

SPANNING THE SPECTRUM: POLITICAL PARTY ATTITUDES IN MANITOBA

BY

JARED WESLEY

A Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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Of

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ABSTRACT

This Master of Arts Thesis analyzes the contours of the Manitoba political party system. By surveying Progressive Conservative, New Democratic and Liberal Party candidates in the 2003 Provincial Election, the study uncovers a distinct left-right pattern among their attitudes. In particular, each party contains its own unique 'alloy' of attitudinal elements. New Democratic candidates hold social democratic, reform liberal, 'New Left', and neo-liberal attitudes, for instance. Meanwhile the Tories are divided between their 'progressive' and 'conservative' wings, and the Liberals between their reform and neo-liberal factions. These internal cleavages help bridge the gaps along the party spectrum, as certain left-wing and right-wing values permeate the attitudes of each party. Specifically, the survey reveals widespread leftist support for welfare, civil liberties and the environment, as well as cross-party adherence to neo-liberal concepts like affordable government. Nonetheless, despite intra-party divisions and inter-party convergence, the study concludes that there is considerable attitudinal distance between the New Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives, thereby confirming the existence of the 'traditional party spectrum' in Manitoba – with the NDP on the left, the PC's on the right and the Liberals in the centre.

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PREFACE

From the outset, I believe it is crucial to detail precisely what this thesis will *not* address. I, myself, find it frustrating to wait until the end of a paper to discover exactly what the author intended to overlook. And, as there are no doubt readers who have turned to this thesis in search of an answer to a particular question, I would hesitate to waste their time unnecessarily. In this spirit, I present the following list. (And if the reader should discover any topics that are on neither this list or in the subsequent chapters, please assume that I intended to overlook them, as well.)

The following pages will *not* analyze minor parties – like the Greens or Communists – nor the impact of religion upon political attitudes. While each of these topics is certainly deserving of study, we could afford neither the time nor the pages necessary to do so. The same is true of topics like political leadership, nominations, electoral systems, or other institutions. By the same token, political behavior – including voter turnout and voting patterns, for instance – are only cursorily addressed in the following pages. This is a study of *political attitudes*, specifically those of Manitoba politicians, leaving little room for these topics.

Indeed, our respondents noted many such ‘shortcomings’, themselves. For one, we opted not to delve into the issue of campaign finance reform, although candidates were generous in their comments on the subject. One New Democrat explained, “There seems to be a move away from ‘dollar democracy’. The new legislation of banning union and business donations to political parties has created a level playing field for politics in Manitoba.” Another astutely noted,

Political standards in this province have vastly improved since the imposition of a ban on union and corporate donations to political parties. The spring election in '03 was very honourably contested with a minimum of dirty tricks in marked contrast to 1995 (the vote-rigging scandal that led to the Inquiry) and 1999 (smear campaign orchestrated against the Interlake NDP candidate). Clean elections that focus on the issues will lend to greater interest in the public eye and higher turn-outs at the polls. Low road, American-style politics turn Canadians off.

On another topic, a Conservative candidate – no doubt in reference to the prevailing political issue at the time, involving the federal Liberals' involvement in the Political Advertising Scandal – asked us bluntly, “Where are the questions regarding effective/efficient government?” Still others wished to see more direct questions regarding the relationship between voters and themselves, as candidates. “When I decided to run for public office, it was my intention from the outset to keep an open mind,” wrote one Liberal respondent.

I was ready to act as a "sounding board" for any variety of views and opinions and I prepared myself studiously for that task. I was however not prepared for the bleak ennui which appeared like a black hole before me. More often than not I was told point blank "I don't vote!" and the 48% voter turnout in my constituency served to underscore this opinion. I challenged these people by saying "get out and spoil or decline your ballot!" Perhaps some people took my advice. I will never know. The electorate has been so disconnected from the process that all that is left is inaction. "And so it ends not with a bang but with a whimper." There will be a hard lesson in this. One which we have failed to learn from the past.

Conservative candidates echoed these sentiments. “Most Canadians have become cynical about all levels of government,” one noted. “We no longer vote for the best candidate but often opt for the lesser of three evils... A very high percentage of under-30 voters don't even make the effort to vote because they are convinced ‘nothing will change.’ Many have no faith or trust in the political system.”

A second Tory concurred. "It seems like after talking to people they don't look for the best person anymore," he wrote.

They look for who is going to screw them the least. Also there seems to be a stigma attached to each group. NDP are for low income, social program, union voters. Conservatives are big business, period!! (the rich voters). Liberals are in the middle: small and medium business, middle and lower income. When I was going door to door I heard a lot of complaints about politics in general. The ones that bothered me the most were: They didn't care any more – we're all the same cheats, liars and crooks.

Indeed, one Conservative candidate appeared to share the sentiments of her constituents. "I believe most politicians are in politics for the money," she wrote. "They do not think long term as a rule. They believe their first job is to get re-elected by spending other people's money."

I, for one, disagree. While there is likely enough material to construct another thesis on this topic, I think Manitoba politicians are, indeed, concerned with more than simply "spending other people's money." In this sense, I believe Henry Kissinger had it almost right when he lamented that "90 percent of politicians give the other 10 percent a bad name." In Manitoba, this figure appears even more optimistic, as a full 47 percent of provincial politicians took the time to complete our questionnaire – evidence, perhaps, that their interest in politics extends beyond plain greed and blind ambition. I wish to thank *them* for making the time and effort to participate in our study. Their knowledge and experience has made them among the very few "experts" in the field of Manitoba politics, and their assistance is indispensable to our understanding of the province's party system.

Of course, so, too, was the funding and administration necessary to conduct this research. For this, I extend thanks to Dr. David Stewart and the University of Manitoba Faculty of Arts Endowment Fund, as well as the Duff Roblin Fellowship Committee. Also, I wish to thank Cathy, Shirley, Linda, Jo-Ann, Bonnie, April, Sarah, Lisa, Angela, and Sean for all their support and restraint.

To my parents, I owe my stability, education and self-confidence. Without their encouragement (read: “tolerance, indulgence, room and board”), I would never have completed this work. I also owe to them my interest in politics, more generally, which – as of late – has broken a cardinal rule in our family: *it is*, now, discussed at the dinner table.

Likewise, I am appreciative of the efforts of my patient advisor, Dr. David Stewart, whose guidance was neither too strict, nor too lenient. His questions stretched my mind around numerous difficult concepts, and, although we may disagree on some of the answers, I truly enjoyed the debates. To my academic confidant, Dr. Brenda O’Neill, I also extend great thanks. Her tutelage in the area of survey design and data analysis were invaluable, as was her moral support for my studies. In light of their assistance, it felt awkward to write this thesis using terms like “I”, “me” or “my”. For, although I assume full responsibility for the content, accuracy and quality of the following thesis, I have always viewed this as a collective project. To my diligent thesis committee member, Dr. Barry Ferguson and defence Chair, Dr. Richard Sigurdson, I remain thankful for their insightful comments and suggestions. Together, my committee’s advice exposed me to the many intricacies and rewards of academic research. I look forward to working with each of them in the years to come.

In the meantime, I offer “Spanning the Spectrum” as the product of an academic curiosity and a tri-partisan collaboration – a combination that is all-too-infrequent in Manitoba today. In the following chapters, I hope we not only respond to the questions of some readers, but also incite further curiosity in our province. For there is much to be discovered about Manitoba politics, and, as Bertrand Russell once wrote, “it’s a healthy thing now and then to hang a question mark on things you have often taken for granted.”

CHAPTER 1 – COHERENT CHOICES AND CLEAR OPTIONS

Many Canadians expect political parties to offer them coherent choices and clear options. Whether at the ballot box or in the legislature, citizens often insist that parties display internal consistency and clarity in their principles, while, at the same time, remaining distinct in their visions for society. In short, voters expect that parties will be discernable – even adversarial – in their attitudes toward public policy, offering clear-cut alternatives from which to draw political leadership.

In reality, few party systems meet these expectations, and citizens are often discouraged by their lack of meaningful choice during elections. For one, divisions can appear within parties, creating friction and factionalization of the party's message. As the attitudes of party followers clash, entire party 'wings' are pitted against one another, fostering tension and conflict over the party's ultimate direction. Conversely, cohesion can develop *across* party lines, blurring the boundaries between the organizations. In this way, party policies and stances may converge with those of their competitors, thus confusing and frustrating voters. Given this dual tendency – to develop both intra-party divisions and inter-party similarities – parties often struggle to provide the coherent choices and clear options that their constituents demand.

This is because the contours of a party system are constantly in flux. And the traditional 'left-right' political spectrum – the most common tool used to distinguish parties from one another – is seldom as straightforward as some analysts would have us believe. The simpler days of a capitalist 'right' and an anti-capitalist 'left' have long

since passed. Instead, the picture is often clouded, with parties occupying vast areas on the continuum, divided from within and overlapping with each other to a substantial degree.

What is more, as we enter the so-called 'post-deficit' era of Canadian politics, our political leaders face new challenges that often lie beyond the traditional left-right spectrum. Concerns ranging from environmental protection and federalism, to maintaining competitive tax levels and balancing the budget – while by no means unique to twenty-first century politics – have taken on new meaning and importance in today's political arena. Such issues have compelled parties and their leaders to re-evaluate and revamp their approaches toward politics altogether, producing what some have called a "New Left" and "New Right" in political debate. Understanding the attitudes of today's parties and politicians can be difficult, considering these changes.

Such forces have challenged our conventional conception of party politics in Canada. In the face of recent developments, we must revisit the question, "Where *do* the various parties fall on the political spectrum?" Is it accurate to depict a 'New Democratic left', 'Liberal centre', and 'Conservative right' in post-deficit Canada? And where does each party stand on the various issues? Finding the answers is no easy task, considering the fluidity and diversity of political attitudes in this country.

Nonetheless, the following thesis offers a partial response. For ours is a case study in Manitoba political ideology, analyzing the contours of the province's party system in the wake of the 2003 Election. Surveying New Democratic, Liberal and Conservative candidates from that campaign, this represents the first examination of its kind in Manitoba, and one of a very few glimpses into post-deficit provincial party

attitudes. Our findings are many, as the following five chapters attest. Ultimately, they offer confirmation that the Manitoba party system *is* structured on a left/right axis. Divided as they are among their various internal 'wings', we discovered that each provincial party *is* distinctive in terms of its candidates' attitudes. Whether or not these divisions were visible to the electorate is the topic for another debate. However, in their own minds and through their own attitudes, the candidates in Manitoba's 2003 Provincial Election did offer the electorate a clear set of alternatives.

In this sense, our survey uncovered several notable findings. First, we found evidence of the traditional left-right spectrum in Manitoba, with the NDP occupying the left, the Liberals the centre-left, and the Conservatives the right. On average, the New Democrats, with their strong support of civil liberties, were diametrically opposed to the more socially conservative PC caucus, for instance, with the Liberals occupying the middle ground. Second, our survey revealed considerable ideological distance between the various parties on several key issues. So-called 'hot-button topics' – including the provision of health care services, the legalization of marijuana, same-sex marriage, Americanization, and free trade – separated the three parties to a considerable extent. On each, the Liberals were relatively divided, while the attitudes of Conservatives and New Democrats were virtually polarized. Taken together, these two findings suggest the persistence of a well-defined left-right political spectrum in Manitoba.

These conclusions required qualification, however, as further analysis revealed both attitudinal overlap between the parties, and division within each party's ranks. For example, there appeared an all-party consensus in three main issue areas: transparent and affordable government; environmental protection; and the universality of social

programs. All-party support for these issues tended to blur the lines between the NDP, Conservatives and Liberals. At the same time, our survey uncovered the unique cleavages *within* each party's campaign slate. New Democrats were most strongly divided according to region, for instance, as NDP candidates in Southwestern Manitoba were more centrist than their left-leaning counterparts in South Winnipeg. Moreover, NDP attitudes showed a balance between the three main modes of left-wing thought – social democracy, reform liberalism and 'New Left' activism – and a Third Way commitment to neo-liberalism. The PC Party was similarly divided along regional lines, with Southern Conservatives leaning further to the right than Tories in South Winnipeg. As noted in Chapter 3, these findings confirmed the existence of a 'progressive' / 'conservative' divide within the party. For Liberals, on the other hand, the deepest cleavage was along the lines of age. Young Grits were more closely linked to the philosophy of the 'New Right', while elder Liberals leaned toward the centre-left of the spectrum. As such, the party showed signs of both reform liberalism and neo-liberalism. In these ways, our survey helped qualify and clarify the contours of the Manitoba party system, indicating the existence of overlap and internal division among parties.

Reaching these conclusions was a challenging process, from designing and distributing the survey, to analyzing and interpreting the results. This introductory chapter is designed to provide the theoretical and methodological background to our study, shedding light on the context and structure of our analysis. To begin, we describe the process of "attitudinal profiling", itself, demonstrating how political scientists have approached questions of party ideology in previous analyses. We discuss how party

attitudes are observed, how they are structured, and how they are configured along multiple dimensions. From here, we identify gaps in the existing research, and outline our own unique research design in an effort to overcome them. In the end, our analysis provides a much-needed examination of the provincial party system in Manitoba, showing how candidates' attitudes "span the spectrum" from left to right.

Creating 'Attitudinal Profiles'

Canadian political scientists have studied the topic of party cohesion, tension, divergence, and convergence for decades. To date, efforts have focussed on discovering the core values of a particular party, or uncovering patterns of beliefs among party followers. Indeed, since the first detailed study by Robert Alford over forty years ago,¹ entire academic careers have been based on the examination of the opinion structures of Canadian parties, with analysts offering numerous theories and proffering various findings. Political scientists have approached the issue with different objectives, devices and research designs, and have drawn a variety of different comparisons, trends and conclusions, all of which have added to our cumulative knowledge of party politics in this country.

Capturing the essence of this subfield of research, Stewart and Archer once referred to their work as creating a series of "attitudinal profiles" to describe the unique composition of parties.² Analyzing provincial politics in Alberta, they concluded that

¹ Robert R. Alford. *Party and Society: the Anglo-American Democracies*. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press. 1963.

² David Stewart and Keith Archer. *Quasi-Democracy?: Parties and Leadership Selection in Alberta*. Vancouver: UBC Press. 2000.

New Democrats tended to be 'left'-leaning on most issues, with the Conservatives on the 'right' and Liberals in the 'centre'. Parties in the province were depicted as ideationally distinct and coherent organizations, each with their own unique policy space. Parallel studies have confirmed the existence of a similar spectrum at the federal level,³ offering proof that attitudinal profiling has a rich tradition in Canadian political science.

The value of this field of research lies in its capacity to offer insight into a wide range of information about parties. In particular, analysts have profiled party attitudes to: (1) draw divisions between parties; (2) measure ideational distances between them; and (3) assess the level of internal cohesion within parties. In the first instance, analysts have tested the traditional conception of the Canadian federal party spectrum: the New Democrats on the left, the Conservatives on the right, and the Liberals in the centre. Since Alford's study, other parties – including the right-leaning Social Credit and Reform Party⁴ – have been incorporated into the theory. A second stream of inquiry has added distance to this equation, analyzing not only the relative attitudinal positions of parties, but also the ideological space between them.⁵ For a host of other researchers, profiling the attitudes of political parties involves more than simply comparisons between them. Many recent research designs have also focused on exposing the internal dynamics within

³ See: Faron Ellis and Keith Archer. "Ideology and Opinion Within the Reform Party." *Party Politics in Canada*. (8th Ed.) Hugh G. Thorburn and Alan Whitehorn, eds. Toronto: Prentice-Hall. 2001. pp. 122-134.; Keith Archer and Alan Whitehorn. "Opinion Structure Among Party Activists: A Comparison of New Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives." *Party Politics in Canada*. (8th Ed.) Hugh G. Thorburn and Alan Whitehorn, eds. Toronto: Prentice-Hall. 2001. pp. 107-121.; Donald E. Blake. "Division and Cohesion: The Major Parties." *Party Democracy in Canada: The Politics of National Party Conventions*. George Perlin, ed. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall. 1988. pp. 32-53.

⁴ Our research has uncovered no substantial studies to place the Bloc Quebecois on such a scale. And, while research has been conducted on the Reform Party's placement on the political spectrum (Ellis and Archer, "Ideology and Opinion", 2001), no comparable, comprehensive analysis has been made of the Canadian Alliance.

⁵ Archer and Whitehorn, "Opinion Structure", pp. 115-117.

parties, enabling us to view the intra-party composition of various party systems. This third mode of analysis allows us to assess the internal cohesion within parties to determine the level of harmony among party followers and the types of divisions between them. Keith Archer, through studies conducted with Faron Ellis and Alan Whitehorn, has become a leading expert in this type of research. Thus, analyzing parties in terms of both their external *and internal* attitudinal divisions can yield important results. Our study takes this dual-focused approach.

Devices for Surveying Party Attitudes

Researchers have employed a variety of different techniques to uncover attitudinal differences among parties. Donald Blake outlines three main approaches.⁶ The first analyzes the differences between parties-in-government, a method used frequently by political scientists in the United States.⁷ By examining roll call records or party positions on issues before the legislature, analysts have drawn conclusions about the opinion structure between and within parties as they govern. A party whose members tend to vote together on social or economic issues, and against the members of another party, would tend to be both internally cohesive and attitudinally distinct under this approach. This is a difficult method to apply in Canada, considering the high level of party discipline. A second method involves examining the content of party artifacts, like platforms, leaders' speeches or memoirs. Christian and Campbell employed this particular technique with great success, as they drew conclusions about the relative

⁶ Blake, "Division and Cohesion", pp. 32-33.

⁷ For example, see: Eric Schickler and Andrew Rich. "Controlling the Floor: Parties as Procedural Coalitions in the House." *American Journal of Political Science*. 41 (1997): 1340-75.

positions of parties on a wide variety of attitudinal dimensions based on the rhetoric found in party literature.⁸ A third and final approach requires analysts to survey the attitudes of Canadian voters, activists, legislators, or party followers to discern broader party opinion structures. As will be discussed in the following pages, this particular method has become the most popular among Canadian researchers in recent decades. In reality, there is no best way to create attitudinal profiles of political parties, and all three approaches offer different and equally valuable perspectives on the topic of party attitudes. For reasons that will become clear, the third approach – involving surveys of individual political dispositions – will form the basis of our study.

In terms of surveys, the mail-in questionnaire has been the device of choice for researchers in the area.⁹ While the precise structure of these forms has varied from study to study, considerable consensus has developed over the types of questions and areas of inquiry to be included. For instance, most questionnaires have been ‘closed’ and quantitative in nature, allowing analysts to compile and compare data across large samples. Most questionnaires have also been cross-sectional, as opposed to longitudinal, although notable exceptions do exist. For example, David Elkins conducted a quasi-panel survey of political attitudes in 1965 and 1968,¹⁰ and Blake et al.’s 1991 study¹¹

⁸ William Christian and Colin Campbell. *Political Parties and Ideologies in Canada: liberals, conservatives, socialists, nationalists*. (2nd Ed.) Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson. 1983.

⁹ Analysts examining Canadian political attitudes have used in-person and telephone interviews far less frequently than mail-in questionnaires, although the results from these techniques have been equally impressive. The “Michigan School” of attitude analysis – developed by Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes (1960) – is modeled around this principle of in-depth personal interviewing. Such studies, including those of Klingemann (1979) and Kornberg et al. (1975), have been both rare and noteworthy for providing a deeper examination of individual attitudes in Canada. Each involved extensive, open-ended individual interviews of large samples of the population, and offered unique insights into not only the attitudinal profiles of parties, but also the conceptualization of political attitudes among party identifiers, themselves. As will be discussed, this type of analysis – while often desired – is not always available to researchers.

¹⁰ David J. Elkins “The Perceived Structure of the Canadian Party Systems.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 7 (1974): 502-24.

attempted a similar technique using secondary analysis of research in the 1970s. However, the majority of surveys in this area have offered only 'snap-shot' views of political attitudes at specific points in time. Indeed, few questionnaires have strayed from this 'closed' and cross-sectional model. While recognizing the major shortcomings of this type of survey, our study will be no different in this respect.

Furthermore, an analyst's choice between research devices is often intimately connected with her choice of research sample and topic. Conducting a series of personal interviews, for instance, may be possible if one's sample is of manageable size. For example, analyzing the attitudinal dynamics within the Prince Edward Island Legislative Assembly would require, at most, a total of twenty-seven interviews. Conducting the same type of analysis on the Canadian House of Commons would involve dozens more interviews, hundreds more hours of research and thousands more dollars. As Hill et al. have noted, one's choice of sample can, thus, create barriers to the type of study one wants to conduct.¹² Furthermore, the choice of one's topic can have a similar effect. In the 1960s and 1970s, for instance, a lack of access to party officials and legislators placed further restrictions on researchers seeking to study political party attitudes in Canada. As Clarke described it in 1978, the analysis of "patterns of variance in Canadian political culture" had been restricted to the attitudes of the mass public, leaving the beliefs of Canada's elite "largely unexplored."¹³ In recent decades, a combination of technological and democratic advances has exposed new opportunities for research in this area,

¹¹ Donald E. Blake, R.K. Carty and Lynda Erickson. *Grassroots Politicians: Party Activists in British Columbia*. Vancouver: UBC Press. 1991.

¹² Kim Quaille Hill, Stephen Hanna and Sahar Shafqat. "The Liberal-Conservative Ideology of U.S. Senators: A New Measure." *American Journal of Political Science*. 41 (1997): 1395-1414.

¹³ Harold D. Clarke. "The Ideological Self-Perceptions of Provincial Legislators." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 11 (1978), p. 617.

however. And, particularly since the late 1980s, analysts have begun making dramatic headway.

In particular, "activists" have been the most popular object of analysis among researchers in the field of political party attitudes in Canada. Whether defined as delegates to a party's leadership convention¹⁴ or party officials,¹⁵ activists have been surveyed for over two decades, as the importance and significance of parties' extra-parliamentary wings has grown. Other studies, such as those conducted by Lambert et al., have shifted focus toward the entire electorate, seeking to gain insight into general perceptions about party attitudes and identities.¹⁶ In very few instances, legislators have been the object of analysis, as well.¹⁷ Overall, however, activists have been the 'respondent of choice' among researchers in recent years.

The Observation and Structure of Political Attitudes

Having established the most common objectives, devices and sample populations used in the study of party attitudes in Canada, we are still left with one obvious question: Precisely what do analysts look for when creating an attitudinal profile of a political party? In other words, what sorts of questions do researchers pose of their respondents to determine whether each party is cohesive and distinct?

¹⁴ Archer and Whitehorn, "Opinion Structure"; Stewart and Archer, *Quasi-Democracy*; Ellis and Archer, "Ideology and Opinion", Blake et al. *Grassroots*, Blake, "Division and Cohesion".

¹⁵ John F. Zipp. "Left-Right Dimensions of Canadian Federal Party Identification." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 11 (1978): 251-77.

¹⁶ Ronald D. Lambert, James E. Curtis, Steven D. Brown, Barry J. Kay. "In Search of Left/Right Beliefs in the Canadian Electorate." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 19 (1986): 541-563.

¹⁷ Clarke, "Ideological Self-Perceptions".

First and foremost, how is a political attitude exhibited to the observer? While this question remains open to debate among theorists, Hans Klingemann has offered a solution that has been generally well-accepted in the political science community. According to his theory, a respondent's political disposition may manifest itself in numerous ways, including "active use" (AU) and "recognition and understanding" (RU).¹⁸ By "active use", Klingemann refers to the free communication of an abstract principle, like the terms 'left' and 'right', by the respondent when answering an open-ended survey question. For instance, a questionnaire might ask a respondent to simply describe her own political disposition. By using terms like 'left-wing' or 'social-democratic', or 'rightist' or 'conservative', the respondent would be communicating her political beliefs through "active use" of an attitudinal mode of thought. Klingemann's second point – on "recognition and understanding" – focuses on the ability of a respondent to comprehend attitudinal concepts when used in a close-ended survey question. For example, a questionnaire might ask a respondent to position himself on the left-right spectrum according to his beliefs about the government's role in the economy. By placing himself to the left of the continuum, in this case, he would be recognizing his positive attitude toward government involvement and applying it to the scale. Klingemann's theory of analyzing the different conceptualizations of political attitudes is implicit in the design of many questionnaires today. Many studies have used a combination of "active use" and "recognition and understanding" measures to analyze the attitudes of party identifiers. We will return to this discussion later in this chapter.

¹⁸ Hans D. Klingemann. "Measuring Ideological Conceptualizations." *Political Action: Mass Population in Five Western Democracies*. Samuel H. Barnes and Max Kaase, eds. Beverly Hills: Sage. 1979. p. 215.

Still, how exactly are political attitudes structured? Although debate continues over this question, as well, one particular response has been well-received by academics. In it, Peffley and Hurwitz contend that political attitudes are hierarchically-structured.¹⁹ Building on Philip Converse's theory,²⁰ the authors note that peoples' attitudes toward specific policy issues are "constrained" by their general dispositions toward the role of government in those areas and, further up in the hierarchy, an abstract set of beliefs about politics, in general. For instance, a person who expresses opposition toward privatized health care may, in actuality, be expressing a belief in the government's responsibility to provide essential social services to its citizens; this, in turn, may be a reflection of his or her "social-democratic" or "leftist" beliefs at a more abstract level.²¹ In the end, when surveying attitudes, Peffley and Hurwitz urge researchers to analyze beliefs at each level of conceptualization, from abstract values through general dispositions and concrete stances toward policy. As was the case following the acceptance of Klingemann's theory, Canadian researchers have responded by using a combination of questions to analyze all levels of respondents' political attitudes.

In particular, Canadian analysts have employed a variety of different question types when sketching attitudinal profiles of parties. Clarke,²² Gibbins and Nevitte,²³ and

¹⁹ Mark A. Peffley and Jon Hurwitz. "A Hierarchical Model of Attitude Constraint." *American Journal of Political Science*. 29 (1986):871-890.

²⁰ Philip E. Converse. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." *Ideology and Discontent*. David E. Apter, ed. New York: The Free Press. 1964.

²¹ At the same time, Peffley and Hurwitz claim, individuals may actually form their attitudes in a 'bottom-up' – or inductive – manner, in fact fashioning their abstract beliefs based on a collection of 'lower level' stances toward specific policies. To use our example above, the individual may have formed his original "leftist" disposition from a combination of specific policy stances, like support for daycare, social security or labor issues. Whether created through induction or deduction, however, these "opinion constraints" do have an impact on a person's political attitudes, regardless of how they were formed.

²² Clarke, "Ideological Self-Perceptions".

²³ Roger Gibbins and Neil Nevitte. "Canadian Political Ideology: A Comparative Analysis." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 18 (1985): 577-98.

Lambert et al.,²⁴ for instance, made extensive use of the “self-placement” technique, asking respondents to place themselves and their party on a variety of different political spectra. Other researchers have measured attitudes more objectively, indexing respondents’ reactions toward normative statements regarding the role and policies of governments. In either case, most analysts have made use of both Klingemann’s and Peffley/Hurwitz’s theories in designing their survey questions. Our study has done so, as well.

