

**A STUDY OF THE 2006 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN ONTARIO  
ANALYZING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CAMPAIGN PERIOD AND CAMPAIGN SPENDING OF  
INCUMBENT MAYORS AND THEIR BIDS TO BE RE-ELECTED**

MPA Research Report

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## **Introduction**

Within a democratic society, the will of the people is fundamentally expressed at the polling booth wherein the electorate shapes the kind of society it desires to be a part of and the type of community it wants to live in. This is undertaken through the election process and specifically through the candidates who are voted into office.

In Ontario, the framework for municipal elections, including how they are to be conducted, the qualifications of the candidates, and the parameters guiding the activities of candidates is found within the Municipal Elections Act. Further, this Act provides specific requirements that candidates must have regard for during the election process. Specifically, the Act defines the prescribed form for nomination in the election, the length of the campaign period, campaign spending limits and the reporting of campaign finances. Ultimately these prescribed forms are essentially “public documents” open for review and held by the municipal clerk of each municipality. Regardless of the office that is being pursued whether for mayor, municipal council or the school board, the Municipal Elections Act establishes a basis of consistency that must be adhered to by all.

In Ontario, and as of 2006, municipal elections are held every four years. Previous to 2006, elections were held every three years. In 2006, candidates for municipal office could file their nomination form as early as January 2, 2006. The date of the filing of the nomination paper triggers the date upon which campaign fund raising can commence and in turn when campaign spending can be undertaken. The timing of the filing of the nomination form and ensuing campaign period is a personal choice, the benefits of which are weighed by the individual

candidates. The last date for filing a nomination form in 2006 was Nomination Day or September 29, 2006.

Regardless of the office being pursued research suggests that incumbents enjoy an advantage. Tronstine states that it is a well established fact that incumbents win re-election at high rates.<sup>1</sup> Kushner, Siegel and Stanwick state that incumbency is frequently presumed to be advantageous for candidates first from name recognition, secondly because of the incumbent's connection with the constituents in solving problems and attending social functions, thirdly because of their experience and finally because of the candidate's ability to attract financial resources.<sup>2</sup> Given the incumbency advantage, intuitively one would presume that a new candidate who was serious in his or her bid for municipal office would file their nomination form early in the election year in order to raise campaign funds which in turn would allow them to market their platform to the electorate and become known in the community. Throughout the campaign period in 2006 candidates filed their nomination forms at varying dates with their local municipal clerk.

One of the most important offices open for challenge during the municipal election process is that of Mayor, or "Head of Council". Kushner, Siegel and Stanwick state that mayors, as heads of governments closest to the people, play an important role in our political process.<sup>3</sup> Often a race for the mayor's position increases the electorate's interest in the municipal election, given the importance of the position. During a municipal election year speculation takes place at the community level about potential candidates who may enter the election race and challenge the

<sup>1</sup> Tronstine, J. *Information, Turnout and Incumbency in Local Elections*. New Jersey. Princeton University, 2009 p.28

<sup>2</sup> Kushner, J., Siegel, D., Stanwick, H. *Canadian Mayors : A Profile*. St. Thomas. Municipal World, May 2002, p.25

<sup>3</sup> Kushner, J., Siegel, D., Stanwick, H. *Canadian Mayors : A Profile*. St. Thomas. Municipal World, April 2002, p. 23

incumbent mayor. That speculation ends when mayoral candidates, in fact, file their nomination forms.

This research will investigate the 2006 municipal elections in Ontario and the manner in which individual mayoral candidates, including incumbent mayors, exercised the length of their campaign period. It will also investigate the amount of money that the individual mayoral candidates spent during their pursuit of office.

This research theorizes that incumbent mayors who maximize the length of their campaign period and at the same time spend significant campaign funds are less likely to be re-elected into office. In order to address this theory, an investigation into the length of the actual campaign period of mayoral candidates, as initiated by the date in which they submitted their nomination forms and, the amount of their campaign spending will be undertaken. This paper will explore relevant sections of the Municipal Elections Act as it relates to the campaign period and campaign expenses and it will present material regarding the significance of the incumbency advantage. Despite the advantages that an incumbent mayor may enjoy at the outset of an election year, incumbent mayors can and do lose elections. This research will review municipal elections from ten communities in Ontario wherein five of the incumbent mayors were returned to office and five incumbents were defeated. It will focus on the actual dates when the candidates filed their nomination forms, began their campaigns for office and the funds they spent to attract votes. This paper will culminate in an analysis of the research data collected, with conclusions being drawn relative to the actual mayoral results on Voting Day 2006, and the use of the campaign period and campaign finance tools that had been available to the candidates.

### The Mayor and the Municipal Corporation

At the local level of government in Ontario, the governance of the municipality is directed through the municipal council composed of a mayor, or head of council, and several individual council members. While the mayor is elected “at large” from the local electorate, often the individual council members are elected through a ward system, representing a specific region of the municipality. Accordingly, mayors, as heads of government closest to the people, play an important role in the political process.<sup>4</sup>

The position of mayor in the Canadian context has become more important over time in spite of a lack of formal powers. While heads of council in Canada are not limited to the largely ceremonial role of their British counterparts, neither are they comparable to the American “strong mayor” who has extensive authority in connection with the civic operations and governance.<sup>5</sup> Kushner, Siegel and Stanwick state that Canadian cities generally employ the “weak-mayor” organizational structure, meaning that Canadian mayors have very limited authority, as compared to their U.S. counterparts. However, a focus on structural authority overlooks the power that the mayor derives from the influence attached to the office.<sup>6</sup> Despite their lack of formal power, Canadian mayors have high local political visibility, in large part because of the tendency for the media in a community to contact the mayor for short summaries of municipal business or comments on current controversies. Their ceremonial and symbolic functions are also important and can be the basis for popularity and re-election, and if used effectively, for building links between senior managers and council. Canadian mayors

<sup>4</sup> Kushner, J., Siegel, D., Stanwick, H. *Canadian Mayors : A Profile*. St. Thomas. Municipal World, April 2002, p. 23

<sup>5</sup> Tindal, C., Tindal, S. *Local Government in Canada*. Toronto. Thomson Nelson, 2004, p.262

<sup>6</sup> Kushner, J., Siegel, D., Stanwick, H. *Canadian Mayors : A Profile*. St. Thomas. Municipal World, June 2002, p. 23

have the ability to exert considerable influence within the municipal bureaucratic apparatus because of their access to senior officials and their ability to interpret the wishes of council when they may not have been clearly stated. Given their limited formal power, heads of council in Canada must rely upon their personality and persuasive skills in attempting to provide leadership. The record shows that mayors, even when facing opposition from council members, can accomplish a great deal if they are competent, shrewd and most importantly, popular with the electorate.<sup>7</sup> Statistics captured by Kushner, Sigel and Stanwick indicate that within Canada the majority of mayors serve more than one term and that the average number of terms is three or approximately eight years.<sup>8</sup>

### **Mayors and Their Policy Agendas**

According to Melchior, Strate and Wolman, traditional democratic theory suggests that elections, to some degree, are contests over alternate forms of public policy or at least a referendum on the policies being pursued by the incumbent. While mayoral elections are contested to a substantial extent on personality grounds as well as policies and issues it is likely that a new mayor being voted into office and having defeated an incumbent has successfully indicated to the electorate that there would be some form of policy change that is different from the incumbent. Elections in fact become the vehicles by which mayors who are “political entrepreneurs” use to disrupt the existing equilibrium through their creative means of gaining support for their placement in office. Although only a few newly elected mayors may actually qualify as entrepreneurs they nevertheless achieve the office by defeating the incumbent and with the presumption that they will implement policy changes that will be different from their

