	24.59	37.76	9.28	28.37	

Table 5.7 Correlates of Candidate Support

	Clark1 Clark2 Clark3	Falcon1 Falcon2 Falcon3	Abbott1 Abbott2	deJong1
Third Ballot Voters	0.21*	0.29** 0.30**	-0.35** -0.37**	0.23*
Average Income	-0.22* -0.34** -0.41**	0.27** 0.24* 0.41**		-0.32**
Post Secondary Grads		0.31** 0.30**	-0.22* -0.26*	
NDP Vote 09	0.45** 0.39** 0.45**	-0.24* -0.25* -0.45**		
Liberal Vote 09	-0.24* -0.27** -0.36**	0.36**		
BC Cons Vote 09			0.43* 0.45*	
Green Vote 09	-0.26*		0.23* 0.27**	
% Signed Initiative Petition	-0.27**	-0.51** -0.55**	0.55** 0.59**	-0.27**
% Voting to Eliminate HST, 2011 Referendum	0.40** 0.50** 0.46**	-0.46**	-0.27** -0.25*	0.28**
Total Visible Minorities	0.23* 0.49**	0.40** 0.43**	-0.50** -0.64**	0.42**
Total South Asians	0.21* 0.45** 0.25*	0.22* 0.26** -0.25*	-0.50** -0.49**	0.48**
First Generation Immigrants	0.42**	0.39** 0.42**	-0.55** -0.59**	0.34**

	Clark1 Clark2 Clark3	Falcon1 Falcon2 Falcon3	Abbott1 Abbott2	deJong1
Marital Status, Single		0.27** 0.27**	-0.26* -0.28**	
Marital Status, Married		0.22* 0.24*	-0.24*	
Age 65+		-0.25* -0.24*	0.27** 0.28**	
Primary Industry Workers	-0.23* -0.21*	-0.32** -0.28**	0.33** 0.35**	
Average Child	0.32**		-0.54** -0.57**	0.27**

* = statistically significant at a 0.05 level
** = statistically significant at a 0.01 level

Table 5.8 Average Points Earned in MLA Endorsed and Unendorsed Constituencies, First Round

Candidate	Endorsed	Unendorsed	Endorsement Bonus
George Abbott	34.61	21.57	13.05
Christy Clark	49.50	37.16	12.34
Mike de Jong	0.00	9.28	n/a
Kevin Falcon	40.37	25.14	15.23
Total Averages	37.58	23.25	14.33

Table 5.9 Average Points Earned in ex-MLA Endorsed and Unendorsed Constituencies, First Round

Candidate	Endorsed	Unendorsed	Endorsement Bonus
George Abbott	28.09	24.28	3.81
Christy Clark	41.29	37.01	4.28
Mike de Jong	17.95	9.07	8.88
Kevin Falcon	54.00	28.70	25.30
Total Averages	36.23	24.28	11.95

Table 6.1 Correlates of Candidate Support

	Clark1 Clark2 Clark3	Falcon1 Falcon2 Falcon3	Abbott1 Abbott2	deJong1
Liberal Vote 09	-0.24* -0.27** -0.36**	0.36**		
NDP Vote 09	0.45** 0.39** 0.45**	-0.24* -0.25* -0.45**		
Liberal Vote 13	-0.26** -0.28** -0.40**	0.26** 0.26* 0.40**		-0.22*
NDP Vote 13	0.43** 0.37** 0.37**	-0.37**		

Appendices

Appendix A: Correlation Variables

The following table defines the variables found in Tables 5.7 and 6.1 of this thesis.

Variable	**Definition**
Third Ballot Voters	Total 3rd Round Votes, 2011 B.C. Liberal leadership selection
Average Income	Before Tax Income of Population 15+, Average Income $, 2006 Census
Post Secondary Grads	Total population 25 to 64 years, with postsecondary qualifications, 2006 Census
NDP Vote 09	Total BC NDP Voters in the 2009 Provincial Election
Liberal Vote 09	Total BC Liberal Party Voters in the 2009 Provincial Election
BC Cons Vote 09	Total BC Conservative Party Voters in the 2009 Provincial Election
Green Vote 09	Total Green Party Voters in the 2009 Provincial Election
% Signed Initiative Petition	Percentage of Constituents that Signed *An initiative to end the harmonized sales tax (HST), 2010*
% Voting to Eliminate HST, 2011 Referendum	Yes Votes (Eliminate the HST) in the 2011 HST Referendum
Total Visible Minorities	Total population of visible minorities, 2006 Census
Total South Asians	Total South Asian visible minority population, 2006 Census
First Generation Immigrants	Population 15+ years of age, born outside of Canada, 2006 Census
Marital Status, Single	Population never legally married (single), 2006 Census
Marital Status, Married	Population legally married (and not separated), 2006 Census
Age 65+	Number of persons 65 and older, 2006 Census
Primary Industry Workers	Labour Force By Occupation, Occupations Unique to Primary Industry, 2006 Census
Average Child	Average number of children at home in census families, 2006 Census

Third Ballot figures taken from Skelton, Chad. 2011. "BC Liberal leadership votes by the numbers – exclusive maps, graphics and analysis." *Vancouver Sun,* February 26, *http://communities.canada.com/vancouversun/blogs/papertrail/archive/2011/02/26/bc-liberal-leadership-vote-by-the-numbers-exclusive-maps-graphs-and-analysis.aspx* (March 23, 2011).

Average Income, Post Secondary Grads, Total Visible Minorities, Total South Asians, First Generation Immigrants, Marital Status, Single, Marital Status Married, Age 65+, Primary Industry Workers and Average Child figures taken from Canada. Statistics Canada. 2006. *2006 Census of Population. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/index-eng.cfm* (August 20, 2013).

NDP Vote 09, Liberal Vote 09, BC Cons Vote 09 and Green Vote 09 figures taken from British Columbia. Elections BC. *2009 Statement of Votes – 39th Provincial General Election – May 12, 2009. http://www.elections.bc.ca/docs/rpt/2009GE/2009-GE-SOV.pdf* (August 20, 2013).

% Signed Initiative Petition figures taken from British Columbia. Elections BC. *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the Initiative Petition: "An initiative to end the harmonized sales tax (HST)", February 4-August 23, 2010. http://www.elections.bc.ca/docs/rpt/ip2010-002-ceo-report.pdf* (August 20, 2013).

% Voting to Eliminate HST, 2011 Referendum figures taken from British Columbia. Elections BC. *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the HST (Harmonized Sales Tax) Referendum – June 13-August 26, 2011. http://www.elections.bc.ca/docs/rpt/ip2010-002-ceo-report.pdf* (August 20, 2013).