Dimensions of Political Attitudes

Political attitudes are multifaceted and complex, further complicating their measurement. While elaborately developed by Anthony Downs in his classic *Economic Theory of Democracy*,²⁵ the concept of a unidimensional political spectrum has been largely abandoned by the academic community since the late 1970s.²⁶ Downs’s theory was predicated on the existence of a single ‘left-right’ continuum, based on attitudes toward the government’s role in the economy. Since that time, researchers have noted the importance of other ideational factors in structuring the attitudes of individuals and parties, including dispositions toward issues such as social welfare and the environment. Today, few analysts recognize the existence of a single ‘left-right’ spectrum, and refer to a series of dimensions – or axes – upon which political attitudes may be placed.

²⁴ Lambert et al., “In Search of”.

²⁵ Anthony Downs. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row. 1957.

²⁶ Donald Stokes was one of Downs’s chief critics. Their debates over the structure of political attitudes lasted throughout much of the early 1960s, with Stokes (1963) emerging with the majority of support among academics.

Over time, researchers in Canada have reached general consensus on a list of over a dozen of these attitudinal dimensions. They include attitudes toward:

- the role of government in the economy (including perceptions of regulation and privatization);
- the role of government in the redistribution of wealth (including perceptions of social welfare and social security);
- the size and role of government, in general (including anti-government and populist sentiments);
- individualism and the role of individuals in society;
- feminism and the role of women in society;
- civil liberties and the protection of minorities;
- moralism;
- the environment;
- “big business”;
- the major spending priorities of government;
- foreign relations (including ‘hawkishness’);
- continentalism (including Canada/United States relations and free trade);
- monarchism (including Canada’s place in the Commonwealth);
- the “Quebec Question” (including Quebec’s status within Confederation);
- the balance of federalism (including ‘Western Alienation’ and the fiscal balance among provinces and the federal government);
- bilingualism; and
- multiculturalism (including immigration).

While this list is by no means exhaustive, most surveys conducted in recent decades have used some or all of these dimensions when analyzing political attitudes in Canada.

Shortcomings of Existing Research

Overall, a wide range of research designs has produced wealth of findings on the attitudinal structure of party politics in Canada. In their search for inter-party differences, most studies have confirmed our traditional conception of federal party placement – with the New Democrats on the left, the Liberals at centre-left, the Conservatives at centre-right, and – until its recent dissolution – the Reform / Alliance on the right.²⁷ Others have applied similar techniques to map the party systems of individual provinces, producing similar conclusions.²⁸ Within parties, researchers have found numerous internal cleavages, as well, whether based on attitudes,²⁹ status,³⁰ age and religion,³¹ or other socio-demographic characteristics. Yet, despite this wealth of research, there are numerous gaps in the existing literature, all of which direct our attention toward new opportunities for discovery. Our study addresses three such shortcomings, in particular.

First, aside from groundbreaking studies by Blake et al. in British Columbia³² and Stewart and Archer in Alberta,³³ little research has been conducted on party attitudes at the provincial level. Instead, whether due to inherent interest in the topic or the relative ease in assembling large samples of respondents, most analyses have been conducted

²⁷ Archer and Whitehorn, "Opinion Structure"; Ellis and Archer, "Ideology and Opinion".

²⁸ Blake et al., *Grassroots*; Stewart and Archer, *Quasi-Democracy*.

²⁹ Archer and Whitehorn, "Opinion Structure"; Blake et al. *Grassroots*; Stewart and Archer, *Quasi-Democracy*.

³⁰ Zipp, "Left-Right".

³¹ Clarke, "Ideological Self-Perceptions".

³² Blake et al., *Grassroots*.

³³ Stewart and Archer, *Quasi-Democracy*.

nationally, examining the federal party system. Even in his study of "The Ideological Self-Perceptions of Provincial Legislators," Harold Clarke adopted 'region' as his focus, lumping groups like the Atlantic Provinces or Prairie Provinces together under single units of analysis.³⁴ In particular, no comprehensive research has been conducted on the attitudinal structure of the Manitoba party system, the topic of our study. This Manitoba-focused analysis yields not only valuable information about the province's unique political environment, but also allows for experimentation with different dimensions and variables specific to provincial politics in general. Just as Blake et al. introduced BC-specific questions into their analysis, such as asking for respondents' attitudes toward agricultural marketing, so, too, have we tailored our survey to match the climate of Manitoba politics. We have, for instance, posed questions regarding the privatization of Manitoba Hydro and other issues unique to the province. More generally, adding a strictly-provincial focus has allowed us to tap attitudes within areas of provincial jurisdiction rather than those traditionally associated with the federal sphere. Rather than measuring attitudes related to issues like foreign relations and monarchism for instance, we have turned our attention toward topics like education, welfare, healthcare, and childcare. Thus, while comprehensive in their own right, nation-wide studies tell us little about attitudes at the provincial level, revealing a need for future research in areas like Manitoba politics.

Second, few studies have gauged the attitudes of party politicians. Indeed, not since Harold Clarke's study of provincial MLAs have Canadian researchers attempted

³⁴ Clarke, "Ideological Self-Perceptions".

attitudinal profiling of parties' parliamentary wings.³⁵ And few studies have adopted party candidates as their unit of analysis.³⁶ Focusing instead upon the attitudes of the voting public or party activists, analysts have thus left a noticeable gap in the existing research. In his analysis of the "Ideological Self-Perceptions of Provincial Legislators," Clarke lamented the lack of scholarly attention afforded to the attitudes of politicians. Since the 1960's, he writes,

patterns of variance in Canadian political culture have been documented in several studies of the attitudes and beliefs of the Canadian mass public. To date, however, the nature and significance of variations in political culture in Canada at the elite level remain largely unexplored. Given the importance generally attributed to elites in descriptions of the functioning of the Canadian political system, examination of the belief systems of Canadian political elites is a salient research priority.³⁷

Unfortunately, little has changed in the three decades since Clarke's study. While some focus has shifted to the attitudes of party activists – most often defined as party convention-goers – legislators and political candidates have remained beyond the scope of academic analysis. In essence, this means general conclusions have been drawn about the attitudinal positions of parties without consideration of the attitudes of their most public spokespersons. This trend is as remarkable as it is regrettable.

For exploring party attitudes without attention to the beliefs and values of politicians is akin to studying corporations without consideration of business leaders, or of sports teams without an examination of athletes. Granted, studying other elements of these organizations does yield good insight; whether observing voters, consumers or fans,

³⁵ Clarke, "Ideological Self-Perceptions".

³⁶ One notable exceptions is: Ian Stewart. *Roasting Chestnuts: The Mythology of Maritime Political Culture*. Vancouver: UBC Press. 1994.

³⁷ Clarke, "Ideological Self-Perceptions", p. 617.

analysis of a group's grassroots can reveal a great deal about its overall character. Yet, in politics especially, leadership plays as substantial a role as membership.

Like CEO's or team captains, for instance, politicians are the most public faces of their organizations. As office-seekers, they represent the voice of their constituents, giving substance and expression to party platforms while putting a personal face on the political attitudes of their supporters. As the subsequent chapters reveal, their values and beliefs are as much elements of their parties' attitudinal structures as they are products of their political surroundings. Politicians are unique in this way, for, as Wiseman once noted, they are "reflectors of their society, their environment, their times. They may be examined in terms that transcend quirks of personality. Their ideas and actions may be seen as reflections of the popular and ideological-cultural basis of their support."³⁸ Premier Gary Doer, himself, has echoed this perception. In a letter of response to our survey, the premier asserts that he "represents the interests and concerns of all Manitobans and his political perspective reflects his role."³⁹ Indeed, as public representatives and leaders, politicians aim to embody the attitudes and values of their followers. This makes them an invaluable element of our understanding of party politics.

Furthermore, politicians play an essential role in the translation of political ideas into concrete action. In seeking the motivation behind given policies or strategies, undeniably analysts must pay heed to the attitudes of key politicians. As Elkins and Simeon suggest, the broad ideological principles outlined in party platforms or speeches do not manifest themselves automatically into political realities. Instead, these attitudes

³⁸ Nelson Wiseman. "The Pattern of Prairie Politics." *Party Politics in Canada*. (8th Ed.) Hugh G. Thorburn and Alan Whitehorn, eds. Toronto: Prentice-Hall. 2001. p 352.

³⁹ Direct Correspondence from Office of the Premier, dated January 27, 2004.

must be actively mobilized or organized into politics, and translated into action.⁴⁰ Whether during elections or between them, politicians guide public policy through the filter of their own political dispositions. An appreciation of politics, in this sense, also requires an understanding of politicians and their attitudes – the very subject of our study.

Our examination of Manitoba politics attempts to solve this second shortcoming by surveying candidates in the 2003 provincial election. This will give us insight into not only the attitudinal profiles of party representatives, but also the ideational structure of parties' campaign slates. As such, our analysis is original in its attempt to reveal just how distinct were each party's group of candidates, and how attitudinally cohesive they were as campaign teams. This will uncover information relating to both Manitoba politics, specifically, and Canadian electoral politics, more generally.

And third, our study of political attitudes outlines a seldom-explored connection between provincial and federal party identification. In separate studies, Blake et al.⁴¹ and Stewart and Archer⁴² discovered a strong correlation between the political attitudes and federal party identification of their provincial-level respondents. The latter study, for instance, found that supporters of the 1992 Ralph Klein leadership campaign tended to be more populist and supportive of the federal Reform party, compared to those favoring Nancy Betkowski, who tended to be more moralistic and supportive of the federal Tories. Our study searches for similar connections between provincial and federal party identification in the attitudinal profiles of Manitoban politicians, examining the extent to which provincial parties are divided, both externally and internally, along federal lines.

⁴⁰ David Elkins and Richard Simeon. *Small Worlds: Provinces and Parties in Canadian Political Life*. Toronto: Methuen. 1980. p. xiv.

⁴¹ Blake et al. *Grassroots*.

⁴² Stewart and Archer, *Quasi-Democracy*.

Research Design

Thus, the following study approaches attitudinal profiling in a specific context, examining the contours and cleavages of the Manitoba party system. Focus is further narrowed to address the attitudes of party politicians, whose importance in the development and projection of party principles has been overlooked often by researchers. Using the province as a case study, we ask, "What are the attitudinal dynamics among Manitoba party politicians? Put another way, what attitudes unite, and which attitudes divide, party politicians in the province?" In answering these questions, general conceptions of party positions in Canada will be tested: that the spectrum consists of a New Democratic 'left', a Liberal 'centre' and a Conservative 'right', and that each party's followers are bound separately by distinct cores of attitudes. Ultimately, the goal is to describe both the inter-party and intra-party attitudinal divisions that exist in the Manitoba party system.

Choice of Sample

As mentioned, the unit of analysis for our study will be major party candidates in the 2003 Manitoba election. This limits our focus to those politicians representing the New Democratic, Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties. The reason for the exclusion of minor parties is partly a matter of ethics, and partly a matter of comparability. In the first instance, Manitoba's minor parties ran very few candidates in the province's fifty-seven constituencies. The Green Party of Manitoba contested fifteen races, the

Libertarians ran in six, and the Communist Party nominated candidates in five constituencies. (Only two Independents ran for office.)⁴³ Creating an attitudinal profile of a party based on so few politicians would involve problems with confidentiality and anonymity. In the second instance, no frame of reference would exist to gauge our findings. Very little research has been conducted on Canada's minor parties, at either the federal or provincial levels. While this lack of data is regrettable, it is not within the scope of the present study to 'blaze this trail'. With candidates in all fifty-seven Manitoba constituencies, and a presence in existing research, the New Democrats, Liberals and Progressive Conservatives are best-suited for this research design.

Survey Instrument

In terms of specific survey techniques, the study employed a self-administered, mail-out questionnaire as a means of contacting respondents. For various reasons, this particular method remains the tool of choice among political attitude researchers in Canada. For one, response rates tend to be high in mail-out surveys, especially among interested, affected and specialized respondents;⁴⁴ we anticipated such a sample in our study. Second, as the respondents are located throughout Manitoba, a mail-out questionnaire saved on travel costs associated with face-to-face interviews. Third, a self-administered survey also provides respondents with a higher degree of anonymity, enabling them to respond more forthrightly to the questions posed. Overall, while less expensive and qualitative in design, the mail-out questionnaire lost little in the way of validity or

⁴³ Information compiled from: Manitoba Legislative Assembly. *Elections Manitoba Website*. <http://www.electionsmanitoba.ca> (accessed: May 21, 2004).

⁴⁴ D.A. De Vaus. *Surveys in Social Research*. 5th Ed. London: Routledge. 2002. p. 132.

reliability in the context of our study. Our respondents were relatively knowledgeable and presumably interested in the topic at hand, and many would no doubt prefer a self-administered questionnaire to other methods, whether due to constraints on their schedules or the privacy involved in completing it. In addition, as will be discussed, this approach is not only well-established as a valid technique, but also allowed for the use of well-established questionnaires, themselves, as a basis for the survey.

Indexes & Attitudinal Dimensions

Though numerous different questionnaires have been assembled to measure political party attitudes in Canada, our study used four in particular as a foundation: (1) Archer and Whitehorn's "Comparison of New Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives"; (2) Blake, Carty and Erickson's analysis of *Grassroots Politicians* in British Columbia; (3) Ellis and Archer's study of "Ideology and Opinion Within the Reform Party"; and (4) Stewart and Archer's examination of *Quasi-Democracy* in Alberta.

All of these questionnaires made extensive use of indexing as a means of measuring political attitudes. In doing so, each established a set of attitudinal dimensions to compare partisans within each party and across party lines. Each dimension, or section, consisted of a series of questions designed to rate the respondent's responses according to a given scale or spectrum. This typically involved the use of a 'left/right' or 'liberal/conservative' paradigm. Many of the questions required responses to normative statements using a Lickert-like scale, while others called for dichotomous 'yes/no' or 'agree/disagree' answers. Although differing somewhat in their choice of specific dimensions, several indexes were common among all four questionnaires. These

included measures ranging from populism and individualism to continentalism and institutional reform.

The questionnaire used in this study contained a combination of existing indexes and questions, with supplementary sections of our own design. Described in greater detail in Appendix B, our survey analyzed the following attitudinal dimensions:

- populism;
- individualism;
- social welfare;
- moralism;
- civil liberties;
- government spending priorities;
- economic regulation;
- Manitoba's place in the Canadian federation;
- Manitoba's place in the continental community; and
- the environment.

Formulating Questions

The precise substance, wording, and ordering of questions are found in Appendices A and B, but a few general points about their construction are worth mentioning. First, with modification, the four studies outlined above provided a good starting point in the formulation of the questionnaire. There was little reason to stray from successful questionnaire designs, especially considering the added value of comparability. Second, to borrow terminology from Klingemann, (1979) our survey involved a combination of

“active use” and “recognition and understanding” style questions. That is, our study posed a series of questions that asked respondents to (1) self-identify with a particular attitude and (2) respond to a set of normative statements related to that attitude. This combination permitted observation of individuals’ self-response to gain perspective on their own perceptions of their attitudes, while at the same time evaluating the respondents’ attitudes as expressed through their score in established indexes. Third, each index – or dimension – in the survey measured attitudes as they are manifested at all three levels of conceptualization. As Peffley and Hurwitz noted, political attitudes are hierarchical in nature, and require multi-level analysis.⁴⁵ To measure a respondent’s political attitudes along the environmental dimension, for instance, we asked a series of questions tapping the person’s attitudes toward specific regulations, the responsibility of the state in addressing environmental issues, and, more broadly, the person’s overall conception of the relationship between humankind and the environment. Keeping in mind that the questions must be designed to seek out variation among respondents, broader ideology-based questions may elicit less than desirable responses if improperly constructed. Nonetheless, Peffley and Hurwitz do provide interesting and helpful advice for measuring attitudinal differences among individuals. Our questionnaire was constructed according to each of these three guidelines.

Additional Variables

In addition to attitudes, the questionnaire surveyed respondents on several socio-demographic elements. This added information helps to contextualize the findings and

⁴⁵ Peffley and Hurwitz, “Hierarchical Model”.

sheds light on additional cleavages dividing respondents and their attitudes. To accomplish this, our survey took into consideration a variety of additional variables, including:

- gender;
- age;
- place of birth and length of residency;
- ethnicity and cultural background;
- religion;
- occupation and employment status;
- education;
- income;
- previous political involvement;
- federal party identification; and
- outcome of election.

Survey Administration

The mail-out process, while detailed, took less than ten weeks to complete. The first task was to approach party officials for their endorsement of the survey. On January 9, 2004, letters were sent to each party leader, complete with a copy of the questionnaire, asking for his support in conducting our study. As a means of persuasion, a copy of the final report was offered to each party that provided an endorsement. Liberal Party Leader Jon Gerrard and Progressive Conservative Leader Stuart Murray graciously issued letters of support, which we mailed to their candidates along with the questionnaire. New

Democrat Premier Gary Doer, while supportive of the project, declined the opportunity to provide an endorsement, encouraging us to approach NDP candidates on an individual basis.

Following this, the initial mail-out was conducted on February 4th. The survey package included: a cover letter from the principal researcher; a letter of support from the party leader (if applicable); a copy of the questionnaire; and a self-addressed, stamped envelope for return. Respondents were notified that each questionnaire had been coded so as to preserve confidentiality. In addition, each return envelope was marked to track individual returns. Respondents were offered the opportunity to obtain a copy of the results of the survey. After two weeks, a reminder notice was mailed to those respondents who had yet to complete the survey. This package consisted of a redrafted cover letter, a second copy of the questionnaire and a second self-addressed, stamped envelope. A final notice, containing a third cover letter, copy of the questionnaire and self-addressed stamped envelope, was mailed to non-respondents two weeks later. We found this method to be successful, achieving an overall return rate of 47.4 percent.

Representativeness of Sample

As a sample of all candidates, the respondents in our survey were relatively representative of all politicians in Manitoba. The return rate among Progressive Conservatives was an impressive 57.9 percent, with the New Democrats (47.4 percent) and Liberals (36.8 percent) returning a somewhat lower percentage. With these rates, our total respondent pool was 40.7 percent PC, 33.3 percent NDP, and 25.9 percent Liberal. In addition, responses were received from two of the three party leaders, the Conservatives'

Stuart Murray and Liberals' Jon Gerrard; seven of the New Democrats' seventeen cabinet ministers; and just under half (49.1 percent) of all non-elected candidates. Moreover, in terms of gender, twenty-two of the province's fifty-five female candidates returned questionnaires, amounting to 27.2 percent of our sample. Finally, in regional terms, surveys were returned from constituencies throughout the province, although responses from rural areas in the North and South were somewhat fewer relative to those from Winnipeg. (See Table 1.1.)

Table 1.1: Region by Party, All Respondents

	Northern Manitoba	North Winnipeg	South Winnipeg	Southwest Manitoba	Southeast Manitoba	Brand on
NDP	2	8	8	4	4	1
Liberal Party	1	9	5	3	3	0
PC Party	4	11	6	1	9	2
Total	7	28	19	8	16	2

source: 2003 Manitoba Candidates Survey

On balance, despite minor discrepancies, one can be confident that our pool of respondents is substantively representative of all 2003 provincial election candidates.

Spanning the Spectrum

Using the results of this survey, the remainder of this thesis has been divided into a series of four (4) sections. Chapter 2 describes the political context of our research, chronicling the development Manitoba party politics over the past five decades. This discussion traces the evolution of the party system from 1958 to the present, underlining the trends and inconsistencies that have arisen over time. Next, Chapters 3 through 5 serve as an update to this historical analysis, as we use survey findings to sketch the attitudinal

profile of each Manitoban party in the 2003 provincial election. To conclude, Chapter 6 provides a summary of our findings, offering an overall attitudinal portrait of the Manitoba party system, as a whole.

Today's researchers have built upon the foundations of earlier studies, both methodologically and in terms of their findings. Surveys have been enhanced and questionnaires have been refined through repeated use. In sum, our knowledge in this area has tended to be cumulative, with new studies adding to our understanding of politics at different times and in different areas. By studying the attitudinal profiles of Manitoba's political parties, we aim to become part of this process, adding to a growing understanding of Canadian party attitudes in general. At the same time, however, we hope to make a methodological and theoretical contribution by examining the attitudinal structure of politicians, rather than voters or activists. By doing so, we strive to stimulate further research in this area, emphasizing the importance of understanding the parliamentary, as well as the extra-parliamentary, side of party politics.

Surveying the attitudes of the province's politicians is only one means of addressing the many broader issues posed in the above research design, but it is an important and bold first step in this process. The following study will offer only a small glimpse into the issue of whether or not parties offer the electorate 'coherent choices and clear options.' Thus, while one must not overgeneralize the conclusions, one must not underestimate the extent to which the research will enhance our cumulative knowledge about party politics in Canada. Indeed, it is hoped our study will encourage more researchers to examine new regions, new dimensions and new objects of analysis.

CHAPTER 2 – THE EVOLUTION OF MANITOBA PARTY POLITICS

With a population of just over one million, an average economy, and a seemingly stable political party system, it is little wonder that Manitoba has received modest scholarly attention over the past century. Observers find little benefit in surveying its small populace, economists find little interest in analyzing its diminutive economy, and political scientists find little profit in studying its highly-predictable three-party framework. Indeed, branded as a member of the “Prairies” or “the West”, the province rarely reaches the pages of published journals on its own accord. Instead, most discussion of Manitoban politics is relegated to infrequent – though insightful – debate among journalists about current events, pollsters about public opinion, or historians about Louis Riel. Manitoban politics simply fail to draw the curiosity, appeal and concern of Canadian political scientists.

While beyond the scope of this volume, dispelling this lack of interest remains a secondary objective of the following chapters. After years of academic neglect, the substance and significance of Manitoban politics have become clouded, masking both the distinctiveness and instructiveness of their character. In reality, Manitoban politics hide a wealth of knowledge for analysts to discover, the most significant elements of which are insights into provincial party politics and political attitudes.

For, over the past half-century, Manitoba has quietly established itself an archetypal province for the study of ideologically-based, regionally-charged party politics. From their flirtation with Keynesianism in the 1950s and 1960s, to their

experimentation with neo-liberalism in more recent decades, Manitoban parties have – for the most part – presented the electorate with the “coherent choices and clear options” they demand. Today’s struggle between the New Democrats’ ‘Third Way’ programme and Conservatives’ ‘New Right’ philosophy mirrors that of earlier generations, when varying forms of social democracy were pitted against shades of liberal and conservative thought. The result has seen the marginalization of the Liberal Party, whose leaders have struggled for nearly fifty years to assemble a coherent, competitive ideological platform to challenge the more successful CCF/NDP and PC organizations. This ideological interplay – now a cornerstone of Manitoban politics – has provided for some intriguing observations, demonstrating how parties adjust and readjust to an ever-shifting political spectrum. In short, for analysts seeking to understand the relationship between political attitudes and party performance, Manitoba provides an ideal environment for study.

To guide this process, the following chapter will discuss the context of Manitoban politics, presenting the province’s current state of affairs alongside the historical foundations of its modern party system. As will be discussed, the origins of party politics in the province reach back to the nineteenth century, revealing a rich and storied past. Since the 1950’s, Manitoba has been the site of almost ceaseless party competition, with rivalries firmly rooted in a thick mixture of ideology, ethnicity, and regionalism. If a detailed appreciation of party politics in Canada involves an examination of Manitoba, an understanding of the province’s own peculiar brand of partisanship requires a firm grasp of its history.

Manitoba: An "Unspectacular" Province

Rand Dyck once described Manitoba as "a province without a distinctive political culture. If Manitobans have a self-image," he asserted, "it is probably one of a moderate, medium, diversified, and fairly prosperous but unspectacular province."¹ From a distance, Dyck's description appears valid. Whereas other provinces have well-established identities – Quebec as the protector of French Canadian society and Alberta as the home of grassroots populism and individualism, for instance – the term "Manitoba" fails to resonate in the same sense. Associated most commonly with its historic role in the fur trading empire, or in the early twentieth century as the gateway to Canada's western frontier, the province lacks a firm, modern identity in the eyes of many observers.

Perhaps Manitoba's perceived lack of identity lies in its diverse, yet decidedly average, nature.² Of the province's 1.15 million inhabitants, nearly 12 percent are of Aboriginal descent, the highest provincial concentration in Canada and one that is expected to grow to over 15 percent in the next decade. An additional 7 percent of Manitobans belong to a wide variety of visible minority groups, ranging from people of Filipino to Asian to African descent. Yet, despite immigrant settlement in Winnipeg, Manitoba still sees 28 percent of its inhabitants living in rural areas. In fact, the percentage of urban Manitobans has actually decreased since 1986. Meanwhile, agriculture, once the dominant sector in Manitoba's economy, has been nudged slowly from its position of prominence. Over the past twenty years, the province's small towns

¹ Rand Dyck. *Provincial Politics in Canada*. Scarborough: Prentice Hall. 1996. p. 381.

² Unless otherwise noted, all demographic and economic statistics in this section have been compiled from: Robert Roach. "State of the West 2003: Western Canadian Demographic and Economic Trends." *Canada West Foundation Website*. May 2003. <http://www.cwf.ca> (accessed: May 21, 2004).

and villages have been transformed, as a result. The number of farms has decreased, with landholdings growing larger and the rural population migrating from acreages to adjacent communities. Gone are the days of the 'wheat kings', replaced instead by a new rural middle class: teachers, health care workers, civil servants, business managers, entrepreneurs, tradespeople, and other service-based professionals.³ Rather "unspectacular", Manitoba's population appears far from exceptional according to most demographic indicators.

Manitoba's mediocrity is confirmed in its economic performance, as well. The province's \$28,960 per capita GDP places it nearly \$4,000 below the national average, while, over the past twenty years, its 36 percent growth rate has maintained pace with the nation's overall rate of 37 percent. Perhaps the only noteworthy element of Manitoba's economy lies in its low rate of unemployment – at 5.2 percent, the province's success tops even Alberta in this regard. Aside from this, Manitoba's distinctiveness lies in the diversification of its economy, an attribute that has helped shield the province from the effects of sudden downturns in the global economy. While commercial services amounted to nearly 50 percent of the provincial GDP in 2000, goods-producing and non-commercial sectors contributed an additional 29 and 20 percent, respectively. A recent trend away from primary industries like agriculture, forestry and mining has resulted in the growth of other major sectors like real estate, hospitals, welfare, and transportation. Like other provinces, Manitoba's export sector has adapted to thrive under the new global economic conditions brought on in the wake of NAFTA. International trade is now more

³ Jason J. Azmier. "The Rural West: Diversity and Dilemma." *Canada West Foundation Website*. June 2003. <http://www.cwf.ca> (accessed: May 21, 2004).

important to the provincial economy than interprovincial trade, and the United States has become Manitoba's most important trade partner.