<sup>7</sup> Tindal, C., Tindal, S. *Local Government in Canada*. Toronto. Nelson, 2004, p. 264

<sup>8</sup> Kushner, J., Siegel, D., Stanwick, H. *Canadian Mayors : A Profile*. St. Thomas. Municipal World, April 2002, p. 26



predecessor. Additionally, the new mayor's link to the electorate will quite often be different from that of the previous mayor. The new mayor could reflect different electoral coalitions with different interests and in turn different policy preferences. Melchior, Strate and Wolman suggest that the degree of policy difference between a newly elected mayor and the previous mayor should be greater if the newly elected mayor defeated an incumbent rather than if he or she succeeded a mayor who voluntarily left office. Electoral coalitions tend to be "sticky" and changes in the patterns of political demands are not likely to be reflected in the public policy until a new mayor, reflecting a new electoral coalition, takes office.<sup>9</sup>

Lott states that in industry, barriers to entry into the market are often thought to arise from past expenditures by firms on such things as advertising, research or goodwill. These are said to create "barriers" by producing differential costs of production or demands for products between existing and new entrants. In the same manner, politicians are seen as providing services and are rewarded by the political support they receive. Presumably those politicians, including the mayor, who can produce the type of service that the electorate wants at an acceptable cost have the best opportunities of winning elections.<sup>10</sup> In the private sector, corporations expend vast amounts of cash and look to gain the best available exposure to the market place as they promote their brand. In a similar fashion, during the electoral process, candidates, including the mayor, attempt to promote themselves or brand themselves in order to capture the majority of the market share. This branding comes in their definition of who they are as individuals and the policies they intend to enact. The incumbent mayor benefits from the fact that they have a ready made recognizable brand from their existing performance in office.

<sup>9</sup> Melchior, A., Strate, J., Wolman, H. *Does Changing Mayors Matter*. Journal of Political Science Vol. 58 No. 1, Feb 1996, p. 206

<sup>10</sup> Lott, J. *Brand Names and Barriers to Entry into Political Markets*. Public Choice 51, 1986 p. 87

According to Chapman and Palda the household's demand for the level and quality of municipal services can be signalled only indirectly. In the absence of referenda, the signals must be transmitted through elective purchasing agents or in other words the members of their elected municipal council. During elections, the consumer – taxpayer's endeavour to express his or her demand for community services and amenities by voting for candidates can be viewed as a buyer-type activity. The voter will take into account the persuasiveness of information presented by candidates to the same small or large degree as when he or she reaches a decision with regard to privately supplied goods and services. The central features and methodological considerations that surround the nexus advertising and sales are also present in the electoral situation: choice for a brand (candidate) by a buyer (voter) is influenced by the voters' preferences for the attributes being presented by the candidate.<sup>11</sup>

In the instance of mayoral elections, there are a number of ways in which mayoral change might affect policy difference and consumer (voter) choice. Melchior, Strate and Wolman suggest that new mayors might affect the level of municipal expenditures or revenues. They might affect expenditure priorities or revenue composition. They could change the distribution of services and resources, advantaging some groups or areas and disadvantaging others. New mayors might affect the nature and location of land use and development decisions. Mayors come into office not simply as representatives of electoral coalitions, but as key actors governing coalitions or regimes. Even if new mayors come into office by succeeding a retiring incumbent they may desire to make some changes in the nature of the regime to pursue new policies or an altered agenda.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Chapman. R., Palda. K. *Assessing the Influence of Campaign Expenditures*. Marketing Science Vol. 3 No. 3 Summer 1984, p. 208

<sup>12</sup> Melchior. A., Strate. J., Wolman. H. *Does Changing Mayors Matter*. Journal of Political Science Vol. 58 No. 1 Feb 1996, p. 206

### The Incumbency Advantage

Kushner, Siegel and Stanwick state that it is virtually always better to be an incumbent than a challenger in elections. While political scientists have provided considerable evidence of this pattern at all levels of government, the source of the advantage remains debatable. Incumbents benefit from name recognition that is more evident in municipal elections where there is no party affiliation. During their term in office, incumbents have the ability to resolve problems for their constituents and attend social functions. Further, when debates at all candidate meetings take place, incumbents look better than their challengers because they usually have a good grasp of the issues. An additional factor which strengthens incumbents is the fact that they are more likely to attract financial and other resources at election time, especially if the incumbent maintained a good relationship with the business community.<sup>13</sup> A positive view of the incumbency advantage asserts that incumbents are successful because they are quite simply good at what they do – campaigning, governing and representing the voters' demands. It has been suggested that the electoral process is designed to select strong candidates who tend to win and retain their strength in subsequent contests. In the post -1964 era when incumbents have faced strong challengers, they at times have retired strategically from office, when they have been in danger of losing.<sup>14</sup> In their research Kushner, Siegel and Stanwick found that from 1982 – 1997 incumbents had a huge advantage over non-incumbents. Incumbent mayors were successful in 83.9 percent of their attempt compared to 10.4 percent for non-incumbents. Further they point out that it is difficult for a serious candidate to supplant an incumbent.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Kushner. J., Siegel. D., Stanwick. H. *Canadian Mayors : A Profile*. St. Thomas. Municipal World, May 2002, p. 25

<sup>14</sup> Trounstine, J. *Information, Turnout and Incumbency in Local Elections*. New Jersey. Princeton University. May 2009, p.4

<sup>15</sup> Kushner. J., Siegel. D., Stanwick. H. *Canadian Mayors : A Profile*. St. Thomas. Municipal World, May 2002, p. 25

### Campaign Spending

Benoit states that research investigating campaign effects points to an empirically supported consensus that money spent helps candidates get elected. However an important question where there is less consensus concerns the difference between spending efforts of challengers and incumbents. Studies have generally found that incumbent spending is less effective than challenger spending.<sup>16</sup> Lott supports Benoit's view and states that studies have consistently pointed to the perverse finding that the more incumbents spend the worse they seem to do. Further, he states that it is difficult to believe that incumbents would persistently act so contrary to their own interests and that incumbents spend a lot when they face serious opposition. However these expenditures are unable to completely counter the strength of the competition. In essence a simple correlation seems to indicate that as an incumbent's expenditures rise, so does their probability of losing.<sup>17</sup> Incumbent spending may be less effective than challenger spending as a result of the reactive nature of spending decisions by incumbents. Incumbents may tend to spend in campaigns only when facing a threat to their seat from a strong challenger. When incumbent seats are safe, by contrast, incumbents spend relatively little.<sup>18</sup>

Local campaign success has been linked to campaign spending, name recognition, prior office holding, endorsements from local media, and certain occupational credentials. Mayors and

<sup>16</sup> Benoit. K., Marsh. M., *The Campaign Value of Incumbency*. Journal of Political Science Vol. 52 No. 4. Oct. 2008, p.874

<sup>17</sup> Lott. J. *Does Additional Campaign Spending Really Hurt Incumbents?* Public Choice 72. 1991 p.87

<sup>18</sup> Benoit. K., Marsh. M., *The Campaign Value of Incumbency*. Journal of Political Science Vol. 52 No. 4. Oct. 2008, p.877

council members are much more likely to run and much more likely to win after they have served a single term. There is a tremendous amount of evidence in political science that finds that incumbents gain experience over time, that they work hard to learn what their constituents want and to take actions in office that faithfully represent their voters.<sup>19</sup>

### **Municipal Elections in Ontario**

The legal framework for municipal elections in Ontario including the timing when the elections are to be held, the administrative processes used to conduct the elections, the definition of eligible voters and the conduct of candidates are all included within the Municipal Elections Act. In relationship to the research that is the subject of this paper, the following sections of the Municipal Election Act highlight the form and manner in which a candidate files his or her nomination and it highlights the basic requirements relating to campaign spending and financial reporting. Examples of the specific forms completed by candidates are found in Appendix A and Appendix B.