In this vein, Manitoba's wealth of energy and water resources may hold the keys to its future, as dual crises in these sectors threaten the province's main trading partners in the United States. Nonetheless, aside from its impressively high employment rate, Manitoba maintains an average economy facing many of the same challenges and opportunities faced by Canada's other nine provinces.

Considering the average nature of its current demography and economy, analysts must search elsewhere to find the underpinnings of its unique political environment. What makes Manitoban politics truly distinct, and, for that matter, worthy of study?

Political Culture in Manitoba

The answer, at least in part, lies in Manitoba's unique political culture. Based on nearly two centuries of evolution, the political environment in Manitoba is a reflection of more than current economic and demographic trends. It is also more than a mere replica of its neighbours. Granted, as a western prairie province, Manitoba does resemble Saskatchewan, Alberta and, to a lesser extent, British Columbia. And, Manitobans do share similar so-called 'Western' views on the state of the federation. As Nelson Wiseman noted, "Canadian historians and social scientists have usually depicted prairie politics as a response, a reaction to external impositions: the tariff, the withholding of authority over natural resources by the federal government, discriminatory transportation policies, bilingualism, etc. This approach," he asserts, "tells us substantially about east-west Canadian relations. By itself, however, it tells us little about the diversity of

political traditions on the prairies. What is needed is an interpretive analysis that comes to terms with intra-regional differences.”⁴ Our examination has been undertaken in this light.

In a later study, Wiseman offers a response to his own query, arguing that, “broadly speaking, two distinct political cultural traditions have arisen on the prairies... The eastern Prairies, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, have developed and sustained a strong collectivist tradition that may be counterposed to the strong individualist tradition that has taken hold in Alberta.”⁵ As will be discussed, Manitoba’s unique political culture is at the root of this distinction. In particular, a fusion of five factors – class, ethnicity, ideology, history, and regionalism – has been responsible for the Manitoba’s unique political culture.

The Politics of Class in Manitoba

Some authors argue that a class-based analysis is the best means of explaining the contours of Manitoba’s political system. Steeped in the history of the 1919 General Strike, Marxists have pointed to the province’s business / working class divide as the source of most political tensions. As Chorney and Hansen assert, “the political history of Manitoba for a 50-year period following the suppression of the Strike involved a more or less successful attempt by the business community, allied with the affluent and highly

⁴ Nelson Wiseman. “The Pattern of Prairie Politics.” *Party Politics in Canada*. (8th Ed.) Hugh G. Thorburn and Alan Whitehorn, eds. Toronto: Prentice-Hall. 2001. p 351.

⁵ Nelson Wiseman. “Social Democracy in a Neo-Conservative Age: The Politics of Manitoba and Saskatchewan.” *Canada: The State of the Federation 2001: Canadian Political Culture(s) in Transition*. Hamish Telford and Harvey Lazar, Eds. Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations. 2002. pp. 217-218.

conservative Anglo-Saxon agrarian community in southwestern Manitoba, to thwart the re-emergence of a class-based challenge to its dominance.”⁶ What is more, the province’s first New Democratic Premier, Edward Schreyer, was viewed by many as employing class-based campaigning during the 1969 election.⁷ The practice continued during Manitoba’s province-building period in the 1960s and 1970s, as governments launched numerous mega-projects to help fuel economic development. These, too, according to Chorney and Hansen, provide proof of class politics in the province. In their view, public investment had become a means for the ruling elite to suppress class consciousness by providing jobs to the underprivileged. “As dubious as it is,” they argue,

the ‘mega-project’ strategy continued – and indeed continues – to play a significant role in Manitoba politics because it is fuelled, in the face of chronic underdevelopment, by a certain fear on the part of the dominant elite. The fear is that long suppressed class issues will return with a vengeance and, as a result, the excluded classes will ride to political power on a wave of resentment.⁸

In general, according to their theory, the Conservative Party tends to come to power when class distinctions are muted, while New Democrats claim government when they are salient.⁹ Indeed, Chorney and Hansen argue, Conservative Premier Sterling Lyon’s programme of restraint roused the lower classes to react, resulting in the fall of the Tory government in 1981.¹⁰ Conversely, when the New Democrats opt for a more moderate course of action – such as during the final two years of Premier Schreyer’s term in office

⁶ Harold Chorney and Phillip Hansen. “Neo-Conservatism, Social Democracy and ‘Province Building’: the Experience of Manitoba.” *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*. 22 (1985). p. 4.

⁷ Chorney and Hansen, “Neo-Conservatism”, p. 8.

⁸ Chorney and Hansen, “Neo-Conservatism”, p. 8.

⁹ Chorney and Hansen, “Neo-Conservatism”, p. 16.

¹⁰ Chorney and Hansen, “Neo-Conservatism”, p. 11.

– the party tends to mute class consciousness, thus favouring the Conservatives, whose support of classless capitalism thrives in that environment.

While intriguing, the Chorney-Hansen thesis carries little currency among political scientists today. This is not to say that Manitoba is a classless society. Disparities in wealth and power do exist and, by most accounts of Canadian politics, the gap between the rich and poor appears to be growing. Yet, according to analysts like Rand Dyck, class plays little to no role in Manitoban politics.¹¹ Instead, aside from periodic outbreaks like the General Strike, class-consciousness in the province is subordinate to other, more salient features of the political culture, including ethnicity.

Ethnic Politics in Manitoba

Without doubt, cultural divisions fuelled a brand of ethno-class politics during Manitoba's formative years.¹² Non-British Manitobans were targeted by the established Anglo-elite in issues ranging from the wage crisis of 1919 to the anti-communist tensions of the mid-twentieth century. Newspapers of the period were rife with editorials condemning the French Canadian populations of North Winnipeg and Southeastern Manitoba for their perceived role in the conscription crises, while German-born Manitobans faced prejudice based on Germany's position in the World Wars. As a result of such discrimination, non-British peoples were widely-excluded from business and

¹¹ Dyck, *Provincial Politics*. p. 381.

¹² T. Peterson. "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba." *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces*. Robin Martin, Ed. Scarborough: Prentice Hall. 1972. pp. 75-76.

government positions for many years.¹³ Indeed, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, this friction helped define the very essence of Manitoban politics.

Such tensions gradually subsided in the following decades, however, due to key factors including the demise of the ethnic press, the decline of immigration, the prevalence of intermarriage, and, above all, the ascension of non-British people to the leadership of Manitoban parties. At one point in the early 1970s, in fact, the leaders of all three major Manitoban parties were of non-Anglo descent: Premier Edward Schreyer of the NDP, the Conservatives' Sidney Spivak, and the Liberals' Israel Asper. Indeed, the decline of ethnic politics in Manitoba was indicative of a broader trend prevalent throughout the Prairies, as the British ruling class gradually gave way to leaders of all cultural backgrounds. The seating plan at the 2000 and 2001 Western Premiers Conferences provides a perfect illustration: by the turn of the twenty-first century, Premiers Dosanjh and Klein had joined colleagues Romanow and Doer as the region's four most powerful provincial politicians. It has come to the point that, as Wiseman notes,

ethnic minorities are in the mainstream, rather than at the periphery, of prairie politics. Their increasingly active role was fostered by their integration, acculturation and assimilation... All the parties court rather than exclude ethnic minorities from active participation. The British or Anglo-Saxon charter group, moreover, decreased in relative numbers, making up just over a third of the populations of Manitoba and Saskatchewan in the 1980s. Today they are underrepresented in the provincial legislatures.¹⁴

Cultural politics cannot be dismissed entirely, of course. While ethnic cleavages have subsided in recent times, an understanding of these historic divisions is nonetheless valuable to our study of modern Manitoban politics. In this sense, both class and

¹³ Wiseman, "Prairie Politics", p. 357.

¹⁴ Wiseman, "Prairie Politics", p. 367.

ethnicity provide background for the deeper ideological underpinnings of the political system.

'A Fragment of a Fragment'

Considering these historical foundations, Manitoban politics are perhaps best described using Hartzian fragment theory. Developed by Louis Hartz¹⁵ and expanded in the Canadian context by Gad Horowitz,¹⁶ the theory holds that political culture in Canada is the product of the importation of ideological principles from other societies. As immigrant groups migrated to Canada in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they brought with them the political values of their former communities. As "fragments" of their former societies, however, these groups imported only specific portions of their nations' ideologies. In particular, settlers from Britain, France and the United States imported various strains of liberalism, conservatism, toryism, and socialism when they arrived in Canada. Once here, these ideologies inter-mingled to produce a distinctly Canadian political culture, one which eventually 'congealed' into the familiar 'liberalism with a tory touch' political analysts have come to describe over the past four decades.

¹⁵ Louis Hartz. *The Founding of New Societies*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World. 1964.

¹⁶ Gad Horowitz. "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*. 32 (1966): 143-71.

Applying this model to the provincial context, Wiseman depicts Manitoba as a 'fragment of a fragment'.¹⁷ The province's political culture has evolved gradually over time, he explains, influenced by four separate waves of immigration.

During the first, and largest, wave of migration, settlers from Ontario flooded Manitoba in the late nineteenth century. Beginning with the province's founding in 1870, Ontarians arrived in such great numbers as to displace the political dominance of the established Metis and French populations. As Wiseman reports, the new migrants were overwhelmingly of rural British descent, settling largely in the fertile southwest portion of Manitoba.¹⁸ Just as Alberta was influenced by Western American immigration in the twentieth century, the early Ontario migrants played a founding role in the development of Manitoba's political culture. They brought with them what Wiseman terms "an Ontario-centred tory-touched liberalism", helping to distinguish Manitoba from its more populist and libertarian neighbours in Saskatchewan and Alberta.¹⁹ As will be discussed throughout the following pages, this tory streak has remained a consistent element of Manitoban politics, influencing policies ranging from health care and welfare to public investment, the Constitution and free trade.

So strong was the Ontarian influence on Manitoban politics that, until 1969, all of the province's premiers, and a solid majority of Cabinet ministers, were of Ontario descent. Even the new provincial flag was modeled on that of Ontario. Politically, the new Ontarian settlers had a general affinity toward the federal Conservative Party under John A. Macdonald. In fact, one of the province's first leaders was the Prime Minister's

¹⁷ Nelson Wiseman. "Provincial Political Cultures." *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics*. Christopher Dunn, Ed. Peterborough: Broadview. 1996. p. 36.

¹⁸ Wiseman, "Prairie Politics", pp. 352-353.

¹⁹ Wiseman, "Social Democracy", p. 220.

son, Hugh John Macdonald, who held the premiership for a brief period in 1900. These and other liberal-tory traditions trace their roots to the first wave of British Ontarian immigration in the late nineteenth century.

In the ensuing decades, a second wave of urban British settlers entered Manitoba. Working-class and generally more socialist than the mainstream population, this group helped transform politics in Winnipeg, the provincial capital. Whereas many conservative Ontarian migrants had begun to settle in South Winnipeg – in areas like Charleswood and River Heights – the new British-born element found its home elsewhere, joining a quickly-growing ethnic population in the city's north end. Once they settled, this second group of British immigrants is credited with founding Western Canada's first Labour Party, the ILP. This influx of new political ideas would eventually lead to the 1919 General Strike, exposing Manitoba to the capitalist – socialist tensions prevalent throughout Europe at the time. Years later, following electoral redistributions in the 1950s and 1960s, the urban British immigrants would bolster the Canadian Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and New Democrats (NDP), lending legitimacy to social democracy in the province and setting the stage for the modern Manitoba party system.²⁰

The third wave of immigration to Manitoba saw farmers move from the United States to the Western Canadian frontier. Mostly from the Midwest, the American settlers brought agrarian values with them to rural areas in southern Manitoba. Between the turn of the century and the Second World War, the migrants established a wide array of political parties on the Prairies, including the United Farmers of Manitoba and Social Credit. Theirs was a liberalism without tory influence – a “radical populist liberalism” in

²⁰ Wiseman, “Social Democracy”, pp. 221-222.

which individual opportunity was valued over collectivism.²¹ While the impact of the American farmers was felt most strongly in Alberta, the conservative tendencies of the group also helped shape politics in Manitoba, particularly in the Liberal-Progressive period.

At around the same time, according to Wiseman, a fourth wave of immigration brought a large number continental Europeans to Manitoba. The province developed its rich Ukrainian and German heritage during this early-twentieth century period, as thousands of agrarian and working class migrants made their way to the Canadian Prairies. Settling throughout Manitoba, the group failed to develop a distinct political identity, however, preferring deference over engagement in provincial politics.²² In North Winnipeg, the new settlers were renowned for switching support between the Liberal-Progressives and Conservatives in early elections, providing each party with a challenge in luring 'swing voters'. It was not until the 1960s that ethnic voters in the region began to develop a solid political affinity, aligning themselves with fellow working-class voters in North Winnipeg in support of the CCF / NDP.²³ By the same token, those central Europeans who settled in rural areas tended to vote with the majority of *their* neighbours, opting to return Conservative representatives to the legislature. While dismissed by Wiseman as "deferent" in their approach to provincial politics, the continental Europeans did lend great volume to the voices of their immediate neighbours, ultimately acting with the previous three waves of immigration to solidify the increasingly regionalized character of Manitoban politics in the mid-twentieth century.

²¹ Wiseman, "Prairie Politics", p. 353.

²² Wiseman, "Prairie Politics", p. 354.

²³ Wiseman, "Prairie Politics", p. 354.

While beyond the scope of Wiseman's analysis, two additional influences have had a major impact on the evolution of political culture in Manitoba. First, a fifth wave of immigration has begun to leave its mark on provincial politics. Beginning in the 1970s, visible minorities – most notably people of Filipino, Asian and African descent – have emerged as a notable segment of the Manitoban population. Although the true political impact of the 'fifth wave' has yet to be measured in any great detail, the influence of a growing number of visible minorities in Winnipeg may become clear in the near future. Second, Manitoba's Aboriginal population continues to exert its own unique effects on Manitoban political culture. Members of the rural south, remote north, and urban Winnipeg communities, Aboriginal peoples play a large political role throughout the province. Whether through Elijah Harper's historic stand against Meech Lake, the 1994 federal-provincial agreement to dismantle the *Indian Act* in Manitoba, or the subsequent – albeit gradual – movement toward self-government in the province, the evolution of Manitoban politics appears intimately connected to the future of Aboriginal rights and interests. This is especially true considering the above-average growth rate of the Aboriginal population. Combined, the influence of Aboriginals and visible minorities must be considered alongside traditional 'fragment' explanations in discussing the development of Manitoba's political environment.

Provincial Regionalism

All told, the settlement patterns of Manitoba immigrants, as outlined above, have left a lasting mark on provincial politics. Divided along ethnic and class lines, the various groups have, in effect, accentuated those cleavages with geographic boundaries. As a

result, Thomas Peterson contends, lasting political divisions have developed between the northern and southern regions of the province, with a similar divide extending between the north and south ends of Winnipeg.²⁴

One NDP candidate in our survey concurred, arguing, "Manitoba politics for the most part are very predictable, the cities and northern areas vote NDP and the rural South appears to subscribe to the Conservatives." Settled by the relatively affluent British-Ontarian migrants of the late 1900s, Southern Manitoba and South Winnipeg developed an early penchant for classic liberalism, placing great value in the power of capitalism and laissez-faire politics. Thereafter, the less affluent, "second wave" British settlers and ethnic Manitobans established their roots in North Winnipeg. As discussed, these groups developed a less-stringent affinity toward capitalism, preferring a more leftist political perspective and, at times, turning toward socialist and even communist doctrines. Northern Manitoba, with its largely working-class and substantially Aboriginal population, developed a similarly left-leaning political outlook. These geographic divisions have translated into a staunchly regionalized political environment, with the conservative areas of Southern Manitoba and South Winnipeg separated from the more social-democratic tendencies of Northern Manitoba and North Winnipeg. Appendix C provides a list of the current regional boundaries.

The Manitoba Party System

In turn, this mix of ethnicity, ideology, history, and regionalism has given the Manitoba party system its uniquely-divided, three-party character. Based on their ideological

²⁴ Peterson, "Politics in Manitoba," pp. 73-74.

make-up, the province's political subcultures have become strongholds of support for two of the major parties: the New Democrats dominate the left-leaning constituencies of Northern Manitoba and North Winnipeg, while PC's hold safe seats in the southern, conservative portions of the province and capital. As a third party, the Liberals, whose sporadic success has relied on breakthroughs in central Winnipeg ridings, have failed to develop a consistent regional or ideological base of support.²⁵

As Chorney and Hansen argue,

The regional distribution of voter support in Manitoba has important implications for the pattern of party competition. One apparent conclusion is that, because of the distribution of its support, the Conservative party, to win office, must garner a significantly larger percentage of the popular vote than does the NDP. On the other hand, the NDP could, because of the more 'efficient' distribution of its vote, particularly in urban areas, win a sufficient number of seats to govern even with an extremely narrow plurality of the popular vote. This tendency is strengthened by the current and possibly permanent absence of a strong third party in Manitoba politics.²⁶

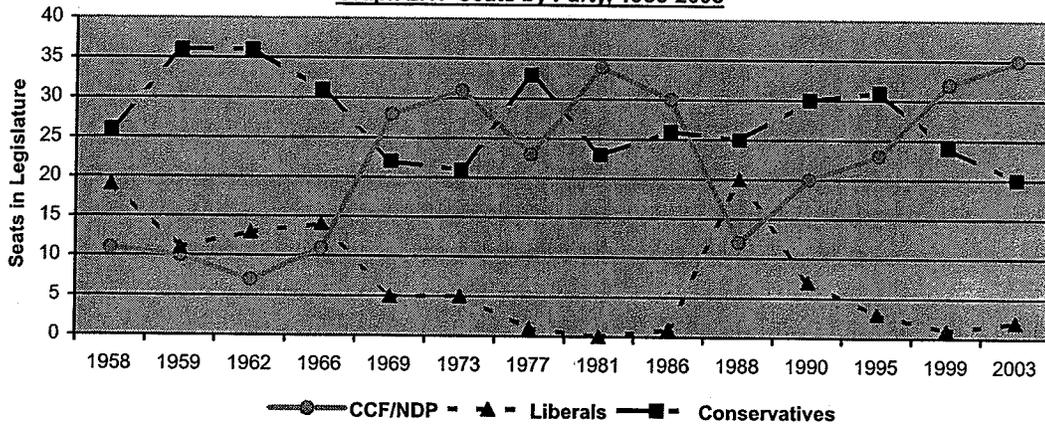
A Two-and-a-Half-Party System

Despite the lack of a consistently strong third party, Manitoba has a long history of three-party politics at both the provincial and federal levels. In all but one election since 1959, Manitoban voters have returned MLA's and MP's from all three major parties. As shown in the Graph 2.1, the 1980 Manitoba election was the lone exception at the provincial level, wherein the Liberal party failed to gain a seat.

²⁵ R.K. Carty and David Stewart. "Parties and Party Systems." *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics*. Christopher Dunn, ed. Peterborough: Broadview. 1996. pp. 81-82.

²⁶ Chorney and Hansen, "Neo-Conservatism", p. 15.

Graph 2.1: Seats by Party, 1958-2003



Considering these and other criteria, Carty and Stewart view Manitoba as a relatively typical three-party system.²⁷ Since World War II, all three major parties have governed, there has been a potential for a third party to gain the balance of power in the legislature, and each party now nominates candidates in all fifty-seven provincial ridings. Furthermore, Manitoba averages among the lowest seat percentages for governing parties – 60 percent, which is well below the provincial average of 67 percent.²⁸

In practice, however, the province is more accurately described as hosting a ‘two-party-plus’ system. As the third party in most elections since 1969, the Liberals’ popular support has seldom risen above 20 percent, resulting in a high number of majority governments for its rivals. During the same period, the party rose to Official Opposition on only one occasion – 1988 – further illustrating the dominance of the Conservatives and New Democrats since the 1970s.

²⁷ Carty and Stewart, “Party Systems”, p. 81.

²⁸ Carty and Stewart, “Party Systems”, p. 81.

An Adversarial Environment

This enduring two-and-a-half party competition may be attributed to the strong tenor of ideological debate in the province. Much like Quebec politics have been divided by language, or British Columbian politics by questions of socialism versus free enterprise,²⁹ Manitoba, too, plays host to an adversarial political environment.³⁰

Indeed, since the late 1950s, Manitoba has been the site of a struggle between two competing worldviews – one liberal-conservative, the other social-democratic.³¹ Represented by the province's two dominant parties – the Progressive Conservatives and New Democrats, respectively – the two political paradigms have essentially disputed the role of the state in the provincial economy and society. Broadly speaking, according to the PC liberal-conservative ethos economic development has been an end unto itself. As will be discussed below, Conservative governments have placed high priority on tax relief, forced growth, and private investment strategies, valuing the economy ahead of most social policy. Conversely, the social-democratic programme of the NDP may be described as valuing social policy over the economy. In this sense, New Democrats have pursued economic development as a means of achieving social justice, and vice versa. Meanwhile, the Liberal Party has been searching for policy space along this left-right spectrum since 1958. Unfortunately for their supporters, the Liberals have been largely unsuccessful in this endeavour, both ideologically and politically, helping to solidify the two-and-a-half-party system in the province.

²⁹ Carty and Stewart, "Party Systems".

³⁰ Wiseman, "Social Democracy", p. 218.

³¹ Alex Netherton. "Paradigm and Shift: A Sketch of Manitoba Politics." *The Provincial State in Canada*. Keith Brownsey and Michael Howlett, Eds. Peterborough: Broadview. 2001. pp. 204-240.

As will be shown, the distinction between the two major paradigms has been subtle at times. Manitoba has a strong history of non-partisanship and bipartisanship, especially in the early half of the twentieth century. And considerable policy convergence has been witnessed since then. Nonetheless, the strongly ideological nature of Manitoba politics has, in fact, persisted, providing the foundation for the modern provincial party system. Below is a brief historical account of its evolution.

The Liberal-Progressives and Classic Liberalism: 1919 to 1958

In the early twentieth century, opposition to the governing Conservatives mounted under the banners of several provincial movements and parties. Among them were the Progressives, United Farmers of Manitoba, Manitoban Grain Growers, Social Gospel adherents, Tax Reform and Direct Legislation Leagues, feminists, and Protestant churches.³² While diverse, these members of the nascent coalition were united behind a common belief in classic, laissez-faire liberalism. As the senior member of the opposition, the Manitoba Liberals had been building popular support for the capitalist-based platform for a number of years, finally eclipsing the Conservatives in terms of popular vote in 1915. By the end of World War I, the various reform groups had joined with the Liberals to defeat the Tories in the 1920 election. The new government – dubbed by leaders as the “Liberal-Progressives” – would hold power for the much of the next three decades in what could most accurately be described as a strangely non-partisan political environment.

³² Netherton, “Paradigm and Shift”, pp. 211-215.

Indeed, partisanship was shunned under Liberal-Progressive Premiers T.C. Norris, John Bracken, Stuart Garson, and Douglas Campbell.³³ Though at one point containing all five major parties – the CCF, Social Credit, Conservatives, Liberals and Progressives – the governing coalition managed to find common ground on the principle of limited government, thus rejecting any form of overly activist agenda. Its supporters appeared unified in their capitalist view of agriculture, manufacturing and resources, no doubt a product of their privileged position among Manitoba's rural and urban elite. They staunchly opposed public ownership, supported private investment, disliked high taxes, and – even in the face of the Great Depression – held firm to their belief in balanced budgets.³⁴ As a result, Manitoba's Liberal-Progressive governments maintained some of the lowest per capita levels of public expenditure, corporate taxes, and public debt in Canadian history.³⁵ Beyond doubt, the government's political agenda was strongly influenced by the tenets of classic liberalism.

This is not to say that the coalition's policies were entirely liberal. While *laissez-faire* in the economic sense, the Liberal-Progressive agenda did show signs of a tory touch. For instance, the early coalition pursued a socially conservative programme, invoking strict laws on film censorship and even stricter regulations on breweries and horseracing. Furthermore, the government's policies were at least somewhat collectivist in the sense that they opposed monopolies and eastern domination of the province's key services and resources. Premier Bracken's support of co-op wheat pools to compete with the private grain exchange, alongside his establishment of provincial credit and telephone

³³ Netherton, "Paradigm and Shift", pp. 211-215.

³⁴ Netherton, "Paradigm and Shift", p. 213.

³⁵ Chorney and Hansen, "Neo-Conservatism", p. 5; Peterson, "Politics in Manitoba", p. 82.

systems, provide evidence of his desire to build a provincial community in Manitoba. Furthermore, Bracken held true to his Progressive roots in supporting a graduated income tax, compulsory primary education, civil service reform, female suffrage, and workers' compensation legislation.

Overall, however, historians and analysts are accurate in their depiction of the coalition as a classic, laissez-faire government. Bracken's response to the 1930s Depression is perhaps the best evidence of this: instead of pursuing a 'New Deal'-style solution, he blamed the global downturn on the over-management of the economy and break down of free trade.³⁶ The Liberal-Progressives were very centralist in this sense, believing that the federal government held the revenue and responsibility to administer social programs to the people of Manitoba.

In the end, Manitobans found these types of responses unsatisfactory in the postwar period. Languishing in the country's lowest levels of economic growth, urbanization and immigration, voters began clamouring for a more interventionist government.³⁷

The classic liberal paradigm had grown tiresome to many politicians, as well, and one by one parties began withdrawing from the coalition. The CCF was the first to leave, ending its brief two-year collaboration with the Liberal-Progressives in 1942. Other parties would follow suit until, by the end of the decade, a group calling themselves the "Independent Conservatives" announced their exit from Premier Campbell's coalition. Among them was future Premier Duff Roblin, whose approach to Manitoban politics

³⁶ Netherton, "Paradigm and Shift", p. 213.

³⁷ Netherton, "Paradigm and Shift", p. 215.

would revolutionize not only government, but the entire structure of party politics in the province.

The Roblin Conservatives and Tory Keynesianism: 1958 to 1967

Selected as leader in 1954, Duff Roblin led his Conservative Party into the 1958 election armed with an interventionist platform. After years of laissez-faire politics, the Manitoba economy had stagnated, prompting the PC's to pledge sweeping changes to the classic liberal approach to government.³⁸ For one, Roblin proposed to move beyond balanced budgets, risking an increase in public debt in favour of economic development. Second, the Conservatives rebuffed the small government claims of the Liberal-Progressives, calling instead for an increase in the size of the civil service. Third and perhaps most damaging to cause of classic liberalism, the Conservatives promoted tax hikes as a means of paying for these and other new public expenditures. And fourth, the Tories rejected the individualist tenets of the coalition agenda, opting instead for a process of community-based province-building.

Overall, the Roblin platform placed politics ahead of economics, a key principle of toryism³⁹ and one that proved popular among Manitobans. Following a minority government in 1958, the Conservatives would form majorities throughout the 1960s. Once in office, the Roblin Tories would follow through on their agenda, helping to modernize Manitoba's government and economy.