### **The Municipal Elections Act**

#### Section 33 : Nomination for Office

- (1) A person may be nominated for an office by filing a nomination in the clerk's office, in person or by an agent
- (2) The nomination shall,
  - (a) be on the prescribed form
  - (b) be accompanied by a declaration of qualification in the prescribed form
  - (c) be accompanied by the prescribed nomination fee

<sup>19</sup> Trounstine, J. *Information, Turnout and Incumbency in Local Elections*. New Jersey, Princeton University. May 2009, p.28

- (4) The nomination may be filed,
  - (a) on any day in the year of the regular election that is before nomination day
  - (b) on nomination day

#### Section 68 : Election Campaign Period

(1) A candidate's election campaign period for an office shall be determined in accordance with the following rules:

1. The election campaign period begins on the day he or she files a nomination for office under Section 33

#### Section 78 : Financial Statement and Auditors Report

1. A candidate shall file with the clerk whom the nomination was filed a financial statement and auditor's report, each in the prescribed form, reflecting the candidate's campaign finances.

As individual case studies are examined for this research, these sections of the Municipal Elections Act will generate foundational information which will be investigated and analyzed.

#### **Investigating 2006 Mayoral Elections**

The basis of this research will be to examine the results of the 2006 municipal elections from 10 communities within Ontario specifically focusing on the mayoral races.

From a methodology perspective this case study examination does not represent a "sample" and the goal is to expand and generalize upon theories and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalizations). This research method has been adopted from the model described within Robert Yin's, *Case Study Research*.

As stated previously, this research theorizes that incumbent mayors who maximize the length of their campaign period and at the same time spend significant campaign funds are less likely to be re-elected into office. To support this theory, the following questions will be examined in each of the mayoral races being investigated in this research:

- a) What is the length of the campaign period for the incumbent mayors relative to that of their challengers? This being defined as the number of days between the date when they submitted their nomination form and Voting Day.
- b) Is there any significant difference in the amount of campaign spending made by incumbents versus other mayoral candidates?

Through the mayoral cases being studied, the investigation will focus on “pattern matching” that may or may not arise within the election events.

The research methodology has been established and is intended to provide validity and reliability by ;

- a) capturing credible information from multiple sources,
- b) allowing for the replication of the research principles and protocol from the multiple cases.

To benchmark the activities of the 2006 municipal election in Ontario and this research, the following facts will be used to analyze the comparative information for each of the case studies being investigated:

1. *Earliest date to file nomination paper : January 2, 2006*
2. *Voting Day : Monday, November 13, 2006*
3. *Total available campaign days before Voting Day : 316*

Of note is the fact that the 2006 Association of Municipal Clerks and Treasurers of Ontario (AMCTO) Municipal Election Summary indicates that there were 416 election events held in 2006.

In order to establish the case studies that would be examined and to gain an understanding of mayoral changes throughout Ontario that came into effect in 2007, the 2006 and 2007 AMCTO Municipal Directories were reviewed. These directories were used as source documents due to the fact that they list all of the key municipal elected officials and staff for every municipality across the province. These directories are updated and published annually. To undertake this research the mayors were identified in every municipality listed in the directory for both 2006 and 2007. Once the mayors had been identified, changes in the leadership between 2006 and 2007 were then defined. As a result of this comparative review it was determined that 162 or 39% of all municipal mayors were new to the office in 2007. The mayors would have taken office in December 2006 following the November 13th election.

That election process or cycle would have placed the new mayors in office as a result of one of the following factors:

(a) the retirement of the incumbent mayor with the new mayor either being acclaimed or winning the election over other new mayoral candidates

(b) the new mayor elect defeating the incumbent mayor in election



### **Case Study Principles**

In the selection of mayoral race case studies being investigated, the intent of this research has been to design a replication protocol that would establish two pools of municipal information. One pool would include municipalities where incumbent mayors had won and the other pool would include municipalities where incumbent mayors had lost. A further intent of this research is to select cases that would provide some equality in terms of the conditions surrounding the type of mayoral races that had unfolded. In order to achieve this, an objective was to select municipalities where the information between the two pools of municipal cases would be balanced. Further, the election events within the cases selected are not to be unusual in nature and that they could occur within any Ontario municipality. With the knowledge that 162 new mayors took office as a result of the 2006 municipal election event, municipal mayoral election cases were assigned based on the following:

1. 5 cases were selected where the incumbent mayor won the election
2. 5 cases were selected where the incumbent mayor was defeated
3. Each pool of the 5 municipalities would have a relatively equal aggregate population representing a potentially balanced number of voters.

The replication protocol was strengthened further by invoking the following parameters:

1. In each of the 10 mayoral races, the mayoral candidate who won the election had to win by more than 50% of the vote demonstrating a clear victory and mandate.
2. For each of the 10 mayoral races, 3 or more mayoral candidates had to be competing in the race again strengthening the replication protocol.

### Case Study Selection

The case study municipalities that have been selected for this research based on the principles that have been established are identified in Table 1. The municipalities are then shown as being sorted according to the 2006 election status of their incumbent mayor. Further, the information identifies the aggregate populations of the municipal groupings.

Table 1

<b>Barrie</b>  <b>Belleville</b>  <b>Caledon</b>  <b>Innisfil</b>  <b>Milton</b>  <b>Oshawa</b>  <b>Quinte West</b>  <b>Sarnia</b>  <b>St. Thomas</b>  <b>Waterloo</b>	<b>Incumbent Re-elected</b>	<b>Population</b> <b>Percent of Total</b>
	Caledon	57,050    16%
	Innisfil	31,175    9%
	Milton	53,939    15%
	Oshawa	141,590    40%
	Sarnia	71,419    20%
		<hr/> <b>355,173</b> <b>100%</b>
	<b>Incumbent Defeated</b>	
	Barrie	128,430    36%
	Belleville	48,821    14%
Quinte West	42,697    12%	
St. Thomas	36,110    10%	
Waterloo	97,475    28%	
	<hr/> <b>355,533</b> <b>100%</b>	

### Voter Residency and Workplace

Early information in this research discussed the advantages that incumbents benefit from within the election process. To add some additional depth to that advantage, it seems apparent, and perhaps assumed, that over time the electorate has become familiar with the incumbent therein strengthening his or her advantage. To further understand this advantage, information was gained to understand who the actual electorate was who voted in each of the communities from the standpoint of their connection to the community between the 2003 and 2006 election events and their live / work investment in the community. The following information about the electorate is intended to answer two basic questions;

1. Has the electorate remained fairly constant in terms of their residency within the municipality between the 2003 municipal election and the 2006 election? This will provide some basis of knowledge to know if the same pool of residents were voting in both elections and as a result would have some basis of pre-existing knowledge about the incumbents and their performance in office.
2. For each of the communities, and the sets of communities that have been established, was there any difference in the number of residents that both lived and worked in the communities as opposed to those who may only have lived in the community but commuted outside the voting area to work? The intent of this again is to gain a very high level indication about how the electorate may or may not respond to the performance of the incumbent given that the impacts of the candidates may be viewed differently by those who both live and work in the community thereby accentuating the importance of the office holders on both their home life and work life. Further, intuitively it would seem that those who both live and work in the community would likely discuss candidates at the workplace with fellow resident workers.

In order to answer both of these questions, the following specific data was obtained from the Statistics Canada Community Profiles for each of the case study municipalities.

1. *Percentage of electorate who had lived in the community for past 5 years thereby having experienced both the 2003 and 2006 election events and the performance of the incumbent mayors during that period. (Table 2)*

Table 2

<b>Incumbent Re-elected</b>			<b>Incumbent Defeated</b>		
	<b>Community<sup>*</sup> Average</b>	<b>Weighted Average</b>		<b>Community<sup>*</sup> Average</b>	<b>Weighted Average</b>
Caledon	75.6%	12.14	Barrie	70.9%	26.62
Innisfil	74.7%	6.56	Belleville	79.3%	10.89
Milton	52.8%	8.02	Quinte West	76.0%	9.13
Oshawa	81.5%	32.48	St. Thomas	80.4%	8.18
Sarnia	88.2%	17.73	Waterloo	75.4%	20.68
		76.93%			74.5%
Ontario	81%		Ontario	81%	

\* Statistics Canada Community Profile

For each of the groups of case study municipalities a relatively level playing field emerges in that approximately 75% of the electorate in each of the sample sets lived in the same community for a minimum five year period. It is also evident that the communities being investigated fall below the Provincial average of the five year residency.

2. *Percentage of electorate who both live and work in the community.*

Table 3

<b>Incumbent Re-elected</b>			<b>Incumbent Defeated</b>		
	<b>Community<sup>*</sup> Average</b>	<b>Weighted Average</b>		<b>Community<sup>*</sup> Average</b>	<b>Weighted Average</b>
Caledon	19.7%	3.15	Barrie	49.2%	19.30
Innisfil	13.6%	1.23	Belleville	69.0%	9.66
Milton	26.0%	3.90	Quinte West	48.9%	5.87
Oshawa	38.7%	15.48	St. Thomas	51.9%	5.19
Sarnia	66.7%	13.34	Waterloo	43.9%	12.29
		37.10%			52.31%
Ontario	49.5%		Ontario	49.5%	

\* Statistics Canada Community Profile

Through this investigative snapshot a differing picture begins to arise in that the percentages of live / work electorate are much greater in the communities where the incumbent was defeated. Intuitively again this seems to suggest that there may be a case to be made that those who both live and work in the same community may be more engaged in the electoral process and in all likelihood may carry the discussion about the performance of incumbents from the home to the workplace.

### **2006 Mayoral Election Case Studies**

Having determined the municipal mayoral races that would be investigated, the following case studies provide an overview of the mayoral races in each of the 10 municipalities. This information defines the incumbent mayor and his or her main challenger, and it also attempts to define the municipal council experience of each of these candidates and where possible it outlines their campaign platforms. Finally it will show the results of the individual mayoral races in terms of the number of votes that each candidate received.

#### **City of Barrie**

Incumbent Mayor Robert Hamilton was first elected as Mayor in Barrie in 2003. Prior to entering municipal politics, Hamilton ran for the House of Commons as a candidate for the Canadian Alliance in the 2000 federal election. Hamilton was the owner of 2 bar establishments in Barrie. During his term as Mayor, Hamilton focused on economic development aiming to attract higher paying jobs into Barrie rather than seeing the residents commute to Toronto to work. In addition, he reached out to the film and television industry and he was able to attract the production of YTV's *Monster Warriors* program.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Robert J. Hamilton. <http://ireference.ca/search/Robert%20J.%20Hamilton/>

Prior to the 2006 municipal election, challenger Dave Aspden had served on municipal council for 9 years. Aspden had been a police officer for over 20 years, the Secretary Treasurer of the Ontario Association of Police Services Board and he was a long term member of the Canadian Legion. During his bid for the Mayor's office in 2006, Aspden took a populist approach and focused on Hamilton's failed efforts to stop retail development in the city's south end as well as the ongoing construction delays of a major civic project in the redevelopment of Lakeshore Drive.<sup>21</sup>

Results of the 2006 election showed that Mayor Elect Aspden had taken 14,616 votes, Mayor Hamilton went down in defeat with 12,175 votes and Kevin Harrod, a third challenger for the mayor's seat had received 2,244 votes. At the conclusion of the election, Aspden's victory was seen as a big upset with Hamilton being shocked at the outcome. While Hamilton ran on a strong record of attracting jobs, he was unable to counter the perception among some voters that he was beholden to a "Downtown Elite".<sup>22</sup>

### City of Belleville

Belleville's Mayor Mary-Anne Sills had been elected to the City's top political position in 2003. Prior to that, Sills had first been elected to Belleville City Council in 1988 and served 15 years as a councillor. Sills was a graduate of Loyalist College in the Residential Councillor - Mental Retardation Program.<sup>23</sup> During the 2006 election Mayor Sills' main challenger was Neil Ellis. Ellis had been a challenger to Sills during the 2003 election and he attributed his loss at that time to the fact that people did not know him. Ellis was married with 3 children. Within the 2006

<sup>21</sup> Dave Aspden. <http://www.irefece.ca/search/Dave%20Aspden/>

<sup>22</sup> The City of Barrie. *Final Summary of Vote*. November 13, 2006

<sup>23</sup> Premier's Awards Alumni Recognition. <http://www.loyalistcollege.com/alumni/outstanding-alumni/premiers-awards>. p.6

campaign, Ellis' goal was to increase his name recognition and he had become more involved in the community.

On election night in 2006, the voters sent a clear, quick and somewhat unexpected message to City Council in that they wanted change as seen in the election of Ellis. The press reported that the Ellis victory had come with a speedy landslide.<sup>24</sup> Mayor Elect Ellis had taken 10,427 votes, Mayor Sills went down in defeat with 3,957 votes and Doug Rollins, a third challenger for the mayor's seat had received 2,483 votes.

### Town of Caledon

In Caledon, Mayor Marolyn Morrison was first elected as mayor in 2003. Morrison was a resident of Caledon for over 25 years and she served as a regional councillor from 1994 - 2003.

One of Mayor Morrison's initiatives was the creation of the Greater Toronto Countryside Mayor's Alliance which originated in 2004. Mayor Morrison's campaign focused on the need for Caledon to develop a community work plan.<sup>25</sup>

Caledon Councillor Garry Moore challenged Morrison for the mayor's seat in 2006 after having served one term on council. Moore was a graduate of the University of Manitoba majoring in Canadian history. During his term as councillor, Moore spearheaded the efforts to develop a new medical centre, to attract new business including a movie theatre and the development of a skateboard park.<sup>26</sup>

Results of the 2006 election demonstrated that Mayor Morrison would keep her seat with 7,150

<sup>24</sup> *Ellis Victory Comes with Speedy Landslide*. Online Pioneer Plus. Nov. 14, 2006 <http://pioneerplus.ejournalism.ca/?q=node/109>

<sup>25</sup> *Marolyn Morrison was Elected into Office*. <http://cbc.ca/toronto/features/torontovotes2006/mayoralrace/caledon.html>

<sup>26</sup> *Marolyn Morrison was Elected into Office*. <http://www.cbc.ca.toronto/features/torontovotes2006/mayoralrace/caledon.html>

votes, Councillor Moore captured 5,084 votes and Norm Calder, a third challenger for the mayor's seat, had received 1,572 votes.<sup>27</sup>

### Town of Innisfil

Incumbent Mayor Brian Jackson promoted the fact that it was his intention to develop a clear and positive plan to build a better Innisfil if re-elected. Mayor Jackson made the point during the campaign that during his term in office he had donated one half of his salary to the recreation centre and that his campaign would not accept any funds from the development community. Taxes had been on the rise in Innisfil and Mayor Jackson made no apology for the 9% tax hike that had occurred in 2006 stating that he strongly supported a safe community which included the increasing costs for police, fire and a safe roads system.