³⁸ Netherton, "Paradigm and Shift", pp. 216-217.

³⁹ Steve Patten. "'Toryism' and the Conservative Party in a Neo-Liberal Era." *Party Politics in Canada*. 8th Ed. Thorburn, Hugh G. ed. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada. 2001. pp. 135-147.

Roblin's impact was dramatic. In terms of social policy, for instance, his government moved quickly to establish a welfare state in the province. Hospital insurance and old-age pensions topped the agenda in this respect, with several other notable pieces of legislation. The *Social Allowances Act* (1959), for example, provided care for the aged, orphaned and incapacitated, while the Winter Works programme helped alleviate seasonal unemployment in the north. Overall, this meant a 470 percent increase in public expenditures, a 71 percent growth in direct public debt, and a 1300 percent rise in taxation.⁴⁰

Theirs was unmistakably a strategy of 'province-building', attempting to address underdevelopment largely through public works.⁴¹ Considering this bold course, the Roblin agenda included – and, indeed, *required* – the growth and institutionalization of the public sector. This was accomplished by establishing the Committee on Manitoba's Economic Future (COMEF) and the Manitoba Development Fund, both of which were instrumental in the creation of so-called 'mega-projects' like the Winnipeg Floodway and northern hydro-electricity plants. To shepherd the economic development, crown corporations were established in hydro, agricultural credit, exports, and research. As Netherton notes, the ultimate effect of Premier Roblin's agenda was to shift Manitoban thinking away from agriculture toward industry, and away from short-term investments toward long-term economic planning for the overall growth of the province.⁴²

⁴⁰ Shaun McCaffrey. "A Study of Policy Continuity Between the Progressive Conservative and the New Democratic Party Governments of Manitoba, 1958-1977." Master of Arts Thesis. University of Manitoba. 1986. pp. 32-33.

⁴¹ Chorney and Hansen, "Neo-Conservatism", p. 7.

⁴² Alex Netherton. "The Shifting Points of Politics: A Neo-Institutional Analysis." *The Provincial State: Politics in Canada's Provinces and Territories*. Keith Brownsey and Michael Howlett, Eds. Mississauga: Copp Clark Pitman. 1992. p. 183.

By the time he left provincial politics to run in the 1967 federal Conservative leadership race, Roblin had done more than pull the PC party out of the Liberal-Progressive coalition. He had drawn his followers away from the tenets of classic liberalism, and carved out a distinct ideological position for the party. His red tory brand of Keynesianism would not survive his departure, however, as the Progressive Conservatives chose a new route under a new leader.

The Weir Conservatives and a Return to Classic Liberalism: 1967 to 1969

Upon assuming the provincial Conservative leadership in 1967, Premier Walter Weir immediately instituted a programme of retrenchment. Within months, he had slowed or halted many of Roblin's progressive reforms in an effort to curb rising budget deficits. The decision turned the party down a familiar path, as the Conservatives swung back to the right on an agenda reminiscent of their times in the Bracken coalition.

Accordingly, the Conservative government's focus shifted from politics to the economy. Abandoning Roblin's belief in public investment, Weir's strategy was one of "forced growth", or the inducement of economic development through extensive incentives and subsidies.⁴³ Weir reversed his party's stance on medicare and bilingualism, as well, vehemently opposing both federal government initiatives. With public debt soaring, Weir viewed his plan as the most responsible direction for the government to take. As would become apparent in a very short time, the public disagreed.

⁴³ Netherton, "Shifting Points", p. 185.

Nonetheless, the combination of Conservative governments left opposition parties reeling. The CCF had been marginalized by the collectivist, Keynesian positioning of the Tories. With a large portion of their platform usurped by Roblin – including their support for hospital insurance – social democrats in the Federation were left with little policy space of their own. The Liberals struggled with the same dilemma during the Weir period, their classic liberal agenda having been co-opted by the government. As a result, a rift soon developed between the Grits' conservative, rural supporters and their more left-leaning urban wing.⁴⁴ With both opposition parties in disarray, the Conservatives appeared poised to carry their electoral dominance into the 1970s.

Disaster unexpectedly struck the PC's in 1969, however, as Weir's policies of restraint caught up with his government. As will be shown, this would become a recurring theme for Tory premiers in years to come. Roblin's Keynesian route proved much more appealing than Weir's laissez-faire approach, and an ill-timed election call spelled the end of the Conservatives' ten-year reign in office, making way for the province's first NDP government.

The Schreyer New Democrats and Social Democratic Keynesianism: 1969 to 1978

Just months into his term as New Democratic leader, Edward Schreyer found himself thrust into power on a wave of interventionist sentiment. The story was familiar – Duff Roblin had risen to power under similar circumstances only a decade earlier. Moreover, Schreyer inherited much of Roblin's agenda, despite the brief period of retrenchment

⁴⁴ Robert Drummond. "Liberal Party Organization and Manitoba's 1995 Provincial Election." Master of Arts Thesis. University of Manitoba. 1995. p. 9.

under Weir. As a result, the two premiers' responses were remarkably similar, reflecting the rising currency of Keynesian politics in Canada. Nonetheless, as Shaun McCaffrey points out, although many of the policies of the two governments appeared similar on the surface, each was motivated by distinct factors.⁴⁵

Whereas Roblin's was a distinctly tory version of Keynesianism, Schreyer implemented a markedly social democratic approach. On the topic of education, for instance, both premiers made substantial funding increases to schools. For Roblin's Tories, the move was part of a plan to consolidate provincial control and secure uniform, province-wide standards. In this sense, it was somewhat paternalistic in scope. Schreyer, on the other hand, used the funding increases to localize control over schools, therefore improving accessibility to education.⁴⁶ The New Democratic initiative was thus aimed at achieving greater equality in the province, a distinctly social democratic objective. In health and welfare, once again both premiers pursued substantial funding increases to provide much-needed services for the less-fortunate. However, whereas Roblin's Tories offered benefits based on need and voluntary participation, Schreyer's social democrats held to the NDP creed of universalism.⁴⁷ Furthermore, a divide existed over the two premiers' seemingly similar metropolitan amalgamation plans. Both governments sought to combine the many Winnipeg-area municipalities into a single Unicity tax zone. For Roblin, this offered the opportunity to streamline and centralize city government, and provide for community-building ventures in the downtown core. Years later, Schreyer would use amalgamation as a means of redistributing taxes from richer suburbs to poorer

⁴⁵ McCaffrey, "Policy Continuity".

⁴⁶ McCaffrey, "Policy Continuity", pp. 37-38.

⁴⁷ McCaffrey, "Policy Continuity", pp. 4-5.

inner-city ones.⁴⁸ Once again, the divergent tory and social-democratic aims of each premier become evident. Yet perhaps the greatest example of the philosophical divide that separated the two Keynesian premiers lies in their justifications for the many public works mega-projects launched in the 1960s and 1970s. As McCaffrey explains, both Roblin and Schreyer

evidently believed in a 'partnership' between the private and public sectors of the economy; the difference lay in the degree of emphasis the two governments placed on the different sectors. The Progressive Conservative government believed that private enterprise should play the primary role in economic development, assisted by a strong public sector, whereas the New Democratic administration emphasized government as the leading edge of economic development, supplemented by a substantial private sector.⁴⁹

In the end, Schreyer took a different view of economic development, seeing the process as a means of achieving social and political aims, not a goal unto itself.⁵⁰ Thus the ideological differences between the Roblin and Schreyer governments, while subtle to some observers, helped further define the adversarial nature of the Manitoba party system.

Schreyer's decade-long term in office was eventful in this sense. His brand of social democracy increased public spending by an additional 380 percent, having passed a record 125 bills in 1970 alone.⁵¹ Among his achievements were progressive tax reforms, including the redistribution associated with municipal amalgamation. Schreyer also created a series of new crown corporations, dealing with issues ranging from automobile insurance to minerals. What is more, he reduced, then abolished, medicare

⁴⁸ McCaffrey, "Policy Continuity", pp. 5-6.

⁴⁹ McCaffrey, "Policy Continuity", pp. 75-76.

⁵⁰ Netherton, "Shifting Points", p. 187.

⁵¹ McCaffrey, "Policy Continuity", p. 35.

premiums by the end of his first term, while raising welfare rates and the minimum wage. Under Schreyer's watch, the number of day care centres in the province also increased by 1000 percent.⁵²

Moreover, the New Democrats pursued a variety of societal reforms, expanding language rights in schools through the establishment of several French immersion schools, as well as providing for other languages of instruction, including German, Ukrainian and Cree.⁵³ Schreyer also revised family law to recognize the equality of men and women during divorce settlements, and created a Department of Northern Affairs to pursue economic and social development in the region.

If Premier Roblin set the stage for an interventionist-style of governance in Manitoba – moving the province away from the laissez-faire politics of the early twentieth century – Premier Schreyer took full advantage of the new environment, shifting the focus from toryism to social democracy.

Nonetheless, Schreyer drew considerable criticism from all sides, including his own party. Left-wing Waffles viewed the premier's course as too moderate, thus betraying his social democratic roots.⁵⁴ According to critics, Schreyer's government had continued the Conservative practice of subsidizing private industry, converting the Manitoba Development Fund into a crown corporation. In addition, he had failed to nationalize Inco operations in northern Manitoba, rejected the regulation of electricity rates, and invoked only very moderate labour reforms. Perhaps most significant, Schreyer had sided with Prime Minister Trudeau on wage and price controls, lining up

⁵² McCaffrey, "Policy Continuity", p. 56.

⁵³ McCaffrey, "Policy Continuity", p. 53.

⁵⁴ Netherton, "Shifting Points", p. 188.

opposite the federal NDP. Meanwhile, from the right, members of the business elite spurned Schreyer's control of the provincial economy.⁵⁵ By 1977, corporate taxes in Manitoba had grown by 300 percent, becoming the highest in the country, and the direct public debt rose by 296 percent.⁵⁶ Voters grew dissatisfied with the NDP agenda, as well, especially in the face of the 1970s recession. By the end of the decade, Manitobans, on the whole, had come to question the value of a social democratic, Keynesian programme.

Opposition parties gradually warmed to these developments. Liberal leader Israel Asper strengthened his party's resolve to maintain its classic liberal roots. Meanwhile, Premier Schreyer's take-over of Roblin's agenda had left the Conservatives without a distinct policy space following the 1969 election. First under Walter Weir then Sidney Spivak, the party responded by gradually replacing the tory, Keynesian elements of its platform with those of a more liberal bent. Rejecting a right-wing coalition with the Liberals in 1973, the Conservatives would take the better part of the decade to hone their bold, new programme. It was not until the 1977 election campaign that new PC leader Sterling Lyon revealed his party's groundbreaking message.

The Lyon Conservatives and Neo-Liberalism: 1977 to 1981

Throughout the 1977 campaign, Lyon managed to pin the failings of Keynesian economics, including the province's recession, on the poor management skills of Schreyer's New Democrats.⁵⁷ The Conservative leader pledged to 'free' Manitoba from

⁵⁵ Chorney and Hansen, "Neo-Conservatism", p. 8.

⁵⁶ McCaffrey, "Policy Continuity", pp. 61-62.

⁵⁷ Chorney and Hansen, "Neo-Conservatism", p. 9.

the 'shackles' of social democracy and restore 'normalcy' in the province.⁵⁸ In an ironic reversal, the Conservatives had become the greatest critics of the political programme they had helped build through Roblin's reforms in the 1960s. 'Small-t' tory tendencies were sidelined in the party, as Lyon took great strides to polarize Manitoban politics and escape the policy convergence that had characterized much of the early Schreyer period. As Chorney and Hansen assert, Lyon's ascension up the Conservative ranks marked a true turning point in party politics, setting the stage for the emergence of neo-liberalism and social democracy as "the key themes of party competition and political debate."⁵⁹

As Premier, Sterling Lyon ushered in Canada's first truly neo-liberal government.⁶⁰ Predating both Prime Minister Mulroney and Ontario Premier Mike Harris in this sense, Lyon helped introduce the country to the now-familiar themes of privatization, tax relief and deregulation. According to the Manitoba premier, the programme consisted of little more than "acute, protracted restraint"⁶¹ and stressed the historical roots of liberalism in Manitoba.⁶²

Lyon rolled back many of Schreyer's social spending increases, including those to public housing, northern development, health, education, cultural programs, and the civil service. Indeed, the Conservatives' fiscal policies were reminiscent of the Liberal-Progressives, stressing balanced budgets, government efficiency and private sector control over the economy. As proof, Lyon's first act as Premier was to establish a Task Force to examine the state of public ownership in Manitoba. In particular, the viability of

⁵⁸ Chorney and Hansen, "Neo-Conservatism", p. 10.

⁵⁹ Chorney and Hansen, "Neo-Conservatism", p. 9.

⁶⁰ Dyck, *Provincial Politics*, p. 411.

⁶¹ Dyck, *Provincial Politics*, p. 411.

⁶² Chorney and Hansen, "Neo-Conservatism", p. 10.

Manitoba Hydro was openly questioned – a public utility first established by Conservative Premier Duff Roblin in 1961. The crown corporation remained under public ownership following the review, but many others did not, as the entire role of government underwent a neo-liberal reassessment.

Meanwhile, Lyon replicated Premier Weir's forced growth strategy. His government subsidized mega-projects including the establishment of an Alberta-Saskatchewan-Manitoba power grid and the development of the Nelson River project; lowered corporate and income taxes; and introduced a five-year freeze on Hydro rates to lure investment. Overall, the Conservative Party shifted away from Roblin's primary concerns over politics, focusing primarily on resurrecting the province's slumping economy.

Despite his neo-liberal mantra, however, Premier Lyon did maintain some tory tenets in his party's programme. For one, he vehemently opposed the entrenchment of individual rights in the Constitution, clinging instead to his party's traditional stance in favor of parliamentary sovereignty. Lyon was renowned for his opposition to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, in this respect. He was equally well-known for his support of bilingualism in Manitoba. Reversing his party's position as established by Premier Weir, Lyon elected not to challenge the Supreme Court's 1979 *Forest* decision requiring Manitoba to provide dual translation of all provincial laws, and made direct grants to private immersion schools. As such, the tory element of the Conservative Party platform did not disappear entirely in the face of neo-liberalism, though it was significantly muted.

Nonetheless, Manitoba's first flirtation with neo-liberalism proved premature. Premier Lyon's cutbacks and forced growth investments were not accompanied by

private sector growth, due largely to the continued recession. Ironically, the Conservatives' programme resulted in even higher public deficits than when they entered office – eventually reaching \$365 million in 1981.⁶³ Outmigration was the most significant side-effect of the process, which contributed to the province's meagre annual population growth of 0.5 percent during Lyon's term in office.⁶⁴ Ultimately, however, the Conservatives' failure to boost the economy – especially in the face of such ardent restraint – raised questions in the electorate. The recipe was a familiar one for those in the Bracken and Lyon governments: poor population and economic growth formed discontent among voters. The New Democrats, whose memberships and donations had risen to record numbers in 1980,⁶⁵ were poised to once again challenge the Conservatives for power.

The Pawley New Democrats and the Return of Social Democracy: 1981 to 1988

After the Conservatives' failed experiment with neo-liberalism, the New Democrats' pledges to safeguard social programs, expand public ownership and refocus attention on employment appealed to most Manitoban voters. Elected in 1981, NDP Premier Howard Pawley immediately raised taxes, froze university tuition, and implemented rent and wage controls to cover investments in public housing, daycare, healthcare, and education. The New Democrats also attached sexual orientation to the Human Rights Code in 1986.

Meanwhile, Premier Pawley's fiscal policies were based largely on those of the Saskatchewan NDP, whose efforts to establish government as a "resource entrepreneur"

⁶³ Chorney and Hansen, "Neo-Conservatism", p. 10.

⁶⁴ Chorney and Hansen, "Neo-Conservatism", p. 10.

⁶⁵ Chorney and Hansen, "Neo-Conservatism", pp. 11-12.

had proven successful.⁶⁶ In the lead-up to the 1986 election, the New Democrats threatened to nationalize the province's natural gas sector, a bluff that resulted in lower rates without having to assume public ownership. Pawley did establish ManOil and other northern crown corporations to fuel resource development, however, which allowed Manitoba to buck the recession felt elsewhere on the Prairies. Ultimately, these and other policies were designed to re-establish the mixed economy and social democratic governance in the province. Unfortunately for the New Democrats, a combination of external forces and an impatient electorate cut short the party's long-term agenda.

Two forces, in particular, combined to constrain the New Democrats' plans. First, Premier Lyon's rate freezes had strapped numerous crown corporations with high debts. By 1987, Premier Pawley was forced to lift the freeze on Manitoba Hydro rates to keep the company solvent, while Manitoba Public Insurance (MPIC) and Manitoba Telecom Services (MTS) made similar hikes of their own accord. The sudden, simultaneous impact of these rate increases jolted the public, drawing attention to what critics perceived as the New Democrats' chronic inability to efficiently manage the province's finances.⁶⁷ Second, Prime Minister Mulroney's neo-liberal policies resulted in cutbacks to Manitoba's transfer payments.⁶⁸ The result saw the provincial deficit reach \$500 million in 1987, a projection that prompted two New Democrats to cross the floor to defeat their own party's budget. It marked the first time in Canadian history that a majority government had been defeated by the vote of one of its own members.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Netherton, "Shifting Points", p. 194.

⁶⁷ Dyck, *Provincial Politics*, p. 416.

⁶⁸ Dyck, *Provincial Politics*, p. 416.

⁶⁹ Dyck, *Provincial Politics*, p. 416.

Pawley resigned in the face of these challenges, though not before calling the 1988 election. This left new NDP leader Gary Doer to manage an ill-fated campaign. In subsequent weeks, NDP support levels plummeted to pre-Schreyer levels, while the province's other two parties made up considerable ground. The Conservatives, led by Gary Filmon, had softened their neo-liberal stance and pulled largely onside with the Mulroney programme of privatization and deregulation. Manitobans, who also warmed to neo-liberalism under the Conservative Prime Minister, rewarded Filmon with a minority government.

Most striking, however, was the resurgence of the Liberals under Sharon Carstairs. The party grew from a single seat in 1986 to twenty seats and the title of Official Opposition in 1988. Within two short years, the Liberals had established themselves as an urban reform alternative to both the New Democrats and Conservatives. Doer's NDP suffered the greatest losses at the hands of Carstairs, including their grip on the social welfare, healthcare and women's issues agendas; their ethnic support base in central Winnipeg; and – most significantly – their control over fourteen seats in the legislature. In the end, Manitobans opted to change their government in the midst of the Meech Lake, Free Trade and GST debates, electing twelve New Democrats, twenty Liberals and twenty-five Conservatives to debate the province's future.

The Filmon Conservatives and the Refinement of Neo-Liberalism: 1988 to 1999

Premier Filmon immediately set his government's neo-liberal programme into action. The party's closer relationship with the federal Conservatives helped to restructure Manitoba's transfer payments, enabling the provincial PC's to follow through on

promised tax cuts during their first term in office. At the same time, Filmon drew upon the dual themes of deficit reduction and privatization, selling off ManFor, ManOil, other crown corporations, and parts of the Manitoba Public Insurance Corporation (MPIC). In a move reminiscent of Weir and Lyon, the premier also invoked elements of a forced growth strategy, subsidizing and facilitating private investment in mega-projects like the Conowapa hydro initiative. It wasn't until his second term, however, that the full extent of Filmon's reforms would begin to take shape.

During the 1990 campaign, Premier Filmon turned his party further to the right, switching the focus further away from social policy toward economics and playing upon the perceived fiscal weaknesses of the Liberal and New Democrat platforms. The strategy proved successful and, once returned to office, the Conservatives set about shrinking the size of government and restructuring its role in the globalized economy. Their 1993 Framework for Economic Growth focused efforts around developing skills, training and infrastructure to feed the province's burgeoning aerospace, telecommunications and agrifood processing sectors. In addition, lower taxes and relaxed regulations were seen as a means of positioning the province in the new free trade community. Moreover, the party privatized MTS in 1995, placed a freeze on public sector salaries, and introduced a wage-reduction program known to civil servants as "Filmon Fridays". The party was forced to weather a 1991 nurses strike, as a result of these and other restrictions placed on the healthcare industry. Undeterred, the Conservatives continued their neo-liberal reforms, further reducing the number of tax credits available to non-profit groups and eliminating child dental coverage. And, most notably in the

1995 campaign, the PC's promoted a socially-conservative view of society, stressing the importance of family values.⁷⁰

So comprehensive were the changes that, as Netherton points out, Premier Filmon had enacted his own Klein- or Harris-like revolution in Manitoba.⁷¹ The so-called 'New Right' had established its place in provincial politics throughout the country, and Manitoba was no exception.

Nonetheless, as had been the case since Roblin's leadership, the Conservatives retained a tory touch in their policy-making. The party's positive stance toward bilingualism, established somewhat passively by Lyon in the early 1980s, was made more explicit under Filmon. His increased funding of immersion schools and the introduction of 100 percent French curriculum constituted major strides in this direction. The Premier also sided with concerns brought forth by the province's Aboriginal population, including the formation of official inquiries into the Helen Betty Osborne and J.J. Harper cases. By far the most progressive, however, was Filmon's 1994 agreement with the federal government to dismantle the *Indian Act* in Manitoba, thereby establishing the basis for long-term Aboriginal self-government in the province. These community- or group-based policies challenged the more individualistic elements of the Conservative agenda, helping to preserve the party's tory roots.

When it came to federal-provincial affairs, Filmon preferred a less partisan approach. This was especially true during the period of minority government from 1988 to 1990, when major constitutional negotiations were taking place. Filmon took both Sharon Carstairs and Gary Doer with him to the 1990 First Ministers' Meeting on the

⁷⁰ Netherton, "Paradigm and Shift", pp. 225-229.

⁷¹ Netherton, "Paradigm and Shift", p. 226.

Meech Lake Accord, for instance. Years later, he would once again invite tri-partisan representation in the negotiation of the 1996 Social Union Framework Agreement and 1997 Red River Flood Relief Program. The move was based on Filmon's belief in representing the views of *all* Manitobans during federal-provincial talks, and reflected his conviction in establishing a united, Manitoban interest.

By the outset of the Conservatives' third term in office, an all-party consensus was developing around the principles of neo-liberalism. In particular, the balanced budget legislation introduced by the Filmon government in 1995 received a generally warm reception from all party leaders. Indeed, it appeared that all parties had come to accept a series of fundamental values underlying Manitoban politics: the welfare state, liberal democracy, prudent government spending, and a mixed – but relatively unfettered – economy.

Nonetheless, the Conservatives' protracted restraint had left many Manitobans unsettled. Just as in 1969 and 1981, a combination of federal and provincial cutbacks had led many voters to decry the decay of social services, including healthcare and education. Filmon's response – a 1999 election budget containing both \$500 million in tax cuts and \$500 million in social spending increases – was perhaps 'too perplexing' or 'too late' in the minds of the Manitoba electorate.⁷² Either way, following allegations of scandal surrounding the Conservatives' financing of independent Aboriginal candidates in the North – a failed attempt to split the NDP vote in the region – Filmon and his party entered the 1999 election in a vulnerable position.

⁷² Netherton, "Paradigm and Shift", pp. 229-230.

The Doer New Democrats and 'The Third Way': 1999 to 2003

Veteran New Democrat leader Gary Doer exploited this opening, combating the 'New Right' with his own version of 'New Left' doctrine. First and foremost, the New Democrats transformed opposition to Filmon's program of restraint into a rallying cry against what the NDP termed "hallway medicine." With the help of third-party advertising, Doer was able to prime the electorate for healthcare as the major campaign issue. Overall, the Manitoba NDP crafted an overall platform of moderate social democratic reform under neo-liberal constraints.

The result, according to Netherton, has been a re-convergence of ideology and policy among Manitoba's three major parties.⁷³ Much as Roblin and Schreyer offered differing versions of Keynesianism, so, too have today's New Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives developed competing visions of the neo-liberal paradigm.

As we will discuss in Chapter 4, the Doer New Democrats adopted a "Third Way" programme, renamed themselves "today's NDP," and critiqued the Filmon Conservatives for their failure to address key social issues facing Manitobans. The ensuing provincial debate has taken place within the confines of neo-liberalism, with a New Left and a New Right offering their own ideological interpretations.

By the 1999 election, the NDP had abandoned the Keynesian values of the Schreyer and Pawley governments, replacing them with a liberal acceptance of efficiency, prudence and transparency in the public sector. As mentioned, Premier Doer fully accepted the Conservatives' 1995 balanced budget legislation, and instituted the most stringent campaign finance legislation in the country, banning both union and

⁷³ Netherton, "Shifting Points", p. 201.

corporate donations to political parties. Overall, these self-imposed restrictions limited the New Democrats' ability and motivation to pursue an overly activist agenda. In health care – the major issue in the 1999 campaign – the NDP moved quickly to recruit new doctors and nurses for the province, while undertaking hospital expansions and technological improvements throughout the province. The government also froze both university tuition and auto insurance rates, and discussed ways of improving funding to municipalities. Public investments in hydro development also continued, with the New Democrats re-securing Ontario's commitment to pursue the Conowapa project in northern Manitoba. Aside from these gains, however, the Doer government's first four years in office appeared rather uneventful, typical, one might argue, of a centrist party that valued prudence and incrementalism. The 2003 Election Campaign, with its noticeable lack of energy and dominant issues, appeared to pay testament to this fact.

Since 1999, both opposition parties have taken strides toward developing their own position on the neo-liberal spectrum. The Conservatives, now led by Stuart Murray, have firmly established themselves as the province's 'New Right' option. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the party has crafted a platform similar to that of the federal Conservatives under Jean Charest – one that stresses the economic principles of neo-liberalism, while abandoning much of the tory tenor of earlier Conservative programmes. The Liberal Party, meanwhile, continues in its efforts to develop a coherent ideological agenda, a topic we will discuss further in Chapter 5. In the wake of Sharon Carstairs's departure in 1994, subsequent leaders Paul Edwards and Jon Gerrard have failed to generate the same support that elevated the party to Official Opposition status in 1988. In the process, the Liberal platform has become somewhat eclectic, offering right-wing

fiscal policies like corporate tax cuts and crime reduction alongside left-wing social promises like increased funding to healthcare and education. Overall, however, the Liberals appear to have chosen a more centrist path, attacking the New Democrats from both the centre-left and centre-right.

The Evolution of Adversarial Politics in Manitoba

Considering the history of its party system, Manitoba remains one of the few political environments in which liberalism; conservatism and social democracy thrive and compete.⁷⁴ Granted, at times there has been considerable policy convergence among parties. “It is no accident,” as Chorney and Hansen argue, “that the PC party and the NDP have converged on certain questions of economic strategy, whatever ideological differences may exist between them.”⁷⁵ Throughout the past five decades, each has maintained a common commitment to public works and mega-projects; to public ownership in support of economic development and rural communities; to the enhancement of economic competitiveness in the province; to relatively moderate tax regimes; to the provision of public services like healthcare; and – above all – “to lessen, rather than increase, peoples’ dependence on the state.”⁷⁶ In this sense, both the Conservatives and New Democrats have nurtured a sense of collectivism within a predominantly liberal political environment, remaining loyal to their respective tory and social democratic roots. Despite their similarities, however, there were subtle, but real, ideological differences in the New Democratic and PC programmes. In broad terms, the

⁷⁴ Chorney and Hansen, “Neo-Conservatism”.

⁷⁵ Chorney and Hansen, “Neo-Conservatism”, p. 13.

⁷⁶ Wiseman, “Social Democracy”, p. 226.

NDP used economic development as a means to fulfill its social democratic agenda, whereas, to the Conservatives, economic development was often an end unto itself. For the most part, the former placed politics over the economy, while the latter placed economics ahead of politics. Thus, whether in the interpretation of Keynesianism or, years later, neo-liberalism, each party placed its own unique spin on the dominant ideological paradigm.

The Liberals, meanwhile, have remained a party with little ideological room to manoeuvre. Having adopted a classic liberal position in the early half of the twentieth century, the party moved uneasily to the centre as its success dwindled. Once there, the party platform – which borrowed elements from both sides of the political spectrum – was overshadowed by those of the Conservatives and New Democrats, whose regional support bases ensured better results at the polls. Without a distinct ideological or regional identity, the Liberals have languished in recent times, displaced both geographically and politically by the province's two dominant parties.

'Then and Now'—Remaining Questions with Regard to Manitoba Party Politics

When added to the historical effects of ethnicity and regionalism, these ideological and partisan cleavages combine to give depth to the unique contours of Manitoban politics in the twenty-first century. Indeed, after decades of evolution, the province had developed a well-established – almost predictable – political environment heading into the most recent provincial election. The New Democrats, with their centre-left, 'Third Way' programme, were expected to perform well in their traditional strongholds of Northern Manitoba and North Winnipeg, while making some inroads in the Tories' more moderate,

urban constituencies. The Conservatives, whose right-leaning, neo-liberal platform retained its appeal in the southern regions of the province and capital, were predicted to place a solid second in the legislature, losing some seats on the periphery of their support bases. The Liberals, meanwhile, would remain hard-pressed to define themselves in the province's entrenched politics of region and ideology. Any Grit success was expected to come in Winnipeg, where the party's ambiguous platform had helped a small number of Liberals gain seats in each of the last six elections. In this sense, Election Day held little suspense due to the depth of the province's regional and ideological cleavages. Yet, this predictability should not be confused with monotony.

Despite the perceived regularity, many questions still remain regarding the structure of inter-party and intra-party politics. For instance, just how distinct are the positions of today's provincial parties? Considering the level of policy convergence under neo-liberalism, just how far apart are the 'New Left' New Democrats from the 'New Right' Conservatives? Meanwhile, where do the Liberals position themselves? And specifically which issues and attitudes divide the three parties? Conversely, examining each organization internally, how well do today's parties reconcile the various wings of their organizations? Have social democrats relinquished control over the NDP, yielding to the growing presence of Third Way centrists in their party? By the same token, have Tories been completely submerged in the 'New Right' doctrine of Stuart Murray's Conservatives? Furthermore, on which side of centre do today's Gerrard Liberals reside? And precisely how cohesive is each party when it comes to issues of morality, the environment, or Manitoba's place in a changing world? These and other yet-unexamined questions conceal many particularities of Manitoban party politics.

Thus, while the enduring presence of 'safe seats' may mask these subtleties, the combination of regionalism and ideology make the province an interesting case study in Canadian party politics. Far from an "unspectacular" province, today's Manitoba is an archetypal environment in which to study the interaction between the philosophies of the 'New Left' and 'New Right'; the politics of regional interests; the relationship between federal and provincial party identification; and many other political intricacies. The following chapters seek to elucidate the means by which Manitoba's three major parties reconcile such issues among their most public figures: their candidates for election. For, if a brief review of its history is at all indicative, present and future politics in the province promise to yield a wealth of insight for political scientists.

CHAPTER 3 – PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Being composed of a higher proportion of business liberals, the Conservatives are generally to the right of the Liberals on both the individualism and inequality scales. However, a minority stream within that party, the “progressive” wing, is slightly left of centre on the scales of equality and collectivism. This tension within the Conservative Party also forces it toward the centre... Interesting provincial variations in the extent of individual diversity are therefore to be expected.¹

The Divided Right

As Rand Dyck notes, Canadian parties on the right often struggle to embody the divergent political principles and values of their followers. Indeed, as the two main modes of right-wing thought in Manitoba, progressivism and conservatism provide provincial PC's with very different sets of opinions, incompatible moral standards, and competing policy stances. On the former side, 'progressives' – also referred to as “red Tories” – tend to stray somewhat from classic liberal philosophy. They view society as a collection of *inter-connected* citizens – in other words, as a community – placing the social order ahead of the individual. In turn, red Tories tend to value social interests ahead of economic concerns, advocating state intervention to improve the life conditions of the disadvantaged. Their progressiveness often extends to protection of civil liberties and the environment, as well. In these ways, red Tories may be considered closer to the centre of the political spectrum than their fellow partisans in the small-c ‘conservative’ wing. Followers of this so-called ‘New Right’ philosophy include both neo-liberals and neo-

¹ Rand Dyck. *Provincial Politics in Canada*. Scarborough: Prentice Hall. 1996. p. 9.

conservatives. Members of the former faction value the individual as the primary unit of society. They place economics ahead of politics in many areas and, as *fiscal conservatives*, seek to maintain a limited role for the state in society and the marketplace. This translates into a relatively ambivalent attitude toward environmental conservation, particularly in the face of opportunities for economic growth. What is more, neo-liberals are also noted for their populist tendencies, favoring government 'by the people' versus 'by experts'. Moreover, whereas progressives reserve a role for the government in providing a substantial welfare system, other conservatives view the state's responsibility in different terms. Beyond a very basic social safety net, "neo-conservatives" argue the government's crucial role in society lies in preserving moral standards and social norms. This commitment to *moral conservatism* separates neo-conservatives from the more left-leaning 'progressive' wing of the party, particularly over issues like civil rights, crime, and family values. While different in their focus, together 'neo-liberals' and 'neo-conservatives' make up the so-called 'New Right' in Canadian politics. Their fiscal and moral conservatism separate them from the more centrist, 'progressive' wing of most Canadian PC parties.

On occasion, dynamic rifts do develop along these lines. Steve Patten's discussion of the final years of the federal Progressive Conservative Party, for instance, demonstrates how these wings can battle for control over a party's direction.² Similarly, the attitudinal divisions between the former Alliance and federal PC'S were a major bone of contention during the 'Unite the Right' movement. Leading up to the 2004 federal election, public exchanges between former PC Prime Minister Joe Clark – himself a red

² Steve Patten. "'Toryism' and the Conservative Party in a Neo-Liberal Era." *Party Politics in Canada*. 8th Ed. Thorburn, Hugh G. ed. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada. 2001. pp. 135-147.

tory – and new Conservative Party leader Stephen Harper – a perceived spokesperson for neo-liberalism – also lay bare the potential for division within the Canadian right.

For the most part, though, the progressive / conservative divide is less malignant. In Manitoba, for example, progressives and conservatives do not hold separate caucus meetings, nor do they issue separate platforms or elect separate representatives. In fact, party followers are not easily classified into either camp; and labelling candidates, in particular, can be quite challenging. Instead, the relationship between progressivism and conservatism is more accurately described in terms of a continuum. We may describe a series of policies, attitudes or candidates as being ‘more progressive’ or ‘less conservative’, for instance. Such distinctions extend across several issue dimensions, helping us to better describe the attitudinal profile of the province’s Conservative party.

Also of note, our acknowledgement of the progressive / conservative divide within the Manitoba PC Party should not be construed as a criticism by any means. Throughout this chapter, we avoid using normative terms like ‘rift’ or ‘fracture’ to describe the division between the party’s tory and neo-liberal wings. This was done to convey the ambiguous nature of the cleavage, itself. Some PC’s may find strength in the diversity of opinions within their party, for instance, while others may find weakness in this division. We find merit in both assessments.

Nonetheless, like other right-wing parties, the ability of the Manitoba Conservatives’ to embody and encompass the values of their members is largely determined by their capacity to bridge a unique gap within their ranks. As the following chapter illustrates, the provincial PC’s have been relatively successful at overcoming this challenge in terms of the party’s rhetoric. Crafted concisely prior to the 2003 provincial

election, the Conservatives' campaign themes were unmistakably right-wing, representing the party's neo-liberal vision for the province. In fact, in promoting the primacy of the individual, the importance of limited government, and – to a lesser extent – the value of social order, the PC programme was arguably free of any substantive reference to progressivism, at all.

Party followers, themselves, were far less equivocal in their support for the neo-liberal philosophy, however. Our survey of Conservative candidates revealed, in numerous policy areas, a considerable lack of consensus in favor of liberalism. Furthermore, significant divisions existed between PC politicians of various ages, genders, regions, and federal affiliations. Together, these findings suggest, not the unification of Conservatives under a single ideology, but rather the division of the party into two distinct wings: one consisting of progressive tories, the other, fiscal and moral conservatives. While the attitudes of the latter group tend to dominate the public image of the provincial Conservatives, the continued survival of the party's 'red tory' element signals an interesting, often-hidden attitudinal dynamic within the Manitoba party system.

Manitoba Conservatives and the 2003 Election

The Progressive Conservatives entered the 2003 Manitoba election with their lowest level of support in nearly three decades. Pre-election polls all but precluded a Conservative government, and all but assured the public of an increased NDP majority. The poor Conservative numbers were perhaps as much due to the popularity of the Doer government as they were to the faults of the Conservatives, themselves. Nonetheless, with the 2000 resignation of Gary Filmon, who had been a visible figure throughout the

highly-publicized constitutional debates of the 1990s, the party lost its most recognizable symbol. In his place, the Conservatives selected rookie candidate Stuart Murray, a leader for whom 2003 marked an introduction to provincial campaigning.

Analysts have remained somewhat forgiving of the PC leader's management of his first campaign, yet Murray's inexperience and lack of profile among voters did not help the party overcome its disadvantages in the polls. Following unfortunate gaffes early in the PC campaign – including an inopportune run-in with Polo Park security staff at Murray's inaugural stump speech – the Conservatives were quick to place their platform ahead of personality. To that extent, Stuart Murray's first election was a success – the Conservative agenda was both well-structured and well-focused – if not *well-conveyed* by the media, *well-received* by the public, or *well-adopted* by all factions of his party.

The 2003 Conservative Platform

The 2003 PC programme was unmistakably right-wing in its principles. Stressing “the paramount value of the individual, and individualism”, the party's programme retained its historic ties to classic liberalism.³ Among its chief “aims and objectives”, the Conservatives reasserted “the importance of the individual and his or her basic right to be free of unwarranted Government interference... In other words,” according to the party's statement of beliefs, “a Conservative believes in the ethic of ‘Live and Let Live’.”⁴ At the same time – reflecting the party's tory roots – the PC platform promised to “provide for the benefit of members of the community those services and functions which

³ PC Manitoba. “Party Philosophy.” *PC Manitoba Website*.

http://www.pcmantoba.com/PClegacy/legacy_philosophy.asp (accessed: May 21, 2004).

⁴ PC Manitoba. “Party Philosophy.”

individuals cannot reasonably provide for themselves, while assuring personal freedom and personal initiative and alleviating personal misfortune.”⁵ This statement notwithstanding, the Conservatives overwhelmingly committed themselves to maintaining a limited role for the state in Manitoban society. “Unlike other political parties in Canada,” they argued, “the Progressive Conservative Party believes that it is ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL that Government at all levels be limited in size and maintained as close to the people as possible, so that Canadians can truly be involved in their own public affairs.”⁶ Furthermore, they contended, “there are many things in human affairs that Government simply cannot do, and many other things that Government will never do very well. Therefore, Government should remain focused on what it can and should do to ensure Manitobans receive the best and most efficient services possible without mortgaging our children’s future.”⁷ From an ideological perspective, the Manitoba Conservatives’ 2003 platform was far from ambiguous: Stuart Murray and his team had positioned the party firmly to the right of the political spectrum.

These neo-liberal principles echoed throughout the list of PC campaign promises. On the topic of social assistance, for example, Murray pledged to revive work-for-welfare programs, placing his party in opposition to the left-wing New Democrats. The Conservative policy was anchored in the party’s statement of beliefs, which held that a “person with a job is a person with dignity and self-respect.”⁸

Numerous other election vows were similarly rooted in right-wing philosophy. For instance, Conservatives held their aggressive tax-relief strategy at the forefront of

⁵ PC Manitoba. “Party Philosophy.”

⁶ PC Manitoba. “Party Philosophy.” (emphasis in original)

⁷ PC Manitoba. “Party Philosophy.”

⁸ PC Manitoba. “Party Philosophy.”

their campaign. "Unlike other political parties," according to the PC platform, "the Progressive Conservative Party opposes a tax system that discourages initiative and penalizes growth and productivity."⁹ In accordance with these principles, Murray and his team pledged a series of comprehensive tax cuts, aimed primarily at eliminating education taxes from residential property and farmland. The Conservatives also promised a six percent income tax cut for the middle class in 2004, followed by a further seven percent cut in 2005; an increase in the low-income threshold from \$30,500 to \$35,000; and the removal of provincial sales taxes from all diapers and incontinence products. True to his neo-liberal philosophy, Murray pledged these tax reductions – estimated by the party at \$200 million – would be covered through administrative savings and the resulting economic activity generated by the cuts, themselves.

Similar liberal principles anchored the Conservative health care strategy. Rejecting opponents' "two-tier" criticisms, the PC's promised quality, universal public health care by paying the private sector to provide certain health services. The policy was aimed at ensuring that each Manitoban citizen received adequate, timely care, while increasing the accountability of the government in providing such services. The party's "Patients First" plan, for instance, included a requirement that the government produce an annual report detailing where health dollars were spent and how health outcomes had improved. In addition, the Conservatives pledged to amalgamate cardiac surgery and care in one centre of excellence – the Manitoba Heart Institute. This would be done to decrease wait times for procedures and increase taxpayer savings. Further to this end, the Conservatives promised to build a website listing the wait times for every procedure at

⁹ PC Manitoba. "Party Philosophy."

every health facility in the province, so as to help Manitobans determine where they could receive the most timely treatment. While tempered by the desire to retain universalism as an essential element of the health care system, the Conservatives' strategy was succinctly developed around right-of-centre concepts of the individual's place in Manitoba's modern liberal democracy.

The public education system was an unwitting, indirect casualty of the 2003 PC platform. Considering its commitment to small government, and with the province assuming 100 percent of public school financing, cutbacks loomed under a Conservative government. As part of his plan, Murray pledged to work with school divisions to restructure Kindergarten to Grade 12 spending. Specifically – in one of the more controversial elements of the Conservative platform – Murray called for a comprehensive public review of the tenets of “basic education”, including an evaluation of physical education, art, music, performing arts, and other specialized programs as parts of the Manitoba school curriculum. In sum, critics like the Manitoba Teachers Society found the Conservatives' \$60-million funding increase, intended to shrink class sizes and expand special needs services, inadequate in the face of much larger cutbacks. A further \$5 million to establish a professional development fund for teachers did little to placate those in the public school community, whose distaste for cost-cutting Conservative education programs dated back to the Filmon era. With a budget to balance and greater priorities placed on tax relief, the right-leaning Murray Conservatives faced harsh criticism for their perceived lack of concern over education funding.

Conversely, the PC platform did promise significant investment in post-secondary education. Although promising to discontinue NDP plans for the University College of

the North, Murray and his team pledged to increase funding to individual students in rural and remote areas. In addition, the Conservatives vowed to restructure the current student assistance program to encourage young Manitobans to complete their studies in high-demand occupations, such as nursing. Furthermore, as part of its tax relief strategy, the PC platform included a twenty-five percent tax break for college and university graduates remaining in Manitoba to work for four consecutive years following completion of their studies. Such measures were certainly compatible with the liberal concepts of "equality of opportunity" and "individual achievement", and fit well with the rest of the Conservative's right-wing programme.

The party also promoted a strong anti-crime agenda. When added to his \$1.2 million pledge to hire twenty new Crown attorneys, Murray's \$2.0 million commitment to add forty new officers to the Winnipeg police service signified a substantive move to curb criminal activity. In addition, the Conservatives promised to introduce new anti-gang legislation and pursue maximum penalties for gang-related offences. This tough stance on crime stood as a strong statement of the party's neo-conservative commitment to social order.

Readers may notice our reluctance to use the term 'tory' to describe elements of the 2003 Conservative platform. This effort was deliberate, considering the lack of 'small-t' tory principles in the PC campaign. As Steve Patten describes, a similar trend has developed among Progressive Conservatives at the federal level.¹⁰ The tory tenets of "tradition", "community", and the concept of "politics over economics" have gradually disappeared from PC platforms across Canada. Begun under Walter Weir and Sidney

¹⁰ Patten, "Toryism".

Spivak, then accelerated under neo-liberals Sterling Lyon, Gary Filmon and Stuart Murray, this process has been so complete in Manitoba that we are even reluctant to use the "Tory" moniker as a pseudonym for the provincial party.

Aside from the seemingly obligatory pledge to "maintain our system of parliamentary democracy based on loyalty to the Crown and the Constitution", few tory-based principles remained in the 2003 Conservative programme. Gone was the party's open support for province-building measures like the hydro mega-projects, or public ownership of key services. Under Filmon, the Manitoba PC's sold off Manitoba's original crown corporation – MTS – and threatened to privatize its most lucrative public utility – Manitoba Hydro. In addition, Murray remained virtually silent on ethnic community issues during the 2003 election campaign, avoiding concerns like Aboriginal poverty and the preservation of Franco-Manitoban culture. Ironically, Murray's emphasis upon individualism aligns him more closely with the founders of the Liberal-Progressive Party, like Bracken and Garson, as opposed to the father of his own party, Duff Roblin.

Such was the platform on which the Progressive Conservatives stood during the 2003 provincial election. Ideologically-coherent, the programme proved to be more straightforward than popular, however. For, if the Manitoba electorate rejected Premier Filmon's version of neo-liberalism in 1999, voters were even less enamoured with Murray's adaptation of the platform four years later. Forced to focus precious resources on holding previously-safe seats in Southwestern Manitoba, the Conservatives could not devote enough energy to maintain control of three urban constituencies. In the end, Conservatives retained all but one rural seat, losing Gimli to the surging New Democrats.

The same was not true in the urban constituencies of Fort Garry, Seine River and St. Norbert, however, where NDP victories disturbed a long-time PC monopoly in South Winnipeg. For whatever reason, previously-Tory voters in these constituencies had abandoned the party in 2003.

What is more, overall election results demonstrated these voters were not alone. For one, the Conservatives' share of the overall popular vote dropped over four percent, from 40.6% in 1999 to 36.0% in 2003.¹¹ Moreover, not all PC candidates bought into the party's brand of right-wing liberalism. As the results of our survey attest, there were significant differences of opinion among the party's politicians. Far from united, the PC campaign slate epitomized the nature of the 'divided right' in Manitoba.

The Divided Right in Manitoba

Much like our examination of the 2003 Conservative platform, however, an attitudinal profile of the "average" PC candidate masks the progressive / conservative divide within the party. Indeed, at least according to PC respondents' mean index and spectral scores, the party's campaign slate appears as right-wing as their programme suggests. (See Table 3.1.) For instance, their platform's promotion of "an economic system based as fully as possible on individual enterprise, private ownership and competition"¹² was strongly reflected in the attitudes of the typical PC candidate. Conservatives scored an average of 1.85 on our 3.0-point individualism index, and placed themselves strongly on the right side (5.12) of the 'public services versus tax cuts' debate. Indeed, education and

¹¹ Information compiled from: Manitoba Legislative Assembly. *Elections Manitoba Website*. <http://www.electionsmanitoba.ca> (accessed: May 21, 2004).

¹² PC Manitoba. "Party Philosophy."

highways were the only spending areas in which a majority of PC candidates recommended increased funding. Furthermore, the party scored 2.30 on our privatization index, with a majority of its respondents supporting full public ownership of only one major crown corporation, Manitoba Hydro.

Reminiscent of the party's pro-free trade position in the early 1990s, the average Conservative candidate also scored a 1.76 on our continentalism index. To this end, the Conservatives' moderate stance on environmental protection may offer proof of their party's free market ideology; when asked whether or not to "support protection of the environment, even at the cost of economic growth," the average PC candidate placed him- or herself at 3.77 on the corresponding 7.0-point spectrum.

Likewise, the typical Conservative was decidedly populist and in favour of decentralized federalism, suggesting an affinity toward the neo-liberal principles of grassroots governance. He or she also showed strong signs of moral conservatism, with a mean score of 1.85 on our index, and, at 4.24 on the spectrum, "favoured less progressive policies on matters like homosexuality, abortion and multiculturalism." These neo-conservative impulses were further reflected in the Conservatives' reluctance to support civil liberties; the party earned a 0.91 mean score on the civil rights index and a 4.87 placement on the matching spectrum. Overall, "taking all aspects of policy into account," PC candidates placed themselves considerably to the right of the political centre. Matching the tenor of its 2003 campaign platform, the mean score among Conservative respondents on the general left-right spectrum was 5.00. These figures depict a PC party strongly anchored in the principles of the 'New Right', with little evidence of red tory, progressive influence.

Table 3.1: Average Attitudinal Scores, Progressive Conservatives			
Attitudinal Indexes		Attitudinal Spectra (1 to 7)	
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.70	Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.17
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	1.85	Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	5.12
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	1.85	More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	4.24
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	0.91	Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	4.87
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	1.03	Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	3.77
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	1.76	Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	4.03
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	4.27	Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	3.67
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	2.30	Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	3.74
	N=33	Overall Left/Right Spectrum	5.00
			N=29

Differences of Opinion

Substantial divisions lurk beneath these averages, however, as consensus on specific issues and policy positions was sporadic. Figures in Appendix E demonstrate just how divided the party's campaign slate was.

To measure the amount of PC party cohesion across the various indexes, a "consensus score" was calculated based on the percentage of candidates who were on the same side of the given issue. These figures ranged from 0 (no consensus) to 50 (complete consensus). More information regarding the precise formula can be found in Appendix E.

As the figures in Appendix E suggest, there was considerable harmony among Conservatives in certain policy areas. In particular, continentalism, individualism and

moralism stood out as the pillars of consensus among PC candidates. On the first issue, over 75 percent of Conservative respondents disagreed with the statement that "Canada must take steps to reduce American influence on its culture and mass media," and an identical proportion felt that NAFTA "has been good for Manitoba." On the topic of individualism, a majority of Conservatives agreed with the party's neo-liberal stance on limited government, opposing state intervention in employment and living standards, and supporting the involvement of the private sector in Canada's health care system. And elements of neo-conservatism also pervaded the PC campaign slate. Over two-thirds of the party's respondents believed "our society has become too permissive" and that the "country would have far fewer problems if there were more emphasis on family values." These moral conservative principles included opposition to both the legalization of marijuana use and same-sex marriage, the latter of which was included in our "civil liberties" index. In these three broad issue areas, there was considerable consensus among Conservative politicians, confirming once again the strength of 'New Right' attitudes within the party.

The same was not true across all policy fields, however. The PC party was considerably divided over other attitudinal themes, the most noticeable of which included: populism, social welfare, and the environment. For one, differences of opinion arose over whom to trust more: "ordinary people" or "experts and intellectuals." While a majority (57.6 percent) of Conservative candidates supported the former option, the margin was relatively slim. And although two-thirds recommended returning government "to the people at the grassroots," a majority (54.5 percent) *opposed*

mandatory referendums on constitutional amendments. In overall terms, this gave the Conservatives a mean consensus score of only 9.6 on our populism index.

Unity was even scarcer on social welfare issues. In particular, Conservatives were divided over the role of the government in providing all Manitobans with adequate housing, and the overall necessity of welfare and social security programs, in general. The party reached a 1.5 consensus score on each survey item, confirming Dyck's diagnosis of a progressive / conservative divide among PC members.¹³

Conservatives were relatively unequivocal when it came to choosing between the environment and social programs, however. A full 78.8 percent opted to preserve funding levels in areas "like education and health" in the face of ecological concerns. Consensus wavered considerably on other environmental issues, though. Conservatives were split, for instance, over whether or not global warming is "as big a problem as environmentalists would have us believe." And only a slim majority (51.5 percent) agreed that "government should enforce stricter [environmental] standards on private industry."

In sum, on issues of populism, social welfare, and environmentalism, the Conservatives' level of consensus was considerably lower – both compared to other policy areas and, as will be shown in Chapter 6, to other parties.

¹³ In this context, it should be noted that 63.6 percent of Conservative candidates supported the universality of all social programs, evidence, perhaps, of the party's lasting tory touch.

The 'Progressive/Conservative' Divide

These differences of opinion are actually well-structured, according to the results of our survey. Indeed, Conservative attitudes were aligned along various cleavages, ranging from age and gender, to region and federal orientation. Each variable had its own unique impact on the cohesiveness of the PC campaign slate, and, as will be shown in at least one instance, these cleavages did not always divide opinion along traditional lines. Most variables did point to a common conclusion, however: The Manitoba PC Party houses followers of two distinct ideological strains, indicating evidence of a 'progressive / conservative divide'.

Age

In general, attitudes did divide as expected according to age, producing some interesting conclusions. To conduct our analysis, we divided PC candidates into two categories: those born between 1900 and 1960, and those born after 1961. Separated along these lines, the party's candidates showed noticeable differences of opinion. (See Table 3.2.) In particular, the level of fiscal and moral conservatism tended to increase with the candidate's age, with younger Tory respondents tending to be the most progressive of all respondents. This was true in some, but not all, policy areas.

Conservative politicians born since 1961 exhibited certain red tory tendencies. They were the most morally progressive and most environmentalist of all Conservatives, for instance. Meanwhile, elder PC candidates – the most morally and fiscally conservative of all PC respondents – desired tax cuts over increased public services to a

greater extent. Therein lies one aspect of the party's progressive/conservative divide, separating the more centrist younger candidates and the elder, 'New Right' politicians.

Interestingly, younger Tory candidates were also most supportive of privatization and continentalism, and least likely to "advocate that government should provide universal free health care." This offers curious evidence that Tory Youth blended the principles of neo-liberalism and progressivism in their attitudes. While preferring increased program spending, younger candidates also showed signs of fiscal conservatism, demonstrating, perhaps, the role of political socialization in the formation of politicians' attitudes. Born at the height of Trudeau / Pawley social-liberalism – i.e. the expansion of the welfare state and the adoption of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms – and reared during the Mulroney / Filmon era of neo-liberalism – i.e. the contraction of the state and the advent of free trade – young Conservative candidates may have borrowed tenets from each programme when forming their own political perspectives.