Deputy Mayor Barb Bougley was Mayor Jackson's chief rival in 2006. Bougley had been a councillor in Innisfil from 1988 - 1997 and had served as deputy mayor from 1997 - 2006. Bougley had lived in Innisfil for more than 25 years with her husband. Deputy Mayor Bougley's campaign spoke of the fact that she wanted to be a full time mayor. During her campaign Bougley also campaigned on the issues that she had not supported the 2006 municipal budget and that she would not support any future annexation discussions with adjoining municipalities.<sup>28</sup>

Results of the 2006 election demonstrated that Mayor Jackson would keep his seat with 6,877 votes, Deputy Mayor Bougley captured 3,188 votes and Jim Roberts, a third challenger for the mayor's seat Jim Roberts had received 1,661 votes.

<sup>27</sup> *Morrison Re Elected as Caledon Mayor*. Caledon Citizen. Nov. 15, 2006.

<sup>28</sup> *Development and Annexation Hot Topics at All Candidates Meeting*. Simcoe Boating News. Oct. 26, 2006.



### Town of Milton

Longstanding Mayor Gord Krantz had been a municipal councillor from 1965 - 1980 and he was elected mayor in 1980 delivering over 40 years in public service to Milton coming into the 2006 election. Krantz promised the electorate that if they returned him to office in 2006 he would continue to maintain the lowest property tax rates in the GTA. Further, he would put emphasis on the balance between industrial, commercial and residential growth as Milton's growth continued.<sup>29</sup>

Campaigning against Mayor Krantz was Garry Marsh. Marsh ran his campaign independently with family and friends. Marsh was a father and grandfather and was the owner of the local Sears Store. While he had never had a seat on council, Marsh's main concern was how Milton would be able to sustain its infrastructure in light of its explosive growth and he had stated that he would like to see more attention given to community planning.

Results of the 2006 election demonstrated that Mayor Krantz would keep his seat with 6,347 votes, challenger Marsh captured 3,364 votes and Al Volpe, a third challenger for the mayor's seat had received 2,063 votes.<sup>30</sup>

### City of Oshawa

Mayor John Gray, married with two children, had served on council for both the City of Oshawa and the Regional Municipality of Durham for 9 years prior to the 2003 election when at that time he defeated Mayor Nancy Diamond. Included in Mayor Gray's platform

<sup>29</sup> *Marsh to Run For Mayor.* <http://www.insidehalton.com/community/milton/article/607302>

<sup>30</sup> *Gord Krantz was Elected into Office.* <http://cbc.ca/toronto/features/torontovotes2006/mayoralrace/milton.html>

was his desire to see that the downtown revitalization plan took place and he was looking forward to seeing the waterfront being cleaned up.<sup>31</sup>

Gray's main opponent in the 2006 election was 32 year old Alexander Kemp a shift worker at Hero's Certified Burgers. With no prior political experience and as a former student of Durham College, Kemp's campaign platform included his concern that City Council in Oshawa was completely mismanaged.<sup>32</sup> Results of the 2006 election defined that Mayor Elect Gray had taken 19,545 votes, Kemp received 5,846 votes and Dawn Turner, a third challenger for the mayor's seat had received 1,641 votes.

### Quinte West

Heading into the 2006 municipal election Mayor Camprey had served Quinte West for 6 years as its mayor. Prior to 2006 he had been on council for 3 years. During the campaign period in 2006, heated exchanges took place between Camprey and his main challenger John Williams around community issues. Challenger John Williams was first elected to council in 2000. Williams was married with three sons and he ran on the platform of "new ideas and new leadership". A turning point in the 2006 election bid came as a result of Mayor Camprey's personal attacks upon Williams during a debate which had been made very public. Results of the 2006 election demonstrated that Mayor Elect Williams had taken 8,033 votes, Mayor Camprey went down in defeat with 3,324 votes and Sandra Carter, a third challenger for the mayor's seat had received 1,321 votes. According to the press, the victory for Williams indicated that the voters wanted

<sup>31</sup> *Oshawa Mayor*. <http://www.thestar.com/unassigned/article/116955>

<sup>32</sup> *Gray's Antagonist*. <http://chronicle.durhamcollege.ca/story.php?id=968&issue=>

change in their leadership and that they had swept John Williams into the City's top political job by the thousands.<sup>33</sup>

### City of Sarnia

At age 51 incumbent Mayor Mike Bradley had 18 years of experience as mayor heading into the 2006 election. Mayor Bradley was first elected to council in Sarnia as a councillor in 1985.

Throughout his 2006 campaign Mayor Bradley made the case that there were social gaps between haves and have nots in Sarnia and that it would be his intention to narrow that gap if re-elected. A portion of Mayor Bradley's campaign became quite personal when he spoke of his experience with cancer, an issue that seemed to reach out to the electorate.<sup>34</sup>

Mayor Bradley's chief rival in 2006 was fellow Councillor Joe Murray who had served on Sarnia council for 3 years. Married and a grandfather, at age 57 Murray was a prominent sports figure and politician. Murray had been a career training consultant at Lambton College and an influential football coach. During his term on council, Murray often found himself in the minority relating to issues, however he had a reputation of being an "ideas man". Murray attributed his strengths to being in tune with Sarnia's residents and being able to bring people together.<sup>35</sup>

Results of the 2006 election showed that Mayor Bradley would keep his seat with 12,623 votes, Councillor Murray captured 6,421 votes and challengers Dick Carpari and Carlos Murray had received 2,747 and 332 votes respectively. Following the election, the local press reported that Sarnia residents opted for the tried, tested and true in their selection of Mayor Bradley for another term as the head of council.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *It's Williams in a Walk*. The Trentonian. (Trenton) Nov. 14, 2006

<sup>34</sup> *Bradley Goes for Seventh Term*. The Observer (Sarnia) Nov. 7, 2006

<sup>35</sup> *Joe Wants to Bring City New Energy*. The Observer (Sarnia) Nov. 8, 2006

<sup>36</sup> *Bradley Routs Opponents*. The Observer (Sarnia) Nov. 14, 2006

### City of St. Thomas

Alderman Jeff Kohler had been selected by his fellow council members to serve St Thomas as mayor in 2003 when then Mayor Peter Ostojic stepped down. Kohler was then elected as Mayor in the municipal election of that same year. Kohler was an employee of the local Presstran Industry and was married with two children. During his term as mayor, Kohler championed the efforts to see the construction of the St. Thomas Timken Community Centre, the location of which had been very controversial within the city. Mayor Kohler's campaign focused on the need to move the city forward with a positive thinking attitude ensuring that needless municipal expenditures were curtailed. Leading up to the 2006 election, Mayor Kohler had come under fire for the manner in which he had used his city issued purchase card. Alderman Cliff Barwick, Mayor Kohler's main challenger had been a seasoned municipal politician who had actually been mayor in St. Thomas nearly 30 years earlier. Barwick, single, was a retired high school teacher. He had topped the polls in 2003 for position of Alderman. During the 2003 - 2006 term of council, Barwick served as the City's Chairman of Finance. Barwick's focus during the 2006 campaign period was to run with integrity and to ensure that the Office of Mayor was returned to a level of accountability.<sup>37</sup>

The election in St. Thomas concluded with a marked upset as Barwick would become the new mayor. Barwick stated that the key to his victory was his goal to restore respect and accountability to the office in light of ongoing concerns around the abuse of the city purchase cards.