In any event, age was a significant factor in shaping political attitudes among Conservatives and did clarify, to some extent, potential sources of the progressive / conservative divide within the party.

Table 3.2: Average Attitudinal Scores, Conservatives, by Year of Birth

Attitudinal Indexes			Attitudinal Spectra (1 to 7)		
	1900 - 1960	1961 - present		1900 - 1960	1961 - present
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.65	1.60	Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.07	3.00
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	1.71	1.80	Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	5.19	4.80
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	1.94	1.50	More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	4.36	3.40
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	1.00	0.80	Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	4.80	4.50
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	1.12	1.20	Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	4.00	3.20
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	1.59	1.70	Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	4.60	3.20
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	4.12	4.90	Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	3.47	3.40
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	1.94	2.70	Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	3.67	3.90
	N=17	N=10	Overall Left/Right Spectrum	4.87	4.89
				N=15	N=10

Gender

Certain aspects of the conventional gender gap also held true in our analysis of PC candidates. (See Table 3.3.) Conservative women were more socially progressive than their male counterparts, ranking themselves on the centre-left (3.86) of the corresponding spectrum. As follows, female PC politicians were also more in favor of increased spending than men, and were more supportive of public health care. Male Conservatives, on the other hand, were more morally conservative according to our index.

Interestingly, however, the Conservative gender gap was relatively indiscernible in other issue domains. Our survey results proved inconclusive on the topic of populism, for instance. At 1.75, PC women scored slightly higher on our populism index than men (1.68). Yet, by placing themselves at 3.14 on the matching spectrum, Conservative males

showed a stronger belief in grassroots governance than did females (3.25). Our findings were similarly ambiguous in the area of environmentalism. Conservative men were more environmentalist according to our index, while women considered themselves more environmentalist according to our spectrum. In the face of these findings, a conclusive gender gap difficult to discern in certain policy areas.

Perhaps most surprising, however, certain attitudes of PC candidates actually *contradicted* well-established conceptions of the traditional gender gap. Most notably, Conservative women (2.00) were more individualist than their male colleagues (1.80), according to our index. Correspondingly, female Conservatives were more favourable toward tax cuts, privatization and decentralized federalism than men. Among PC respondents, women were also more likely to favor the restriction of “some civil liberties to keep criminals off the streets.” In these respects, female Conservatives actually appeared to the political right of their male counterparts.

While this does not correspond with the identical self-placement (5.00) by both genders on the overall left-right spectrum, these findings do suggest an intriguing conclusion: Conservative women were not only to the left of men on moral issues, like acceptance of alternative lifestyles and the universality of health care; they were also to the right of their male colleagues on neo-liberal issues like minimal government. While seemingly contradictory, the ambiguous placement of Conservative women on a unidimensional political spectrum – much like younger Conservatives – is perhaps more a reflection of the inadequacy of our traditional conceptions of left and right, as opposed to the ideological inconsistency of the candidates, themselves.

Indeed, our survey suggests young and female PC politicians represent the very epitome of the “Progressive Conservative” dilemma: how to remain loyal to both neo-liberal and red tory principles. In other words, PC women and younger candidates, on average, struck a unique balance between the demands of fiscal conservatism and those of moral progressivism. They essentially merged left with right. The balance becomes most precarious on the question of tax cuts versus social spending. According to our survey, female Conservatives placed themselves furthest to the right of the corresponding spectrum, thus prioritizing tax relief to a greater extent than men. Yet, when asked whether a series of program areas required increased or reduced funding, Conservative women were more likely than men to recommend higher spending. This was especially evident in the areas of education and health care. Over 87.5 percent of women recommended more funding for both Kindergarten to Grade 12 and post-secondary schooling, compared to 44 percent and 56 percent, respectively, among men. And, whereas half of the Conservative women surveyed recommended increased spending on health care, only 40% of men agreed. As discussed in Chapter 2, this dual focus on tax relief and increased spending is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, fiscal conservatism and social progressivism were central elements of Gary Filmon’s 1999 budget and election campaign. When added to other findings of our survey, this reveals further evidence of Dyck’s predicted ‘progressive / conservative divide’ within the Manitoba PC party. As shown, this red tory / neo-liberal tension becomes quite clear when analyzing the attitudes of female and younger PC candidates in the province.

Table 3.3: Average Attitudinal Scores, Progressive Conservatives, by Gender

Attitudinal Indexes			Attitudinal Spectra (1 to 7)		
	Male	Female		Male	Female
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.68	1.75	Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.14	3.25
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	1.80	2.00	Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	5.00	5.50
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	1.96	1.50	More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	4.36	3.86
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	0.92	0.88	Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	4.74	5.25
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	1.12	0.75	Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	3.86	3.50
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	1.80	1.63	Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	4.00	4.13
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	4.00	5.13	Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	3.45	4.25
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	2.12	2.88	Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	3.91	3.25
	N=25	N=8	Overall Left/Right Spectrum	5.00	5.00
				N=22	N=7

Region

Intriguing results also emerged in our examination of regional divisions within the Conservative campaign slate. (See Tables 3.4 and 3.5.) For the purposes of the following analysis, we have combined the previously-separate regions of “Southeastern” and “Southwestern Manitoba” outlined in Appendix C. Moreover, we have omitted reference to candidates in the Brandon East and Brandon West constituencies, and the “urban – other” category. These modifications were necessary considering the small number of returns from each region, and the importance of preserving both anonymity and representativeness.

As detailed in Chapter 2, traditional conceptions suggest that a series of lines divide the province between the more conservative constituencies of South Winnipeg and

Southern Manitoba, and the more social democratic areas in the north end of the capital and the rural North. Generally, historians and political analysts have attributed these patterns to the original settlement of right-leaning British-Ontarian migrants in the “souths”, and left-leaning European immigrants in the “norths”. Over the past five decades, these divisions have been further reinforced by remarkably consistent voting records: the Conservatives have held a virtual monopoly over “south seats” – in both the capital and the province – while New Democrats have dominated constituencies in the “norths”. While strongly pronounced, this congruence between regional attitudes and partisanship can be somewhat misleading, however.

The patterns may suggest, for instance, that Conservatives in South Winnipeg and Southern Manitoba are linked ideologically. Migration and voting trends may imply a common ‘southern’ allegiance to a similar brand of conservatism. Granted, our survey did reveal some obvious grounds for this conclusion. On average, PC candidates from South Winnipeg and Southern Manitoba were united in their neo-liberal stance toward tax relief. Despite this similarity, however, the assumption that a ‘united right’ exists in Manitoba is conspicuously tenuous. Further results of our survey reveal considerable differences between the attitudes of South Winnipeg and Southern Manitoban Conservatives, pointing, once again, to the existence of a significant progressive / conservative divide within the party.

The first such indication of a regional attitudinal cleavage emerged in the area of populism. Southern Manitoban Conservatives believed more strongly in the neo-liberal concept of grassroots governance, scoring a 1.80 on the populism index and 2.56 on the corresponding 7-point spectrum. North Winnipeg Conservatives held similarly populist

views, as evident in the table below. Conversely, PC respondents from South Winnipeg ranked among the party's least populist candidates, averaging 1.67 and 3.67 on the same, respective measures; less trusting of government "by the people", their attitudes, like those of their Northern Manitoban counterparts, more closely resembled those of traditional Tories than neo-liberals.

Issues of moralism created a parallel division between Manitoba PC's. Whereas South Winnipeg Tories favored "more progressive policies on matters like homosexuality, abortion and multiculturalism", neo-conservatives in Southern Manitoba offered a considerably less permissive viewpoint.

Moreover, a similar progressive/conservative divide separated the more collectivist Tories in South Winnipeg from the individualist attitudes of Southern Manitoban Conservatives. Of all PC candidates in the various regions, those in South Winnipeg were least in favor of privatization, most supportive of public health care, and most inclined toward increased funding of various social programs. In contrast, Conservatives in Southern Manitoba, like their fellow partisans in North Winnipeg, were more inclined toward privatization, private involvement in the health care system, and fiscal restraint.

And a further division was noticeable along continentalist lines. As representatives of more agrarian, resource-dependent constituents, it was not surprising that Southern Manitoban respondents were the most continentalist of all Conservative candidates. The free-trade tradition runs deep among most rural constituencies in Western Canada, particularly those with a history of American settlement, such as in Southeastern Manitoba. Conversely, Conservative candidates in South Winnipeg scored

considerably lower on our continentalism index, and identified themselves as more protectionist on the corresponding spectrum.

Considering these divides, the 'New Right' tenets of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism appear strongly rooted in Southern Manitoba, while South Winnipeg PC candidates maintain closer ties to tory-progressivism.

Yet, these attitudinal differences notwithstanding, candidates from the various regions place themselves at distinct – and somewhat puzzling – points along the overall left-right spectrum. On average, Northern Manitoban Conservatives (5.25) were furthest to the right according to this measure, with South Winnipeg Tories (5.20) positioned very close-by. North Winnipeg PC's (5.00) were slightly closer to the centre, while – perhaps most surprisingly – Southern Manitobans (4.67) anchored themselves closest to the midpoint of the spectrum. This ordering of self-placements appears counterintuitive considering our attitudinal analysis of each region. As the most progressive group of candidates, one would expect South Winnipeg candidates to place themselves closest to the centre of the political continuum; at the opposite extreme, one would expect the more fiscally and morally conservative respondents from Southern Manitoba to position themselves furthest to the right. Our survey revealed precisely the opposite.

These apparent inconsistencies – between attitudes and self-identification – are perhaps best explained in the context of the different electoral environments in each region. First, despite their progressive tendencies, South Winnipeg Tories perceive themselves – or, perhaps more accurately, *want to be perceived* – as being further to the right than their attitudes suggest. At the same time, as will be shown in Chapter 4, New Democratic candidates in the region placed themselves considerably to the left of the

spectrum. With both parties positioning themselves near opposite ends of the political spectrum, the resulting form of electoral competition, while not entirely so, may be described as somewhat polarized. In this context, South Winnipeg Conservatives may wish to differentiate themselves from the left-leaning NDP in an effort to solidify a diminishing support base. Elsewhere, Conservatives in Southern Manitoba may wish to pull their party and its image closer to the ideological centre. This is done to increase competition with the centrist, 'Third Way' programme of the rural New Democrats. As will be discussed as well in Chapter 4, NDP candidates in Southwestern Manitoba have placed themselves closer to the centre than their fellow partisans elsewhere, setting up a Downsian 'race to the middle' of the political spectrum in the region. These two, distinct electoral systems – centrifugal in South Winnipeg and centripetal in Southern Manitoba – correspond with the two distinct "faces" of Manitoba Conservatism. South Winnipeg Tories, their progressive attitudes aside, place themselves further to the right than do their colleagues in Southern Manitoba, whose interests lie in presenting a more centrist image.

Nonetheless, there is no masking the underlying attitudinal structure of each region, particularly in the Tory strongholds of South Winnipeg and Southern Manitoba. PC candidates in Southern Manitoba subscribe to a different, more 'New Right' brand of ideology than do their 'red tory' counterparts in South Winnipeg. As our survey reveals, Conservative attitudes are well-structured according to region, a variable that is by far the best indicator of the progressive / conservative divide.

Table 3.4: Attitudinal Index Scores, Progressive Conservatives, by Region

	Northern Manitoba	North Winnipeg	South Winnipeg	Southern Manitoba	Total
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.25	1.82	1.67	1.80	1.71
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	2.00	1.91	1.50	1.80	1.81
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	1.00	1.73	1.33	2.40	1.77
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	0.50	1.09	1.00	0.80	0.90
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	1.00	1.45	0.67	1.00	1.10
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	1.25	1.91	1.33	2.10	1.77
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	2.50	4.64	5.50	4.40	4.45
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	1.50	2.36	1.83	2.80	2.29
	N=4	N=11	N=6	N=10	N=31

Note: Brandon East and Brandon West omitted from this table, in interests of confidentiality

Table 3.5: Attitudinal Spectrum Scores, Progressive Conservatives, by Region

	Northern Manitoba	North Winnipeg	South Winnipeg	Southern Manitoba	Total
Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.33	3.36	3.67	2.56	3.17
Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	4.67	4.55	5.50	5.50	5.07
More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	5.00	4.09	3.00	4.67	4.18
Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	3.67	5.27	4.50	4.78	4.79
Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	3.67	3.82	3.83	3.63	3.75
Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	3.67	3.82	4.83	3.67	3.97
Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	4.67	4.18	3.67	2.67	3.66
Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	4.33	3.91	2.83	3.89	3.72
Overall Left/Right Spectrum	5.25	5.00	5.20	4.67	4.96
	N=3	N=11	N=5	N=9	N=28

Note: Brandon East and Brandon West omitted from this table, in interests of confidentiality

Federal Affiliation

We now turn to a final cleavage that was unique to the Conservative campaign slate. While federal party affiliations among Manitoba Liberals and provincial New Democrats were strongly linked to their respective national counterparts, Manitoba Conservatives – until the 2003 merger – split their allegiance between two federal parties: the PC's and Canadian Alliance. As will be discussed, this established an interesting interplay among provincial Tory candidates.

Historically, there have been strong, if sometimes ambiguous, connections between federal and provincial parties in Manitoba. On several occasions, for instance, provincial party leaders have crossed over to federal politics. In 1943, Premier John Bracken left the Manitoban Liberal-Progressive coalition to assume the leadership of the federal Tories, renaming the organization the *Progressive Conservative Party of Canada*. Conservative Premier Duff Roblin attempted a similar jump in 1967, eventually losing the federal PC leadership race to Robert Stanfield. In a curiously bipartisan gesture, Prime Minister Trudeau named former New Democrat Premier and MP Ed Schreyer as Governor General of Canada in 1978, while Prime Minister Chrétien appointed Manitoba Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs to the Senate in 1994. Former provincial MLA's have also made the trek to Ottawa, most recently Elijah Harper, Lloyd Axworthy, Vic Toews, and Reg Alcock. While some analysts note a general trend away from provincial-federal migration by legislators,¹⁴ Manitoban politicians appear to be an exception in this regard.

As a result of these ties, the relationships between federal and provincial parties have been cordial, for the most part. The Manitoba New Democrats have remained

¹⁴ Rand Dyck. "Relations Between Federal and Provincial Parties." *Canadian Parties in Transition*. 2nd Ed. A. Brian Tanguay and Alain-G. Gagnon, Eds. Scarborough: Nelson. 1996. p. 168.

closest to their federal cousins, notwithstanding a brief period of tension in the 1970s, during which Premier Schreyer endorsed Prime Minister Trudeau's wage and price controls despite federal NDP opposition.¹⁵ Similarly, the Liberal Party of Manitoba has maintained a relatively amicable relationship with its federal counterpart. At times, the provincial party has distanced itself from the unpopular policies in Ottawa, including Trudeau's National Energy Policy. At other times, including during the 1990 provincial election, the Manitoba Liberals have attached themselves to the popularity of their federal wing. Periodic divisions notwithstanding, however, our survey data confirms a strong relationship between today's Manitoba provincial politicians and their federal counterparts in the New Democratic and Liberal Parties. Both in terms of formal membership and at the ballot box, NDP and Liberal candidates overwhelmingly supported their respective parties' federal wings. The tables below depict the strength of these ties.

Table 3.6: Federal Party Membership by Provincial Party, All Respondents

	Federal NDP	Federal Liberal Party	Conservative Party of Canada	Federal Progressive Conservatives	Not Applicable/Ascertained	Total
NDP	19 (70%)	1 (4%)	-	-	7 (26%)	27 (100%)
Liberal Party	-	14 (67%)	-	-	7 (33%)	21 (100%)
PC Party		1 (3%)	27 (82%)	1 (3%)	4 (12%)	33 (100%)

source: 2003 Manitoba Candidates Survey
 Note: row percentages in parentheses, may not total 100% due to rounding

Table 3.7: 2000 Federal Election Vote Choice by Provincial Party, All Respondents

	Federal New Democratic Party	Federal Liberal Party	Canadian Alliance	Federal Progressive Conservatives	Not Applicable / Ascertained	Total
NDP	24 (89%)	2 (7%)	-	-	1 (4%)	27 (100%)
Liberal Party	1 (5%)	17 (81%)	2 (10%)	-	1 (5%)	21 (100%)
PC Party	1 (3%)	2 (6%)	17 (52%)	8 (24%)	5 (15%)	33 (100%)

source: 2003 Manitoba Candidates Survey
 Note: row percentages in parentheses, may not total 100% due to rounding

¹⁵ Dyck, *Provincial Politics*, pp. 384-385.

Table 3.8: Anticipated 2004 Federal Election Vote Choice by Provincial Party, All Respondents

	Federal New Democratic Party	Federal Liberal Party	Conservative Party of Canada	Other	Not Applicable/Ascertained	Total
NDP	23 (85%)	2 (7%)	-	-	2 (7%)	27 (100%)
Liberal Party	1 (5%)	20 (95%)	-	-	-	21 (100%)
PC Party	-	2 (6%)	26 (79%)	1 (3%)	4 (12%)	33 (100%)

source: 2003 Manitoba Candidates Survey

Note: row percentages in parentheses, may not total 100% due to rounding

The federal-provincial relationship for Canadian ('small-c') conservatives has been somewhat more complex. In Manitoba, for instance, provincial Conservatives remained relatively close to the federal PC party until a series of unpopular policies forced Premier Filmon to distance himself from Prime Minister Mulroney in the late-1980s. The CF-18 scandal, the introduction of the GST, and the Meech Lake Accord drew deep divisions between the federal and provincial wings of the party, and Manitoba PC's remained distant during the relatively unsuccessful terms of federal leaders Jean Charest and Joe Clark. This did not lead to a strong affiliation with Reform or the Canadian Alliance, however. As Gerald Friesen noted, in comparison with fellow Western Canadians in Alberta and British Columbia, Manitobans did not flock as enthusiastically to the Reform banner in 1987.¹⁶ Wiseman contends this was due to the fact that Manitoba lacks a firm American-based ideological fragment, which, in turn, has resulted in little impetus for the individualistic, neo-liberal doctrine of Reform.¹⁷ Nonetheless, as early as the 1993 federal election, voters in the province did begin offering support to the

¹⁶ Gerald Friesen. *River Road: Essays on Manitoba and Prairie History*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. 1996. p. 35.

¹⁷ Nelson Wiseman. "Social Democracy in a Neo-Conservative Age: The Politics of Manitoba and Saskatchewan." *Canada: The State of the Federation 2001: Canadian Political Culture(s) in Transition*. Hamish Telford and Harvey Lazar, Eds. Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations. 2002. p. 221.

new party to a greater extent than they did the Progressive Conservatives. Indeed, this support for the Reform/Alliance increased gradually over time, gaining the party four of Manitoba's federal seats and 25.5 percent of the province's popular vote in 2000. In the same election, federal Progressive Conservatives garnered only 14.5 percent support and earned a single seat.¹⁸ At the time of the 2003 merger of the federal PC's and Canadian Alliance, the latter party appeared to enjoy greatest favor among Manitoba's conservative voters.

Our survey offered a great opportunity to test certain assumptions surrounding the attitudinal foundations of the newly-united right. Without an electoral counterpart at the provincial level, the Reform/Alliance found its greatest support among the politicians of Manitoba's PC Party. Of all respondents who indicated an affiliation with the Canadian Alliance, each was a member of the provincial Progressive Conservatives. At the same time, however, federal PC supporters also found their place under the Manitoba PC banner. This produced an intriguing mixture of federal partisans within the provincial Conservative Party.

To measure the federal party identification of our respondents, our survey was forced to draw upon more than simply membership. This was especially true considering the fact that, by the time of our research, the PC's and Alliance had merged and ceased to exist as separate organizations. To solve this issue, we relied on the ability of respondents to recall their voting preferences in the 2000 federal election.

Comparing the attitudes of federal PC and Alliance supporters, divisions over issues like the state's role in society, individual responsibility, and social norms were

¹⁸ Canada. *Elections Canada Website*. www.elections.ca/gen/rep/37g/table7_e.html and www.elections.ca/gen/rep/37g/table9_e.html (accessed: May 21, 2004).

expected. According to common perceptions, and as confirmed by Ellis and Archer, Reform/Alliance supporters nation-wide tended to be more populist, individualist, and morally conservative than their PC counterparts.¹⁹ In other words, while federal Tories were expected to draw support from the provincial party's progressive wing, Manitoba's neo-liberals and neo-conservative PC's were predicted to align with the Canadian Alliance.

Interestingly, while these assumptions were generally confirmed by our own survey, the attitudinal divisions between Canadian Alliance and federal Progressive Conservative supporters were not particularly pronounced. And, moreover, some of our findings actually ran contrary to established views of the federal PC/Alliance relationship. (See Table 3.9.)

According to one index, for instance, Canadian Alliance supporters were only marginally more individualist (1.88) than those of the federal Conservatives (1.82). Support for tax relief was similarly configured, with Alliance voters (5.29) placing themselves barely to the right of federal PC supporters (5.18) on the corresponding spectrum. What is more, our spending index revealed that those candidates who voted for the Canadian Alliance were actually *more* supportive of increased social spending than were their counterparts in the federal Conservative camp. These results, and others, ran contrary to common perceptions. According to our privatization index, for example, federal PC voters were more inclined toward private ownership, and more supportive of decentralized federalism. Moreover, while Alliance supporters were more populist

¹⁹ Faron Ellis and Keith Archer. "Ideology and Opinion Within the Reform Party." *Party Politics in Canada*. (8th Ed.) Hugh G. Thorburn and Alan Whitehorn, eds. Toronto: Prentice-Hall. 2001. pp. 122-134.

according to our index, our spectral analysis indicated federal *Conservatives* identified more closely with the grassroots mode of governance as outlined on our spectrum. Perhaps most surprisingly, federal Conservatives ultimately placed themselves (5.23) further to the right of the general political spectrum than Alliance supporters (4.50). In these areas, the results of our survey proved somewhat counterintuitive.

More predictable divisions occurred along moralist lines, however. Canadian Alliance voters were considerably more morally conservative, and considered themselves substantially “less progressive” than did supporters of the federal PC’s. Federal Conservatives, on the other hand, were more supportive of civil liberties, while Alliance supporters were more likely to “believe it is better to restrict some civil liberties to keep criminals off the streets.” Thus, on issues relating to moral conservatism, a progressive / conservative divide did exist.

Overall, these results point to the existence of a neo-liberal consensus among supporters of both the now-defunct PC’s and Canadian Alliance. Both groups tended to support the tenets of limited government interference in the economy and the paramount importance of tax relief. In fact, federal PC supporters were even more sympathetic to such concerns than their Alliance-voting counterparts. Evidence of the progressive / conservative divide surfaced only on issues relating to the state’s role in enforcing social norms. In this latter sense, former Alliance voters tended to be more morally conservative than their Progressive Conservative counterparts. While expecting more conclusive, traditional results, our findings were intriguing, nonetheless.

This represents a somewhat surprising finding. Considering, first, its gradual retreat from progressive policy since Duff Roblin's departure in 1967, and, second, the unmitigated success of the 'New Right' throughout Western Canada in recent decades, evidence of progressivism among PC candidates in Manitoba is certainly noteworthy. As outlined in Chapter 3, progressive thought began its steady withdrawal from the provincial Conservative programme with the party's selection of Walter Weir as Premier. Successive PC leaders, from Spivak and Lyon to Filmon and Murray, have nurtured this trend by thoroughly 'liberalizing' the party's message. Over time, the primacy of the individual has replaced the importance of province- and community-building as the Conservatives' central focus. So complete was the transformation that, by 2003, the PC campaign platform was arguably devoid of any reference to red tory principles, whatsoever. In the face of this evolution, the continued survival of progressive Conservatives was a rather unexpected discovery.

Moreover, the fact that red tories were among the party's most public representatives – its candidates for election – suggests an even greater prominence for the 'other brand' of right-wing thought. Divided along the lines of gender, age, region, and federal party affiliation, PC politicians exhibited divergent attitudes, displaying varying degrees of progressive and 'New Right' tendencies. As the following chapters conclude, however, they were not alone in lacking internal attitudinal consensus.

CHAPTER 4 – NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The NDP is left of the Liberal Party on both measures – equality and collectivism – although it, too, has a certain divergence of opinion as to how far left it should go.¹

Analysts often focus on divisions within the right as the sharpest partisan cleavages in Canadian politics. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Manitoba PC party contains a ‘progressive/conservative divide’, helping to distinguish its tory followers from their ‘New Right’ counterparts. Often lost in these discussions are the parallel divisions within the Canadian Left, whose followers have witnessed an ideological transformation of their own.

Indeed, if the Right is divided between ‘progressives’ and ‘conservatives’, cleavages within the partisan Left are even more complex. Social democrats, reform liberals, and “New Left” activists each find their home on the left side of the political spectrum, producing unique attitudinal challenges for leftist parties like the New Democrats. Over time, the NDP has grown to embrace both collectivist and individualist values, balancing principle with electability. Indeed, when out-of-sync and out-of-touch with the electorate, the party’s values have earned it a reputation as a “legislative conscience” or, worse yet, a radical protest party. When properly balanced and in tune with public sentiment, these left-wing values have elevated the party to power in several provinces, including Manitoba.

¹ Rand Dyck. *Provincial Politics in Canada*. Scarborough: Prentice Hall. 1996. p. 8.

Under Premier Gary Doer, the Manitoba New Democrats currently enjoy the latter status, having earned two consecutive majority governments since 1999. Many attribute the party's recent success to its continued shift toward the political centre, adopting what many would consider a more liberal, "Third Way" philosophy toward government. Such analyses are based on the theory that New Democratic Parties are most successful when they occupy the centre-left – that is, when they attract the support of not only left-leaning social democrats, but a large portion of centre-leaning reform liberals. Such was the case for the federal New Democrats under Ed Broadbent, a leader whose pragmatic approach earned his party a record forty-three seats in the 1988 election.² While arguably *more* popular than Broadbent's party, however, our survey suggests Doer's New Democrats may not lean as close to centre as theory would suggest. Instead – despite their centre-left platform – the NDP's candidates appear grounded in a substantially leftist set of political values. Their attitudes indicate that Manitoba's NDP did not shift entirely to the centre in its ascension to power. Instead, the party maintains a "Third Way" balance between social democratic, reform liberal, 'New Left', and even *neo-liberal* principles. And within this mix, social democracy emerges as the strongest element in the beliefs of Manitoba New Democrats, anchoring the party firmly to the left.

The 'Third Way': Balancing the Left

The NDP's attachment to its left-wing values has been easier to maintain and promote at different times, as the principles associated with the 'left' have undergone significant

² Colin Campbell and William Christian. *Parties, Leaders and Ideologies in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson. 1996. pp. 137-147.

changes in recent decades. In its early years, the New Democratic Party was considered programmatic, even radically left-wing. Led federally by Tommy Douglas and David Lewis, the party remained committed to collectivist concepts like Canadian ownership, a national health care system, and a broad social safety net. In this sense, many critics viewed the early NDP as only slightly closer to the centre than its doctrinaire predecessor, the CCF.³

We discussed in Chapter 2 how, under the direction of their first premier, Edward Schreyer, Manitoba's provincial NDP moderated its image, presenting itself as a viable, leftist, Keynesian alternative to the right-wing Tories. Critics from within the party accused the New Democrats of pulling too far to the centre, however, compromising their ties to the social democratic movement by failing to nationalize key resource industries and increase social spending to an appropriate degree. Meanwhile, ironically, opposition from other parties focused on the NDP's lack of fiscal restraint, particularly during the late-1970s recession. These conflicting criticisms intensified during Howard Pawley's term in office, helping vault the Conservatives and their neo-liberal programme into power. Condemned by opponents for being too far to the left, and rebuked from within for being too close to the centre, the New Democrats were ideologically-trapped.

As a result, the 1988 provincial election brought the NDP its lowest level of support in twenty-two years. Indeed, by the time current leader Gary Doer assumed control of the provincial NDP, social democracy appeared to have lost much of its appeal, and the New Democrats had lost credibility as a credible party of the left. It was at this

³ Colin Campbell and William Christian. *Parties, Leaders and Ideologies in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson. 1996. pp. 129-130.

point, at the height of the global neo-liberal movement, that a new conception of left-wing politics emerged.

The solution came in the form of the “Third Way” – an attempt to unite a growing left and provide the electorate with a viable alternative to the ‘New Right’. To accomplish each of these goals, the ‘Third Way’ brought together three modes of left-wing thought under one banner: social democracy, reform liberalism and ‘New Left’ activism.

Followers of the former two ideologies were strangers by no means. Across Canada and throughout much of its history, the New Democratic Party has long been home to both social democracy and reform liberalism. The two modes of left-wing thinking are often equated with one another, particularly over issues of civil liberty and social programs. Yet, there are distinctions to be drawn. Whereas social democrats view society in collective terms, advocating equality of result, reform liberals take a more individualistic approach. The former take a decidedly negative view toward capitalism and an unrestrained market, and point to the need to mitigate its effects through a substantial welfare state and public ownership. To reform liberals, on the other hand, the market is a force to be harnessed, not constrained. For them, society is a series of interconnected individuals for whom equality of opportunity is necessary. This would create “opportunity for all” and a pursuit of the “widest possible spread of wealth, power and opportunity.”⁴ The distinction is one of collectivism and cooperation on one hand, and individualism and competition on the other. And while holding similar attitudes on many issues – including universal health care, affordable post-secondary education and the

⁴ Blair, *Third Way*, p. 3.

elimination of discrimination – social democrats and reform liberals are often at odds over the underlying objectives and principles of left-wing policy.

As a third element of the ‘Third Way’, a ‘New Left’ brand of social activism has also found a home on the left side of the political spectrum. Known as the “rainbow coalition” in the United States, the Canadian ‘New Left’ is defined by the so-called “new social movements” (NSM’s), like environmentalism, gay rights advocacy, Aboriginal activism (or “indigenism”), feminism, and anti-globalization interests. Through these vehicles, the ‘Third Way’ embraced the concept of “equal worth,” aiming to put an end to prejudice and discrimination.⁵ This included the promotion of multiculturalism, and social inclusion of minorities and disadvantaged groups. In particular, pursuing “equal worth” would involve the extension of positive freedoms, civil liberties and, if necessary, affirmative action.

To these traditionally left-wing values – social democracy, reform liberalism and the ‘New Left’ – the ‘Third Way’ wedded a commitment to certain neo-liberal principles. Witnessing the popularity of right-wing parties throughout the world, followers of the ‘Third Way’ saw merit in adopting four specific elements of neo-liberalism. First, left-wing parties began pledging “affordable government”, weakening their social democratic commitment to a greatly expanded public sector. Second, parties like the NDP began talking of tax relief – a hallmark of the neo-liberal philosophy and grand departure from the tax-and-spend policies of the ‘Old Left’. Third, the ‘Third Way’ involved a re-commitment to populism, already a fixed element of social democracy. And fourth, left-wing parties began promoting economic growth as an end unto itself, noting the intrinsic

⁵ Blair, *Third Way*, p. 3.

value of the market and competition. With these four pledges, the Canadian left's partial conversion to neo-liberalism had a considerable effect on its public image, taking some of the radical edge off its party platforms and welcoming centrist liberals into the left-wing fold.

Of course, the so-called 'Third Way' was not an entirely new philosophy. Nor did it burst suddenly onto the scene in the 1990s. Rather, the 'Third Way' was the culmination of a process launched decades earlier. In Canada, the federal New Democratic Party had begun severing its ties with the Old Left in the late 1960s, abandoning the utopian goals of socialism in favor of a more practical (read: "liberal") approach toward politics.⁶ Under the federal leadership of Douglas and Lewis, the party changed its primary objective from gaining abstract 'equality' to gaining 'greater equality' – a minor change in rhetoric, but a major change in ideology.⁷ This deliberate vagueness helped the party strike a balance between the social democratic concept of 'equality of result' and the reform liberal notion of 'equality of opportunity', demonstrating the growing influence of the latter within the NDP ranks.⁸

Ultimately, this trend would result in the party's selection of Ed Broadbent as federal leader in 1975. Broadbent's victory pulled the party closer to the centre than ever before, embracing reform liberalism and all but eliminating public references to socialism and social democracy.⁹ With the departure of Pierre Trudeau from the federal scene, the strategy appeared successful, as the NDP drew large numbers of reform liberal voters away from the federal Grits. Provincial New Democrats in Ontario, Manitoba and

⁶ Campbell and Christian, *Parties, Leaders and Ideologies*, p. 130.

⁷ Campbell and Christian, *Parties, Leaders and Ideologies* p. 130.

⁸ Campbell and Christian, *Parties, Leaders and Ideologies* p. 130.

⁹ Campbell and Christian, *Parties, Leaders and Ideologies* pp. 139-141.

elsewhere mirrored the move, hoping to capitalize on the waning influence of reform liberals in the various provincial Liberal parties. In this way, New Democrats enjoyed unparalleled success in the mid- to late-1980's, due in large part to their movement to the political centre.

A series of events soon reversed NDP fortunes, however. As mentioned in Chapter 2, recessions in the 1970s and 1980s had shaken public confidence in Keynesianism. Tax-and-spend politics – so closely linked to the New Democratic Party – had become equally associated with fiscal irresponsibility. At the same time, NSM's and interest groups had come to challenge social democracy's monopoly over the political left. New Democrats struggled over how (or even *whether*) to accommodate these interests into their programme, as witnessed in the "New Politics Initiative" debates in 2000. What is more, a realignment of party systems throughout the country soon squeezed New Democrats out of their hard-earned position in the political centre. Liberal Parties – including those in Ontario, Manitoba and federally – recommitted themselves to reform liberalism, in turn reclaiming much of the support lost to the NDP throughout the 1980s. Meanwhile, the New Democratic Party lost most of the Western populist and protest vote with the emergence of Preston Manning's Reform and the reconfiguration of similar 'New Right' Conservative parties in the provinces.¹⁰

In the face of these developments, the 'Third Way' offered rescue to left-wing parties like the New Democrats. Years of neo-liberalism, at both the federal and provincial levels, had reshaped the province's party system, much as Keynesianism had done decades earlier. If Premiers Lyon and Filmon had reacted by transforming the

¹⁰ Campbell and Christian, *Parties, Leaders and Ideologies* pp. 139-141.

provincial Conservatives into a party of the 'New Right' – as we described in Chapter 3 – the New Democrats turned to Gary Doer to respond to the events of the late 1980s. To the surprise of many observers, his reply included the adoption of some of neo-liberalism's key tenets, signalling a marked ideological convergence between parties and the arrival of the 'Third Way' in Manitoba.

Among these principles, the New Democrats echoed the Tories' call for "affordable government",¹¹ agreeing during the 1999 election campaign to the PC government's balanced budget legislation. Premier Doer was quick to note that he was not the first NDP leader to make such a pledge. "Premier Ed Schreyer balanced his budget six of the eight years his party was in government," he once noted.¹² Nonetheless, the Doer government's overall approach saw the New Democrats publicly promote the value of neo-liberal principles like limited state interference in the economy and maximum government efficiency.

In addition, the NDP appeared to have accepted the realities of continentalism and free trade, committing itself to improving Manitoba's position within the global economy. To accomplish this, Premier Doer immediately established close ties with trading partners throughout North America, most notably Texas, Idaho and Minnesota, where he led trade missions during his first term.

This shift to the right was tempered, however, by the NDP's renewed commitment to social democracy. Through their pledges to strengthen public health care, improve access to post-secondary education, and maintain public ownership over key crown

¹¹ Gary Doer. "Policy Challenges for the New Century: the Manitoba Perspective." Speech presented at the 2000 Donald Gow Lecture at Queen's University. www.queensu.ca/sps/calendar/gow/00Lecture.pdf (accessed: May 21, 2004). p. 3.

¹² Doer, "Policy Challenges", p. 6.

corporations, like Manitoba Hydro and MPIC, the provincial New Democrats reinforced their ties to collectivism and cooperation.

As Wiseman argues, Manitoba's NDP had redefined itself in opposition to the Filmon Conservatives, as the province's most collectivist, yet fiscally responsible, party.¹³ To Premier Doer, this meant altering the entire New Democratic outlook on elections and governance. "In the past," he noted following his election in 1999,

we used to have huge NDP policy weekends and would produce these fat books dedicated to policy. But [in 1999], we took a simpler approach, fearing that if we produced another 600-page document then we would almost certainly lose the election. In its place we produced five pledges and made sure that each one, and this is perhaps a novel idea, could be implemented once we became the government.¹⁴

The move appeared to unite the party and its supporters behind a clearly-focused programme, and eventually produced a platform that was more appealing to the Manitoban electorate. No longer as widely-feared as poor economic managers and market-controllers, and no longer as criticized for being too centrist in comparison to the right-wing Tories, the Doer New Democrats ascended to power by following the 'Third Way'. Four years later, having overtaken the neo-liberal Conservatives with a majority victory, the provincial NDP set its sights on even greater gains in 2003, buoyed by the highest levels of support in the party's history.

¹³ Nelson Wiseman. "Social Democracy in a Neo-Conservative Age: The Politics of Manitoba and Saskatchewan." *Canada: The State of the Federation 2001: Canadian Political Culture(s) in Transition*. Hamish Telford and Harvey Lazar, Eds. Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations. 2002. p. 223.

¹⁴ Doer, "Policy Challenges", p. 5.

Manitoba New Democrats and the 2003 Election

Polls leading up to the 2003 election predicted a landslide win for the party, whose positive image as 'Today's NDP' was as much a product of their revamped platform as the popularity of their leader. The apparent move to the centre seemed to strengthen the party's popularity in the city of Winnipeg, where the New Democrats were expected to make their greatest gains in 2003. In rural areas, the Third Way programme seemed to be making inroads as well, especially through its promises of tax relief for farmers and the improvement of health services outside city limits. All told, forecasters expected the New Democrats to increase their majority in the legislature, winning long-time Tory seats in South Winnipeg and Southern Manitoba by wooing progressives away from the Conservatives. Fulfilling these grand prophecies proved difficult, but the NDP's pragmatic, 'Third Way' approach did much to strengthen the party's already-firm grip on government.

The 2003 New Democratic Platform

While the party made markedly fewer campaign promises than the Conservatives, an examination of the 2003 NDP platform reveals its strong left-wing flavour. From start to finish, the New Democratic campaign offered evidence of the party's 'Third Way' values, striking a balance between reform liberalism, social democracy, and neo-liberalism.

For instance, the New Democratic platform concentrated on the importance of offering all Manitobans quality access to post-secondary education. The party promised a \$4 million increase to its bursary and scholarship fund, while continuing both the freeze

on university tuition rates and the 10 percent fee rebate for Manitoban undergraduates. Such social democratic policies stood in contrast those proposed by the Conservatives, whose platform was more individual- than community-based when it came to funding university education. Funding was also promised to other post-secondary institutions, including expansions to both the Assiniboine and Red River Community Colleges. Finally, addressing the issue of geographic accessibility, New Democrats pledged to improve distance education courses to allow rural students to complete up to two years of university while living in their home communities. This focus on post-secondary education may be seen not only in terms of improving equality of opportunity among Manitobans, but also as a long-term investment in the provincial economy.

Along these lines, the NDP also demonstrated its neo-liberal affinity for state support of the market. In place of public ownership and strict regulation, the Third Way pointed to research and development, and education and training as the government's key roles. The New Democrats' "Building Manitoba" program, for instance, promised \$1 million for the training of Manitobans for the construction industry, while the party's commitment to the agrarian sector was strengthened through targeted scholarships for graduate students in agriculture.

Perhaps the most prominent sign of their ties to the neo-liberal elements of the 'Third Way', however, lay in the New Democrats' wide-scale tax relief program. In a move that would have shaken Old Left social democrats, the NDP pledged to reduce the middle income tax rate from 14 to 13 percent by 2005, while adjusting bracket thresholds. In these and other respects, the party's platform actually resembled that of the right-wing Conservatives. The NDP promised, for instance, to reduce education property

taxes by 10 percent for homeowners, plus an additional 10 percent on farmland. The New Democrats also guaranteed a 1 percent reduction on small business taxes, and a more moderate 0.5 percent break on general corporation income taxes. By targeting the middle and working classes, these and other measures aimed to extend “opportunity for all” and improve the province’s overall economic competitiveness. In doing so, the tax relief portion of the NDP platform marked the clearest departure from the Old Left philosophy of ‘tax and spend’, offering perhaps the strongest signal of the Doer government’s ‘Third Way’ approach.

In spite of this neo-liberal tenor, social democracy did persist as a key element in the NDP programme, however. In particular, the party promised increased funding to address many of the unique challenges facing children and youth in the province. This included a \$1.25 million pledge to expand the Reading Recovery Program and create five hundred new nursery school spaces. Such funding was in addition to the \$240,000 targeted toward doubling the number of community ‘Lighthouse’ programs, which provide access to gymnasiums after school hours. Further demonstrating the party’s commitment to collectivism, \$1 million was to be set aside for the establishment of provincial and national recreation trails over the next four years. To *protect* Manitoban communities, the New Democrats pledged to hire more Crown prosecutors and police officers. Furthermore, the NDP’s commitment to environmental protection – whether through its investment in hydro, ethanol or other clean energy industries – demonstrated the value the party placed on the New Left concept of societal responsibility. In all these ways, the New Democrats maintained their ties to the community-based, social democratic virtues of the ‘Third Way’.

Nowhere was this more evident than in the party's commitment to public health care, long-considered by New Democrats as a fundamental social right in Canadian society. According to federal NDP activist Sheldon Glouberman, the issue is closely related to the 'Third Way' philosophy, as a whole. "One of the major flaws in health policy," he writes, "is to see health as an end in itself." Rather,

It interacts with the larger objectives of social justice and well-being. Medicare contributes to these larger objectives not simply by delivering health care to all. It is also an instrument of fair redistribution of resources which is widely approved of by Canadians.¹⁵

Thus, the NDP's promotion of universal access to publicly-provided health care reflects the collectivist, social democratic elements of 'Third Way' thinking. In its 2003 Manitoba platform, for instance, the party established a lengthy list of promises to recruit, educate, train, and hire more doctors, nurses and health care professionals; to provide more efficient service and shorter waiting lists for treatment and diagnosis; to expand hospitals and research centres across the province; to increase funding for home care and mental health; and to upgrade facilities and technologies – all of which firmly committed the state to providing what New Democrats viewed as an essential public service. On health care, the NDP drew a line, opting to pursue social democratic ends through public financing. In their minds, New Democrats saw a role for the government in this sector, and focused on providing quality, efficient health care under fiscally-responsible guidelines.

¹⁵ Sholom Glouberman. "A New Perspective on Health Policy for Social Democrats." *What's Left?: The New Democratic Party in Renewal*. Z. David Berlin and Howard Aster, Eds. Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press. 2001. p. 162.

The Manitoba NDP's platform fell noticeably short in one area of 'Third Way' thought, however. The party remained relatively silent on issues of "equal worth" – including topics like women's rights, sexual orientation, multiculturalism, and other civil liberty concerns. This was especially surprising, given the pressure on governments across Canada to endorse same-sex marriage in the summer and fall of 2003. Whether a conscious decision to avoid debating divisive issues, or the perceived lack of province-level relevance of such concerns, the NDP programme contained little substance in these 'New Left' areas.

Nonetheless, the New Democrats' "five priorities for the next four years" spoke volumes of the balanced, 'Third Way' nature of their programme. Their simplified, pragmatic platform committed the party to: (1) "improve our health care system"; (2) "make it easier for young people to stay in Manitoba"; (3) "strengthen and diversify our economy"; (4) "make our communities safer and more secure"; and (5) "make Manitoba an even more affordable place to live" – all of which signalled a drastic departure from the more programmatic, idealistic agenda of the Old Left. In its place, New Democratic leaders like Gary Doer felt they have drafted a more "realistic and achievable" 'Third Way' platform, one that blended the pragmatism and fiscal caution of neo-liberalism with the social objectives of the left. "Our commitment to the electorate," reads the party's Statement of Aims, "is to be forthright about our long-range goals as well as practical about our short-term political activities." Pledges such as these leave little doubt of the New Democrats' connection with the pragmatic doctrine of the 'Third Way'.

The Balanced Left in Manitoba

A party's programme may not necessarily represent the views of all its members, however. This was evidenced by our Chapter 3 examination of the 2003 Conservative campaign, during which the party's platform helped mask significant differences of opinion among its candidates. Ironically, it was the presence of the PC's progressive wing that helped lower the party's overall level of consensus in key policy areas – a group of politicians whose affinity toward social rights and market mitigation strongly resembled those principles outlined in the New Democrats' own election platform. Were there comparable differences of opinion among NDP candidates? Were there divisions between social democrats, reform liberals, 'New Leftists', and neo-liberals?

Results from our survey conclude that social democracy and 'New Left' activism – not the more centrist reform- or neo-liberalism – are the two predominant themes among NDP candidates. (See Table 4.1.) With a mean score of 1.44 on our 3-point index, and 3.07 on the corresponding 7-point spectrum, for instance, New Democrats proved moderately populist in their beliefs. As expected, this reflects the party's allegiance to the grassroots principles of social democracy, a sentiment that was evidenced earlier in the party's 2000 campaign finance reform legislation.

The average NDP candidate showed strong collectivist sentiments in other areas, as well, scoring a very low 0.30 on our individualism index. Furthermore, New Democrats scored highly on our spending index (6.74), and showed fervent support for: public services over tax cuts; public health care over private medical insurance; public or mixed ownership over privatization; and environmental protection over unmitigated

economic growth. These attitudes indicate a penchant for active government intervention in providing key social programs, a prominent element of social democratic thought.

In addition, the average New Democrat respondent proved very socially progressive, with a score of 0.67 on our moralist index and left-of-centre placement (2.59) on the matching spectrum. NDP politicians were also very supportive of civil liberties. Thus, in much the same way that the progressive attitudes of many Tory candidates went unreflected in the PC platform, so, too, were many 'New Left' attitudes uncovered by our survey conspicuously absent from the official NDP programme.

Confirming the NDP's traditional, social democratic leanings toward centralized government, moreover, New Democratic candidates also showed preference for a strong federal authority and Canadian sovereignty in the face of continentalism. As Premier Doer once remarked,

As a committed federalist, I believe in a strong national government with the ability to redistribute opportunities and programs to all regions of Canada. I also believe that a great many Canadians favour a strong national government with the ability to provide a rough equality of opportunities from coast to coast to coast.¹⁶

Overall, the average New Democratic respondent placed him- or herself at 2.33 on the general ideological spectrum, offering further confirmation of the NDP's left-wing position in Manitoba. In general, these attitudes appeared strongly rooted in rights-consciousness and collectivism, offering proof that many party candidates align themselves more closely to the 'New Left' and social democracy than reform- or neo-liberalism.

¹⁶ Doer, "Policy Challenges", p. 2.

Table 4.1: Average Attitudinal Scores, New Democrats			
Attitudinal Indexes		Attitudinal Spectra (1 to 7)	
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.44	Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.07
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	0.30	Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	2.85
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	0.67	More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	2.59
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	2.15	Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	3.38
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	2.04	Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	2.56
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	0.48	Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	4.67
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	6.74	Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	2.19
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	0.59	Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	1.93
	N=27	Overall Left/Right Spectrum	2.33
			N=26

Areas of Consensus

What is more, the NDP campaign slate appeared remarkably united behind these left-wing values. Calculating the party's consensus scores, such cohesion emerges most strongly around four particular issue indexes. (See Appendix E for more information and detailed figures.) At 41.4 out of 50.0, for instance, New Democrats agree most strongly on the necessity and universality of social welfare. Similarly high levels of consensus surround the party's commitment to collectivism. On this topic, over 80 percent of NDP respondents dismissed each of the three tenets of individualism included in our index. Environmentalism also united the party. Over 90 percent of New Democrats viewed global warming as a major challenge facing Manitobans, and nearly the same number advocated enforcing "stricter standards on private industry to improve their

environmental practices.” With consensus scores of 25.3, 20.4 and 19.8, respectively, the NDP remained considerably cohesive on questions of civil liberties, moralism, and continentalism, as well.

In fact, the only major division – indeed, *contradiction* – among NDP candidates occurred over the issue of populism. Strangely, while 63.0 percent of New Democratic respondents agreed that “we could probably solve most of our big political problems if government could be brought back to people at the grassroots”, just one-third agreed that “there should be a referendum on all amendments to the constitution.” As the party’s divided response to the third item in our populism index suggests, New Democrats seemed torn between placing their “trust in the simple down-to-earth thinking of ordinary people” versus “the theories of experts and intellectuals.” This lack of consensus is somewhat puzzling, considering the party’s social democratic ethos. Perhaps NDP candidates were reluctant to turn to direct democracy out of fear that mass rule would trump social rights and civil liberties. Whatever the reason, the New Democrats remain most divided – not over policy, per se – but over how to develop and implement their political agenda.

The ‘Inter-Left’ Continuum

Just as we discovered attitudinal divisions among Conservative candidates according to age, gender and region, so, too, did our survey uncover differences of opinion among various groups of New Democratic respondents. While the divisions among PC candidates tended to cluster around the main tenets of neo-liberal conservatism and red-tory progressivism, no such ideological ‘cores’ emerged in our analysis of the NDP

campaign slate. There were not, for instance, stark divisions between social democrats, reform liberals and 'New Leftists'. As mentioned earlier, there is considerable overlap between the attitudes of these various wings, creating considerable cohesion in most policy areas. Members of the party were divided in terms of the extent of their support for measures like public health care and environmentalism, for instance, but their common allegiance to the principles of leftist thought remained constant. As we will see in Chapter 6, this resulted in the NDP achieving a very high level of attitudinal consensus relative to other Manitoban parties. Nonetheless, the findings also confirm the existence of an 'inter-left continuum' upon which different groups of New Democrats may be categorized.

Age

In comparing the attitudes of New Democratic candidates according to age, we combined members of the youngest two cohorts, due to the small number of respondents in each category. This, in turn, divided the NDP campaign slate under three headings: (1) "Seniors" (born between 1931 and 1946); (2) "Baby Boomers" (1946 to 1960); and (3) "Generations X and Y" (born since 1961). There were no NDP respondents born prior to 1931, eliminating our use of the "Elder" category. Interesting patterns emerged when the survey data was filtered through this classification system. (See Tables 4.2 and 4.3.)

Younger NDP candidates, for instance, tended to be less populist, less individualist, and less moralist than their elder counterparts. With a solid '0' score on our individualism index, and a mean of 0.17 on our moralism measure, New Democrats in Generations X and Y appear strongly collectivist and progressive in their attitudes,

indicating a penchant for social democracy and the 'New Left'. This is confirmed by their self-placement at the far left (1.00) of the progressivism spectrum, their support of public services over tax cuts (2.50), and their leftist position on our civil liberties index (2.83) and spectrum (2.00). The youngest cohort was also most strongly in favor of public health care, and firm in their promotion of environmental protection. At an average of 1.83, the New Democrats of Generations X and Y placed themselves furthest left on the overall political spectrum, a rather predictable self-analysis considering their attitudes in all of the issue areas.

If the younger, more progressive New Democratic candidates anchored the party on the left, the NDP's more centrist tendencies are drawn equally from its Senior and Baby Boomer cohorts. The eldest group of NDP politicians was most populist and moralist, for instance, while those born between 1946 and 1960 were the only group that believed "it is better to restrict some civil liberties to keep criminals off the street."

While age did have some overall effect on the attitudinal profiles of New Democrats, there was not a deep, left-right divide among NDP candidates. Rather, this evidence points to a continuum within the left, itself. Discord was a matter of degree rather than substance. All New Democrats were substantially leftist in their beliefs; those in Generations X and Y simply showed the strongest affinity.

**Table 4.2: Attitudinal Index Scores, New Democrats,
by Year of Birth**

	1931 - 1945	1946 - 1960	1961 - present	Total
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.63	1.46	1.17	1.44
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	0.50	0.31	0.00	0.30
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	1.00	0.69	0.17	0.67
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	2.00	1.92	2.83	2.15
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	2.25	1.85	2.17	2.04
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	0.38	0.62	0.33	0.48
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	6.63	7.08	6.17	6.74
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	0.38	0.77	0.50	0.59
	N=8	N=13	N=6	N=27

**Table 4.3: Attitudinal Spectrum Scores, New Democrats,
by Year of Birth**

Attitudinal Spectra (1 to 7)	1931 - 1945	1946 - 1960	1961 - present	Total
Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.25	3.00	3.00	3.07
Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	2.75	3.08	2.50	2.85
More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	3.13	3.00	1.00	2.59
Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	3.13	4.08	2.00	3.38
Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	2.38	2.92	2.00	2.56
Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	5.63	4.00	4.83	4.67
Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	2.50	2.15	1.80	2.19
Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	1.88	2.38	1.00	1.93
Overall Left/Right Spectrum	2.50	2.46	1.83	2.33
	N=8	N=13	N=6	N=27

Gender

A similar 'inter-left continuum' existed along gender lines. (See Table 4.4.) As expected, New Democratic women were more collectivist than their male counterparts, showing greater support for public services over tax cuts, and a stronger disposition toward public health care. Interestingly, however, men favored the most spending increases, and approved of public ownership to a greater extent than women. Further inconsistencies occurred over the topics of populism and environmentalism. For instance, New Democratic men scored higher on our populism index than did women. Conversely, however, women considered *themselves* more populist than men when both groups were asked to place themselves on the 'grassroots' spectrum. Similarly conflicting results were found on environmental issues. Nonetheless, the conventional gender gap was reconfirmed in the sense that men were more moralist, and women substantially more progressive. Indeed, in overall terms, New Democratic women (2.11) tended to place themselves further to the left than men (2.44) on the general political spectrum. Once again, we find confirmation in the existence of an inter-left continuum, with women generally closer to the far left, and men closer to the centre.