Results of the 2006 election showed that Mayor Elect Barwick had taken 5,242 votes, Mayor Kohler went down in defeat with 4,595 votes and Jim Jones, a third challenger for the mayor's

<sup>37</sup> *Battle on for Mayoralty*. The St. Thomas Times Journal (St. Thomas) July 21, 2006

seat had received 296 votes.<sup>38</sup>

### City of Waterloo

Waterloo's Mayor Epp, age 72, was a longstanding political figure. Having worked in real estate, Epp served on city council from 1968 - 1977 with the later two years in the position of mayor. From the period of 1977 - 1990, Epp became a member of the Provincial government serving as a Liberal MPP from 1977 - 1990. In 2003 Epp returned to municipal politics and won the seat as mayor defeating the incumbent. During his three years in office leading up to the 2006 election, Epp's leadership style was described as being "folksy" and he supported the development of new subdivisions in environmentally sensitive areas.

Taking on the veteran politician for the mayor's seat in 2006 was Brenda Halloran. Halloran was a political rookie and promoted the fact that she had no political baggage. At age 50, Halloran was a former registered nurse and at the time she had been mediating labour relations issues. In opposition to Mayor Epp, Halloran was opposed and concerned with development proposals, including new subdivisions in environmentally sensitive areas. During her campaign, Halloran promised a fresh sense of leadership and promoted generational change.<sup>39</sup>

Results of the 2006 election demonstrated that Mayor Elect Halloran had taken 11,459 votes, Mayor Epp went down in defeat with 7,364 votes and Brian Turnbull, a third challenger for the mayor's seat had received 3,881 votes. Following the election the local press reported that there had been a stunning upset in Waterloo and that a rookie had defeated the old guard.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Barwick Back*. The St. Thomas Times Journal (St. Thomas) Nov. 14, 2006

<sup>39</sup> *Candidates for Waterloo Mayor*. The Record. (Kitchener Cambridge Waterloo) Nov. 11, 2006

<sup>40</sup> *Waterloo's New Boss*. The Record. (Kitchener Cambridge Waterloo) Nov. 14, 2006

### 2006 Mayoral Candidates

The individuals who competed in the 2006 mayoral race in each municipality are indentified in Table 4. Additionally, this table identifies the incumbent mayor heading into the election and the mayor elect as a result of the election.

Table 4

Municipality	Mayoral Candidates	Mayor Elect
Barrie	D. Aspden / <b>R. Hamilton*</b> / K. Harrod	D. Aspden
Belleville	N. Ellis / <b>M. Sills*</b> / D. Rollins	N. Ellis
Caledon	<b>M. Morrison*</b> / G. Moore / N. Calder	M. Morrison
Innisfil	<b>B. Jackson*</b> / B. Boguley / J. Roberts	B. Jackson
Milton	<b>G. Krantz*</b> / G. Marsh / A. Volpe	G. Krantz
Oshawa	<b>J. Gray*</b> / A. Kemp / D. Turner	J. Gray
Quinte West	J. Williams / <b>B. Campney*</b> / S. Carter	J. Williams
Sarnia	<b>M. Bradley*</b> / J. Murray / C. Murray / D. Carani	M. Bradley
St. Thomas	C. Barwick / <b>J. Kohler*</b> / J. Jones	C. Barwick
Waterloo	B. Halloran / <b>H. Epp*</b> / B. Turnbull	B. Halloran
	<b>*Denotes Incumbent Mayor</b>	

### Candidate Council Experience

While this research has identified the fact that incumbents enjoy advantages during the election process Table 5 outlines the relevant council experience of the main challengers within each of the case studies. One would presume that those challengers with the least and or no experience would file their nomination form early in the election year in order to promote themselves and their platforms.

Table 5

Incumbent Re Elected			Incumbent Defeated		
Community	Challenger	Council Experience	Community	Challenger	Council Experience
Caledon	<b>Moore</b>	3 years	Barrie	<b>Aspden</b>	9 years
Innisfil	<b>Bougley</b>	18 years	Belleville	<b>Ellis</b>	0 years
Milton	<b>Marsh</b>	0 years	Quinte West	<b>Campney</b>	6 years
Oshawa	<b>Kemp</b>	0 years	St. Thomas	<b>Barwick</b>	9 years
Sarnia	<b>Murray</b>	3 years	Waterloo	<b>Halloran</b>	0 years

It is evident from the information presented in Table 5 that in each of the two case study sets, 3 mayoral challengers had previous council experience and two challengers had no previous council experience.

#### Candidate Campaign Period

During 2006, all candidates that entered the election process were afforded 316 campaign days to promote themselves and their platforms from the earliest date that they could file their nomination form on January 2, 2006 through to the Voting Day on November 13, 2006. For each of the case study groupings being investigated, Table 6 outlines the dates when both the incumbent mayor and their main challenger submitted their nomination forms along with a calculation of the actual amount of campaign days they afforded themselves in the election period. In order to capture this information the Municipal Clerks in each of the ten case study

municipalities were contacted and were asked to provide the following data for each of their mayoral candidates:

*From the individual Candidate's Nomination Form that was filed in the Clerk's Office, identify the date that the candidate filed his or her nomination paper.*

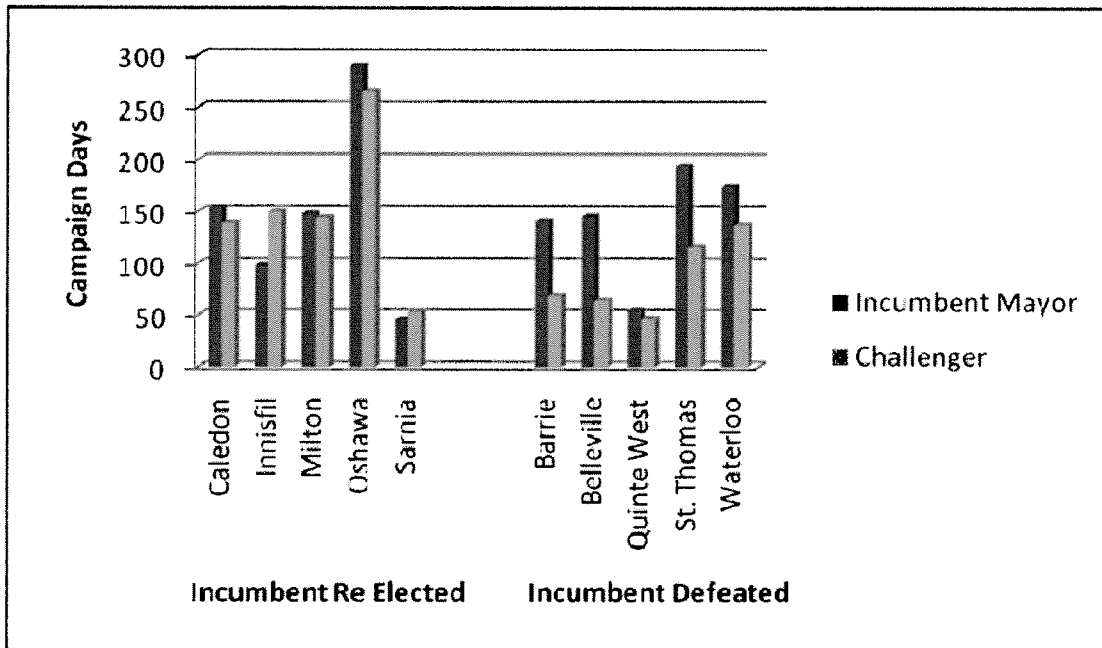
Table 6

<b>Incumbent Re-elected</b>				<b>Incumbent Defeated</b>			
	Candidate	File Date	Campaign Days		Candidate	File Date	Campaign Days
Caledon	<b>Morrison</b> *	June 13	154	Barrie	Aspden	Sept. 5	69
	Moore	June 28	139		<b>Hamilton</b> *	June 25	141
Milton	<b>Krantz</b> *	June 19	148	Belleville	Ellis	Sept. 11	64
	Marsh	June 23	144		<b>Sills</b> *	June 22	145
Sarnia	<b>Bradley</b> *	Sept. 29	46	Quinte West	Williams	Sept. 28	47
	Murray	Sept. 22	53		<b>Campney</b> *	Sept. 1	55
Oshawa	<b>Gray</b> *	Jan. 2	289	St. Thomas	Barwick	July 20	116
	Kemp	Jan 26	265		<b>Kohler</b> *	May 5	193
Innisfil	<b>Jackson</b> *	Aug. 10	98	Waterloo	Halloran	June 30	137
	Bougley	June 10	150		<b>Epp</b> *	May 24	174
*Denotes Incumbent				*Denotes Incumbent			

An observation of the trends and differences between the incumbent mayor groups can be seen when the information from Table 6 is plotted in chart form as seen in Chart A. It becomes evident that in those cases where the incumbents were re-elected, the length of their campaign period was close to that of their main challenger. However, in the case where the incumbents were defeated, with the exception of Quinte West, the incumbent mayor entered the race significantly earlier in the election process.



Chart A



Expenditures by Candidates

As has been stated, in an election year a candidate may begin to raise and spend campaign funds from the date that he or she files their nomination form. From the Financial Statement filed by each candidate with their respective municipal clerk, individual total campaign spending was obtained as recorded on Line 4 of the Campaign and Expenses summary. This information is shown in Table 7.

## Campaign Spending

Table 7

Municipality	Mayoral Candidate	Campaign Expenditure	Votes Received
<b><i>Incumbent Re elected</i></b>			
Caledon	<b>Morrison*</b>	<b>\$38,081</b>	<b>7,150</b>
	Moore	\$33,331	5,084
Innisfil	<b>Jackson*</b>	<b>\$10,759</b>	<b>6,777</b>
	Boguley	\$6,391	3,188
Milton	<b>Krantz*</b>	<b>\$8,801</b>	<b>6,347</b>
	Marsh	\$3,265	3,364
Oshawa	<b>Gray*</b>	<b>\$55,547</b>	<b>19,545</b>
	Kemp	\$28	5,846
Sarnia	<b>Bradley*</b>	<b>\$12,890</b>	<b>12,623</b>
	Murray	\$9,720	6,421
<b><i>Incumbent Defeated</i></b>			
Barrie	Aspden	\$36,595	14,166
	<b>Hamilton*</b>	<b>\$77,384</b>	<b>12,175</b>
Belleville	Ellis	\$22,829	10,427
	<b>Sills*</b>	<b>\$13,935</b>	<b>3,957</b>
Quinte West	Williams	\$27,709	8,033
	<b>Campney*</b>	<b>\$20,037</b>	<b>3,324</b>
St. Thomas	Barwick	\$9,355	5,242
	<b>Kohler*</b>	<b>\$22,496</b>	<b>4,595</b>
Waterloo	Halloran	\$12,376	11,459
	<b>Epp*</b>	<b>\$70,244</b>	<b>7,364</b>
<b>*Denotes Incumbent Mayor</b>			

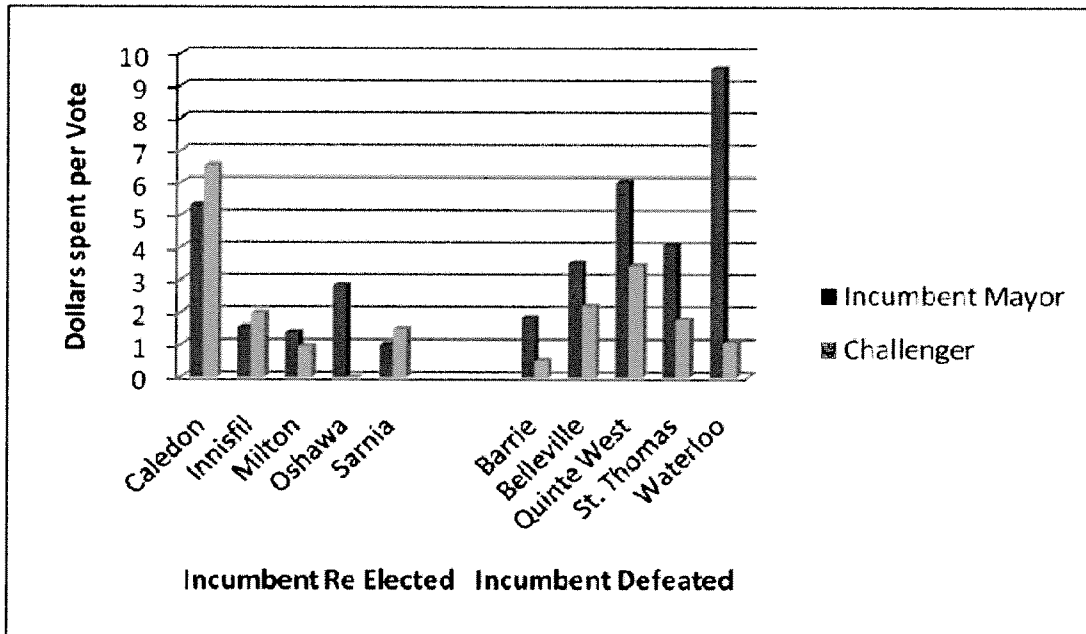
With the campaign spending information, a calculation has been applied which establishes a unit of measurement reducing the campaign spending into a cost per vote by dividing the number of votes the candidate received into their declared campaign expenditure figure.

Table 8

<b>Incumbent Re-elected</b>			<b>Incumbent Defeated</b>		
	Candidate	\$ per Vote		Candidate	\$ per Vote
Caledon	<b><i>Morrison</i></b> *	\$5.32	Barrie	Aspden	\$0.53
	Moore	\$6.55		<b><i>Hamilton</i></b> *	\$1.83
Innisfil	<b><i>Jackson</i></b> *	\$1.56	Belleville	Ellis	\$2.19
	Bougley	\$2.00		<b><i>Sills</i></b> *	\$3.52
Milton	<b><i>Krantz</i></b> *	\$1.39	Quinte West	Williams	\$3.45
	Marsh	\$0.97		<b><i>Campney</i></b> *	\$6.03
Oshawa	<b><i>Gray</i></b> *	\$2.85	St. Thomas	Barwick	\$1.78
	Kemp	\$0.004		<b><i>Kohler</i></b> *	\$4.09
Sarnia	<b><i>Bradley</i></b> *	\$1.02	Waterloo	Halloran	\$1.08
	Murray	\$1.51		<b><i>Epp</i></b> *	\$9.54
*Denotes Incumbent			*Denotes Incumbent		

When this same information is plotted in graph form as shown on Chart B, trends emerge which indicate that in the cases where the incumbent mayor was defeated, the incumbent spent significantly more funds than their main challenger.

Chart B



### Summary and Conclusions

This paper has examined the role and influence of a mayor in a Canadian municipal setting. Additionally it has reviewed the advantages of being an incumbent within the election process. Those advantages include the fact that an incumbent mayor benefits from their experience as head of council, their knowledge of issues, their ability to attract financial resources to aid in their election, and their established name recognition. This research has identified that it is virtually always better to be an incumbent heading into an election. With regard to the municipal election a discussion has taken place identifying the fact that the election process can serve as a referendum on the policy agenda of the incumbent mayor.

This paper has also shown that all candidates competing in the 2006 Municipal Election were guided by the Municipal Elections Act and that they could file their nomination papers as early as January 2<sup>nd</sup> of that year. Further, it was stated that the timing of the filing of their nomination also initiated the period in which they could raise and spend campaign funds. In doing so, candidates were required to adhere to prescribed forms as they filed their nomination forms and as they subsequently reported their campaign finances at the election's conclusion.

From the 2006 municipal elections, mayoral races within communities across Ontario have been examined highlighting the personal choices that were exercised by mayoral candidates in the initiation of their individual campaign periods. As well, the campaign funds that were spent within each of the mayoral races and the ultimate results of each of the elections have been researched. Within this examination, two pools of election data were established where five incumbent mayors were returned to office and where five incumbent mayors were defeated. At the outset of this research it was hypothesized that incumbent mayors who maximized the length of their campaign period and at the same time spent significant campaign funds were less likely to be re-elected. Generally, the results of this research conform to these expectations.

With regard to the length of the campaign period, it has been found that in those communities where the incumbent mayors were returned to office, there were marginal differences in the length of the campaign period between the incumbent and their main challenger. However, where the incumbent mayors were defeated, it was shown that the incumbent mayors entered the election process significantly earlier in the year than their main challenger. In spite of all of the benefits of their incumbency advantage and their early entry into the election process, having a longer campaign did not positively assist them in their pursuit for another term in

office. This observation is strengthened by the fact that in those municipalities where the incumbent mayor was defeated, the incumbent's main challenger entered the election process much later in the year thereby allowing themselves a shorter time period in which to implement their campaign, promote themselves and their policy platforms.

In relationship to the campaign funds that were spent, this research has shown that in the races where the incumbent mayors were defeated, the incumbents had spent significantly more money than their main challenger. This contrasts with the mayoral races where the incumbent was re-elected and the difference in campaign spending between candidates in those elections was closer. These findings reflect research that suggests that in election races where there is a strong threat to the incumbent, the incumbent's large spending habits are less effective than those of their challenger. Further, it reinforces the theory that the more an incumbent spends, the worse they seem to do.

This research has shown that the length of the campaign period and the financial resources spent on campaigns can be less significant in mayoral races where the incumbent faces strong competition. In these cases a marked difference in the length of the campaign period and spending habits between the competing candidates adds weight to research that suggest in fact that within a democratic society, elections can become in part a referendum on the policies being pursued by the incumbent versus the policy changes being promoted by challengers within the campaign period.

At the outset, a goal of this research was to expand and generalize upon theories relating to the length of incumbent mayoral campaign periods and campaign spending. This paper can

conclude that the research of the ten mayoral races that were studied supports the hypothesis that an incumbent is less likely to win an election when he or she implements a long campaign period and at the same time spends significant campaign funds.

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Appendix A



**Nomination Paper – Form 1**  
Municipal Elections Act, 1996 (Sections 33, 35)

**Note**

- A Nomination Paper may only be filled in person or by an agent; it may not be faxed or e-mailed.
- It is the responsibility of the person being nominated to file a complete and accurate nomination paper.

**Instruction**

- Please print or type information (except signatures).

Nomination Paper of a person to be a candidate at an election to be held in the following municipality

Nominated for the Office of _____		Ward name or no. (if any) _____	
Nominee's Name as it is to appear on the ballot paper (subject to agreement of the municipal clerk)			
Last Name _____		First Name _____	Middle Initial _____
Nominee's full qualifying address within municipality			
Suite/Unit No. _____	Street No. _____	Street Name _____	
City/Town _____		Province _____	Postal Code _____
Mailing Address <input type="checkbox"/> Same as qualifying address			
Suite/Unit No. _____	Street No. _____	Street Name _____	
City/Town _____		Province _____	Postal Code _____
If nominated for school board, full address of residence within its jurisdiction			
Suite/Unit No. _____	Street No. _____	Street Name _____	
City/Town _____		Province _____	Postal Code _____
Telephone No. (incl. area code)		Fax No. _____	Email Address _____
Business _____	Home _____		

**Declaration of Qualification**

I, \_\_\_\_\_, the nominee mentioned in this nomination paper, declare that I am presently legally qualified, or would be presently legally qualified if I were not a member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario or the Senate or House of Commons of Canada, to be elected and to hold the office for which I am nominated and I make this solemn declaration conscientiously believing it to be true and knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath.

**Declared before me**

at the \_\_\_\_\_  
of \_\_\_\_\_  
in the \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_  
this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 20\_\_\_\_.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Clerk or Commissioner, etc.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Nominee

Date Filed (yyyy/mm/dd) _____	Time Filed _____	Nominee or Agent Initial _____	Signature of Clerk or Designate _____
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**Certification by Clerk or Designate**

I, the undersigned clerk of this municipality, do hereby certify that I have examined the nomination paper of the aforesaid nominee filed with me and am satisfied that the nominee is qualified to be nominated and that the nomination complies with the Act.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date (yyyy/mm/dd) \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix B



Ontario

Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing

Financial Statement – Auditor’s Report Form 4

Municipal Elections Act, 1996 (Section 78)

Instructions

All candidates must complete Boxes A, B, C, D, E and F and Schedule 1. All candidates must complete Schedules 2, 3 and 4 as appropriate. Candidates who receive contributions or incur expenses in excess of \$10,000 must also attach an Auditor’s Report.

All surplus funds (after any refund to the candidate or his or her spouse) shall be paid immediately over to the clerk who was responsible for the conduct of the election.

For the campaign period from (day candidate filed nomination) 

YYYY	MM	DD
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 to 

YYYY	MM	DD
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- Primary filing reflecting finances to December 31 (or 45<sup>th</sup> day after voting day in a by-election)
- Supplementary filing including finances after December 31 (or 45<sup>th</sup> day after voting day in a by-election)

**Box A: Name of Candidate and Office**

Name of Candidate		
Last Name	First Name	Middle Initial
Mailing Address		
Suite/Unit No.	Street No.	Street Name
City/Town		Province
Postal Code		
Telephone No. (incl. area code)		Fax No.
Business	Home	Email Address
Name of office for which the candidate sought election		Ward Name or No. (if any)
Name of Municipality		

**Box B: Summary of Campaign Income and Expense**

1. My spending limit (as issued by clerk) was . . . . .	\$ <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>
2. Surplus (or deficit) from previous election . . . . .	\$ <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>
3. Total contributions received (from Schedule 1) . . . . .	\$ <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>
4. My total campaign expenses that were subject to the spending limit were (from Box C) . . . . .	\$ <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>
5. My total campaign expenses that were not subject to the spending limit were (from Box C) . . . . .	\$ <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>
6. Total of all campaign expenses (from Box C) . . . . .	\$ <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>
7. Election campaign surplus/deficit from current election (from Box E) . . . . .	\$ <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>
8. Contributions refunded to candidate or spouse (from Box E) . . . . .	\$ <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>
9. Amount paid to clerk (from Box E) . . . . .	\$ <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>