Table 4.4: Average Attitudinal Scores, New Democrats, by Gender

Attitudinal Indexes			Attitudinal Spectra (1 to 7)		
	Male	Female		Male	Female
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.67	1.00	Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.17	2.89
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	0.39	0.11	Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	2.94	2.67
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	0.94	0.11	More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	3.00	1.78
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	2.17	2.11	Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	3.41	3.33
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	2.11	1.89	Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	2.61	2.44
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	0.50	0.44	Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	4.39	5.22
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	7.33	5.56	Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	2.06	2.44
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	0.39	1.00	Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	2.17	1.44
	N=18	N=9	Overall Left/Right Spectrum	2.44	2.11
				N=18	N=9

Region

New Democratic candidates were also divided along regional lines, a result that should come as little surprise considering our earlier findings. According to our analysis in Chapter 3, Tory respondents from South Winnipeg tended to be more progressive than their Conservative counterparts in Southern Manitoba. The same was true for New Democratic candidates, whose attitudinal positions along the ‘inter-left’ spectrum were similarly linked to region.

To conduct this analysis, we were once again forced to exclude respondents from the two Brandon constituencies, as well as Northern Manitoba. This was done to maintain confidentiality and representativeness, given the low number of respondents

from each region. Nonetheless, in keeping the Southeast and Southwest separate, our examination uncovered many interesting divisions. (See Tables 4.5 and 4.6.)

In most areas, these differences of opinion were more a matter of degree than substance. While Southwestern Manitoban candidates were the least progressive and least collectivist, for instance, their scores were by no means 'right-wing'. Their support of public services, including health care, was also lowest among all New Democrats, but they nonetheless remained firmly to the left on the political spectrum. Only on the issue of civil liberties did Southwestern NDP respondents distinguish themselves substantively. Scoring an average of 4.50 on the corresponding spectrum, New Democrats in the region asserted their belief that "it is better to restrict some civil liberties to keep criminals off the streets", as opposed to protecting those rights "even if it allows some criminals to go free." Aside from this distinction, however, we may most accurately describe the attitudes of Southwestern New Democrats as most centrist, or 'least leftist', as opposed to 'right-wing'. At 3.25 on the overall political spectrum, these candidates placed themselves firmly in the centre-left, confirming that the inter-left continuum does have a regional dimension.

Indeed, the more centrist leanings of Southwestern New Democrats provide further proof, and clarification, of our theory concerning centripetal competition in the region. In Chapter 3, we discussed how Conservatives in Southern Manitoba had placed themselves closest to the political centre, despite the right-wing nature of their policy attitudes. While conservative in their opinions, our survey concluded that PC candidates had a more moderate view of themselves in terms of the general left-right spectrum. We hypothesized that this reaction was in response to the attitudes of their New Democratic

opponents. Along these lines, we concluded that Southern PC's were engaging in a form of centripetal competition with the centre-leaning New Democrats in the region.

As our findings from this chapter attest, Southwestern NDP candidates were, indeed, more centrist than their fellow partisans elsewhere in the province. This was true in our analyses of both their index and spectrum scores. Overall, these conclusions suggest that the New Democrats' centre-left attitudes may contribute to the tone of electoral competition in Southwestern Manitoba, prompting a Downsian race-to-the-centre in the region. This, in turn, may help to explain the NDP's improved performance in rural areas. One Southwestern New Democrat explained the trend from his perspective. "I believe there is some evidence of swing to the centre of the road politics in rural areas," he argued, "but it appears to be very slow... I feel this position change has boded well for the election results of '99 and '03."

Perhaps most interesting of all, our survey revealed a distinct division between Southeastern and Southwestern New Democrats. For, in several issue areas, NDP candidates from the Southeast tended to be the *most left-leaning* of all respondents. In terms of our spectral analyses, Southeastern NDP candidates were most in favor of public services over tax cuts; of environmental protection over economic growth; of civil rights over criminal prosecution; of public over private health care; and of grassroots over expert governance. On most of these issues, this placed New Democrats from the Southeast and Southwest on opposite ends of the 'inter-left continuum.' In sum, Southeastern New Democrats placed themselves furthest left on the overall political spectrum (1.50), a remarkably leftist position considering the much more centrist location of their Southwestern counterparts (3.25).

This division within the South may help to clarify our analysis of the centripetal competition in the region. The race-to-the-centre among Conservatives and New Democrats appears strongest in the Southwest, where candidates from both parties place themselves at more moderate positions on the political spectrum.

As with all of our conclusions surrounding the 'inter-left continuum', however, these regional differences were more a matter of degree than substance. Overall, all New Democrats were firmly leftist in their attitudes, regardless of where they lived. Social democracy and 'New Leftism' were as prominent among NDP Candidates in the South as in the city.

Table 4.5: Attitudinal Index Scores, New Democrats, by Region

	North Winnipeg	South Winnipeg	SW Manitoba	SE Manitoba	Total
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.25	1.25	2.00	1.50	1.44
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	0.25	0.13	1.00	0.25	0.30
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	0.63	0.50	1.25	0.75	0.67
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	2.25	1.75	1.75	2.75	2.15
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	2.25	1.88	2.00	2.00	2.04
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	0.25	0.63	1.00	0.50	0.48
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	6.00	6.63	7.75	8.75	6.74
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	0.38	0.88	0.50	0.50	0.59
	N=8	N=8	N=4	N=4	N=24

Note: Northern Manitoba, Brandon East, and Brandon West omitted from this table, in interests of confidentiality

Table 4.6: Attitudinal Spectrum Scores, New Democrats, by Region

Attitudinal Spectra (1 to 7)	North Winnipeg	South Winnipeg	SW Manitoba	SE Manitoba	Total
Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.75	2.88	3.00	2.25	3.07
Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	3.00	2.88	3.50	2.00	2.85
More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	2.50	2.38	3.50	2.75	2.59
Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	3.86	3.25	4.50	2.50	3.38
Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	3.13	2.38	2.50	2.00	2.56
Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	3.75	5.38	4.50	5.75	4.67
Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	3.43	2.00	2.25	1.25	2.19
Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	2.50	1.63	2.75	1.25	1.93
Overall Left/Right Spectrum	2.75	2.00	3.25	1.50	2.33
	N=8	N=8	N=4	N=4	N=24

Note: Northern Manitoba, Brandon East, and Brandon West omitted from this table, in interests of confidentiality

Conclusion

Perhaps the persistence of the ‘inter-left continuum’, and the consistency with which New Democratic candidates placed themselves along it, is evidence of the flexibility of the New Left programme, itself. Borrowing elements from across the traditional spectrum, the ‘Third Way’ did define its philosophy in rather inclusive terms. The approach gave electoral credibility to a leftist program by uniting it with aspects of liberalism, thus creating Third Way concepts like ‘cooperative individualism’, ‘equality of freedom’, and ‘market-harnessing.’ Old Left values like anti-capitalism and equality of result had been abandoned in the process, while social democratic principles like

collectivism and social justice appeared tempered by the movement's shift to the centre-left.

Perhaps it was this principled – yet practical and progressive – approach that appealed to NDP politicians. Gone are the party's programmatic, Old Left ties to absolute public ownership, deficit spending, and strict management of the provincial economy. So, too, has the party severed its links to Keynesian social democracy, as applied under Schreyer and Pawley. In their place, New Democrats now follow the 'Third Way' approach to politics, openly pursuing partnerships with the private and voluntary sectors, balancing budgets, and remaining at least somewhat open to the "integration of the North American economies." Indeed, when combined with the New Democratic candidates' united support behind 'New Left' values like environmentalism and social inclusion, few elements of the Old Left programme, beyond protectionism, remain prominent in the party's attitudinal profile.

Thus, in Manitoba at least, it appears NDP politicians not only follow, but point toward, the 'Third Way' of approaching politics in the 21st Century. This ideological shift has coincided with the party's return to power, confirming, perhaps, the Manitoba public's support for the New Left's socially-compassionate, yet fiscally-conservative, brand of politics. As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, and as witnessed by the NDP's struggles throughout the 20th century, these two principles can be difficult to reconcile. It would appear, by both the success of the party and the cohesiveness of its members, however, that the New Democrats have achieved this balance in recent years.

In doing so, the party has maintained its strong commitment to social democracy and the 'New Left'. The prevalence of such values in the attitudes of NDP candidates

contradicts common theories regarding the success of New Democratic Parties. Unlike Broadbent, Doer has succeeded in the polls without pulling his party entirely to the centre. While reform- and neo-liberalism are certainly present in his party's platform, his campaign slate remains solidly left-wing.

This success runs contrary to the prognoses of many leading analysts. In 1995, at the height of neo-liberalism, for instance, Campbell and Christian openly questioned the future of left-wing politics in Canada.

The various ideological strains that have made up the NDP in recent years – environmentalism, feminism, nationalism, labourism, indigenism..., and social democracy – are still important forces in Canadian politics. The question remains whether the NDP can reconstitute itself so that it speaks effectively for these disparate groups.¹⁷

If the New Democrats' 2003 campaign slate is any indication, it would appear that the Manitoba NDP has, in fact, struck this 'Third Way' balance among its followers.

Unconvinced, Alan Whitehorn doubted the ability of the NDP to continue as a truly social democratic party in this light.

The NDP as it currently exists may no longer be the best vehicle for social democracy. Like its predecessors, the Progressives and the CCF, the NDP may be coming to the end of its role, and it may be necessary to pass the torch to another and more vibrant standard bearer.¹⁸

Yet, the recent record of the Manitoba NDP suggests victorious left-wing parties need not be from the centre, and that social democracy still maintains a prominent place in New Democratic politics. What is more, Jack Layton's hiring of Gary Doer's top advisor –

¹⁷ Campbell and Christian, *Parties, Leaders and Ideologies* p. 150.

¹⁸ Quoted in Campbell and Christian, *Parties, Leaders and Ideologies*, p. 150.

Donne Flanagan – as his own campaign strategist may suggest a similar reconfiguration of NDP politics at the federal level.

Whatever the developments in other provinces or nationally, however, our survey has shown that social democracy and the 'New Left' have found a safe home alongside reform and neo-liberalism within the Manitoba New Democratic Party. The NDP's 'Third Way' programme has, in this way, contributed to both the unification and improved electability of the left in the province.

CHAPTER 5 – LIBERAL PARTY

“...the Liberal party has two main factions – business and reform liberalism. The two are slightly right and left of centre on an ideological scale, with inequality and individualism on the right and equality and collectivism on the left. The two forces may vary in balance from time to time, but they usually interact to put the Liberal party in the centre of the ideological spectrum.”¹

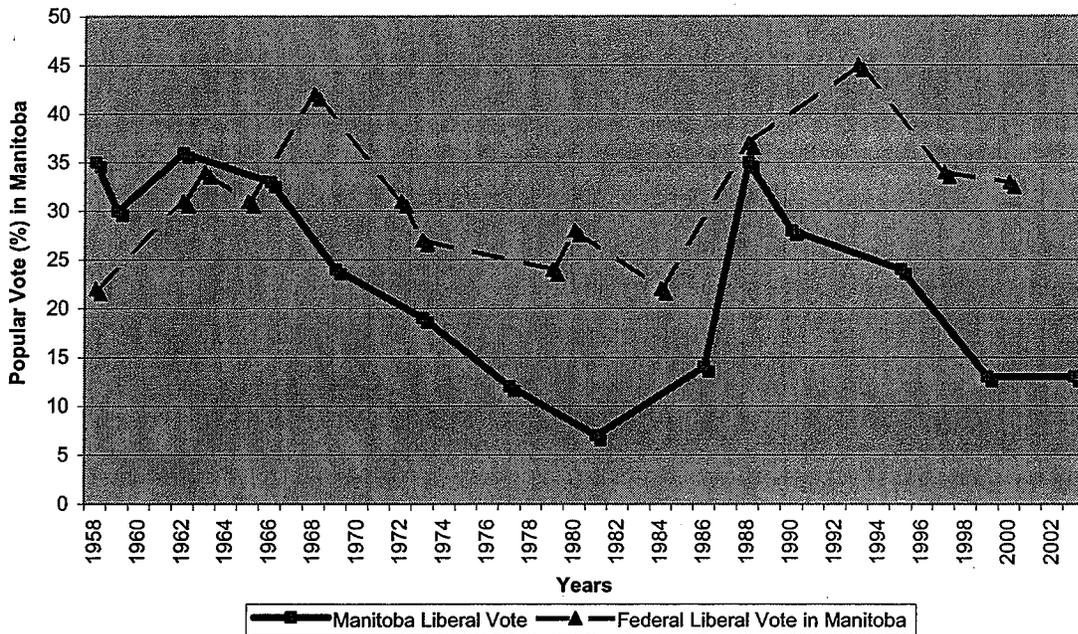
When describing the Manitoba Liberals, most analysts point to the party’s recent electoral futility. Unable to form government in any of the fourteen provincial elections since 1958, and exceeding 30 percent of the popular vote only once since 1969, the Manitoba Liberal Party has experienced its share of recent disappointment. Indeed, the 1988 election – in which the Carstairs Liberals captured twenty seats and the title of Official Opposition – stands out as an anomaly in what otherwise may be described as a lacklustre electoral record.

There are many possible reasons for the Liberals’ lack of success. One might easily link the party’s fortunes to those of its federal counterpart, for instance.² (See Graph 5.1.) Most notably during the Trudeau and Chrétien governments, the Manitoba Liberals saw their support dwindle alongside that of the governing party in Ottawa. In this light, the unpopularity of federal leaders from “the East” (particularly Quebec) appears to have tainted the provincial party’s image among Manitoban voters for the better part of four decades.

¹ Rand Dyck. *Provincial Politics in Canada*. Scarborough: Prentice Hall. 1996. p. 8.

² R.K. Carty and David Stewart. “Parties and Party Systems.” *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics*. Christopher Dunn, ed. Peterborough: Broadview. 1996. p. 75.

Graph 5.1: Liberal Party Performance in Manitoba: Provincial and Federal, 1958-2003



Some also blame the provincial Grits' electoral futility on the party's divisiveness, whether defined in ideological³ or regional⁴ terms. These 'reform liberal / business liberal' and 'urban / rural' divisions appear to run deeply through the party, compromising its ability to put forth a coherent election platform. This has resulted in a lack of regional base and policy space, both of which are critical to success in an adversarial, geographically-divided political climate like Manitoba.

Such was not always the case for the Manitoba Liberals, of course. In the first half of the twentieth century, the Liberal-Progressives were a very ideologically succinct party. Under the direction of Premier John Bracken, the party adopted a programme

³ Dyck, *Provincial Politics*, p. 8.

⁴ Robert Drummond. "Liberal Party Organization and Manitoba's 1995 Provincial Election." Master of Arts Thesis. University of Manitoba. 1995. p. 9.

based firmly on the tenets of classic liberalism and social conservatism. Its capitalist leanings appealed to well-to-do businessmen and farmers, alike, uniting elites from across the province. In Chapter 2, we discussed how the party's laissez-faire approach to government eventually grew unpopular in post-war Manitoba, however, which resulted in the fall of the Liberal-Progressive government in 1958. Revived and reclaimed under Weir, Spivak and Lyon, liberalism soon became a fixture of the *Conservative* platforms of the 1970s and 1980s, ending the Grits' monopoly over the concepts of small government, fiscal restraint and market supremacy.

Thus, following a failed attempt by Liberal leader Israel Asper to merge with the Tories in 1973, the Grits began a search for their identity. Drifting gradually to the centre, the Liberals eventually emerged as an urban reform party under Sharon Carstairs.⁵ It was under this banner, in 1988, that the party enjoyed a renewed level of support. Under Filmon in the 1990 election, the Conservatives once again swung to the right, however, usurping the Liberals' economic platform and much of their urban support base. Once more, this left the Grits with little distinct territory on either the political spectrum or electoral map. Ever since, it seems the party has struggled to define itself as a distinct alternative to the left-wing NDP and right-wing Conservatives.

Whatever the source of their shortcomings, the Liberals have nonetheless remained mired in third party status for much of the last three decades. What is more, the Liberals' consistently-poor showing at the provincial level may prompt questions as to the precise structure of the Manitoba party system. Since 1966, the Liberals have spent

⁵ Harold Chorney and Phillip Hansen. "Neo-Conservatism, Social Democracy and 'Province Building': the Experience of Manitoba." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*. 22 (1985). pp. 13-14

only one term as the Official Opposition, and have not formed government in almost fifty years. All of this may point to the existence of a two-party system in Manitoba.

As we argued in Chapter 3, however, the Liberals' continued presence on the provincial scene suggests otherwise. After all but one election, 1981, the Manitoba Legislature has contained Liberal representatives, and the party nominated candidates in all fifty-seven constituencies in 2003. In this latter sense, the Liberal Party provided a third voice in every local contest, helping to contribute to policy debates throughout the province. Their role was thus considerably larger than that of minor parties, like the Greens, Communists, or the Marijuana Party. Therefore, despite the lack of Liberal success in recent elections, Manitoba does, indeed, support a two-and-a-half party system – one in which the Liberals have an equal place on every ballot, and one in which the party has filled, and has the *potential* to fill, a balance of power role in the legislature.

Considering this influence, the attitudes of Liberal candidates are an important factor in Manitoba politics. As follows, profiling the party reveals more than simply the attitudinal make-up of the Liberal campaign slate. It will uncover more than the divisions within the party, itself. Along with these findings, the following chapter will detail the third and final element of the Manitoba party system. Where the Liberals stand on particular issues, or sit on the political spectrum, is as important to their own party's identity as it is to the overall structure of political debate and competition in the province.

The Divided Centre

In Chapters 3 and 4, we revealed how the province's other two major parties contained attitudinal divisions. Manitoba PC's, for instance, harboured both progressive and

conservative attitudes, while New Democrats held views that varied across the left side of the political spectrum. According to an analysis of the party's 2003 platform and our survey, the Liberals conform to Dyck's description: the Manitoba Grits are, in fact, divided between their reform and business (or "neo") liberal wings, the ultimate effect of which pulls the party to the centre of the political spectrum.

For, much like PC party's 'progressives' and 'conservatives', reform and neo-liberals differ in their attitudes toward the substance of the Grits' programme. If PC 'conservatives' lean further right than 'progressives', so, too, do neo-liberals lean further right than their reform liberal counterparts. A similar division occurs over the relative emphasis placed on economic versus social policy. 'Small-c conservatives' and neo-liberals grant greater prominence to fiscal issues, like small government, privatization and laissez-faire policies. Conversely, reform liberals, like PC 'progressives', place politics ahead of economics in the formation of public policy. Instead of grander tax relief strategies, for instance, reform liberals may advocate improved funding for social programs. Instead of complete private ownership in key industries, they may promote state involvement in the provision of vital public services, like health care and energy. As mentioned in Chapter 4, these 'progressive' and reform liberal principles strongly resemble those of the 'Third Way', whose allegiance to affordable social welfare stands in stark contrast to the neo-liberal attitudes of those on the New Right. We will discuss how the attitudes of these three groups overlap as part of our conclusion in Chapter 6. For now, suffice it to say that the reform / neo-liberal divide within the Manitoba Liberal Party splits its ranks in much the same way the PC's are divided between their 'progressive' and 'conservative' wings.

Manitoba Liberals and the 2003 Election

Divided or not, few analysts gave the Manitoba Liberals much hope of achieving a major electoral breakthrough in 2003. Realistic, best-case projections would have seen the party return two members to the legislature: one by regaining its seat in Inkster, held by the party from 1988 until the 1999 election; the other, by holding its leader Jon Gerrard's seat in River Heights. These modest predictions proved prophetic, with the Liberals doubling their seat total from one in 1999 to two in 2003. In the process, the party surpassed 30 percent of the popular vote in only one other constituency, Charleswood, placing a more distant second, third, or even fourth in all other contests. Without a detailed analysis of voters' preferences, it is difficult to pinpoint the precise reasons behind the Liberals' performance in 2003. In addition to those sources mentioned above, however, one might cite the party's centrist platform, whose broad mix of values may have proven indecisive or indistinct to many voters.

The 2003 Liberal Platform

Indeed, the 2003 Liberal campaign platform employed a variety of elements from both the left and right. From reform liberalism, for instance, the Liberal programme imported an emphasis on multiculturalism, support for social welfare programs, and the development of public-private partnerships in areas like environmental protection, education and crime prevention. Borrowing from neo-liberalism, the Liberals also pledged a wide range of deep tax cuts, the enhancement of Manitoba's competitiveness in

a global economy, improvements to government efficiency and transparency, and devolution of power to municipalities. Considering the dual nature of their platform, it becomes clearer why critics may have difficulty in labelling the Liberals as 'left' or 'right'.

If the Conservative platform was more ideological and the New Democrats' more pragmatic, the Liberals' 10-Point Plan for Manitoba was certainly the most program-oriented and comprehensive of the three. Outlining dozens of campaign promises, the Grits' platform read most like a policy manual, covering issue areas ranging from youth, health and the environment to the economy, regional development and agriculture. The format befits a party looking to build its credibility upon a concise programme for the future. A closer examination reveals the centrist nature of that vision.

At the heart of this programme stood the 'Youth' plank of the Liberal platform. The party's focus on attracting and retaining young Manitobans to study and work in the province aimed to end a growing trend of youth out-migration, while yielding long-term economic benefits. "In order for that to happen," wrote Jon Gerrard, "we need to make Manitoba a place where young people can stay and thrive, not leave."⁶ To this end, the Liberals proposed both right-wing and left-wing solutions. Addressing the issue from the right, the party's neo-liberals pledged to "cut provincial income taxes, beginning with young people."⁷ The relief, itself, was projected at 2 to 5 percent for people under 30. Moreover, from the left, reform liberals promised to develop a more affordable, accessible post-secondary education system, making 15 percent of student loans tax

⁶ Manitoba Liberals. "A Healthy Future Starts Now." *2003 Liberal Election Platform*. http://www.manitobaliberals.ca/pdfs/platform_for_web_en.pdf (accessed: May 21, 2004). p.2.

⁷ Manitoba Liberals, "Health Future", p. 3.

deductible and pursuing partnerships between the public and private sectors. Together, both elements of this balanced approach were designed to foster “real growth,” a socio-economic process that, according to their platform, must begin with youth.⁸

Second, using a similarly centrist strategy, the Liberals pledged to improve the efficiency and efficacy of the province’s health system. On the first note, the party vowed to add a sixth principle to the *Canada Health Act* as it applies to Manitoba: accountability and transparency. This would entail mandatory reporting on system outcomes, including mortality rates and waiting lists; providing a public accounting of all health spending; and introducing guaranteed wait-times for treatment. In sum, this was part of the neo-liberals’ proposed “shift to a service-based funding model following recommendations in the Kirby report.”⁹ In other words, the party remained open to publicly-funded health care through private providers. The Liberals took a centre-right approach, in this sense, pledging to “build on models of internal competition within health care, and provide public funding on the basis of service delivered, regardless of location.”¹⁰ At the same time, however, the party’s reform liberals remained committed to improving the health system’s accessibility and comprehensiveness. The Liberals were thus leftist in their desire to address regional disparities in health services; to expand seniors’ access to Pharmacare; and to promote disease prevention through new childhood vaccinations, research, and increased funding for recreation and sport. In health care, like youth development, the Liberal programme once again straddled the political centre.

⁸ Manitoba Liberals, “Health Future”, p. 3.

⁹ Manitoba Liberals, “Health Future”, p. 5.

¹⁰ Manitoba Liberals, “Health Future”, p. 5.

In the third plank of their platform, however, the party appeared to retain a purely liberal approach toward the economy. Promises to reduce regressive payroll taxes, corporation capital taxes, and income taxes, for instance, were designed to unfetter individuals in their participation in the marketplace. These tax cuts were to be covered through controlled government spending and the resulting increases in economic growth, offering further evidence that the Liberals' economic goals were quite clearly right of centre. "Successful economies," according to the party platform, "are increasingly measured by their capacity to generate wealth through innovation, and their ability to attract labour and capital."¹¹ This emphasis on provincial competitiveness differs considerably from the reform liberal approach to the market, which views economies as instruments to be harnessed in generating social justice. As was evidenced in the party's allegiance to regional development and environmental protection, however, this laissez-faire approach to the economy was not entirely unmitigated.

The fourth element of the 2003 Liberal platform – "The City of Winnipeg" – once again showed evidence of both left and right thinking. Its focus on municipal devolution and the extension of existing rent control exemptions, from fifteen to twenty years, for example, were rightist in their pursuit of local autonomy and economic development. From the left, the Liberals were progressive in their promise to promote the city's diversity. The party pledged a "major effort to increase immigration", as well as enhanced support for "Aboriginal culture and multiculturalism."¹² Furthermore, the party's reform liberal wing demanded increases to welfare housing allowances, and the

¹¹ Manitoba Liberals, "Health Future", p. 6.

¹² Manitoba Liberals, "Health Future", p. 7.

establishment of more co-operative housing units downtown. Thus, the Liberals' plans for the capital region were both right and left of centre.

The same was not true of the party's rural agenda. The fifth plank of the Liberals ten-point platform was unmistakably collectivist, reflecting the tory-like principles of community development and social justice. Broadly-speaking, the Liberal platform promised increased investments in infrastructure, highways, and broadband internet access, as well as enhanced promotion of rural tourism. In the North, specifically, the Liberals promised to expand and improve health care services and other social supports, while offering government subsidies and regulations to place the cost of necessities, like milk, on par with prices throughout the province. As further evidence of the party's reform liberal leanings, the Grits promised that long-term development of natural resources, including Hydro, would be balanced with the unique environmental concerns in the region. Overall, the substance of the party's rural agenda suggests significant influence from the party's reform liberal wing, which helps to temper the Grits' neo-liberal approach to the economy.

Sixth, on the topic of education, the Liberals returned to striking a policy balance between left and right. When addressing rural areas, for instance, the party once again took a leftist, collectivist approach, offering to reduce regional disparities in education and extending the province's Campus Manitoba program to enhance rural students' access to post-secondary education. By simultaneously reducing the education levy on property *and* improving funding for schools, however, the party offered something to neo- and reform liberal voters, alike.

A similar approach underpinned the Liberals' agricultural agenda, the seventh plank of its platform. In promising to remove the education tax from most farmland, eliminate the capital tax on farm businesses, and remove the PST from agricultural inputs, the Grits appeared to lean right. This was epitomized in the party's pledge to "encourage agricultural activities with a higher economic value and greater potential for employment."¹³ Yet, by promising to increase infrastructure investments, to improve drainage and irrigation; to "provide financial incentives for farmers to use conservation practices"; and to "improve farm safety net programs," the Liberals also took a left-of-centre approach to agriculture.¹⁴

This approach continued in the party's eighth election pledge: the issue of environmental protection. Whereas the Liberals' economic agenda appeared staunchly laissez-faire on the surface, the party's allegiance to conservation tempered such neo-liberal attitudes. The Grits pledged to "enforce environmental regulations and provide for stiffer penalties for infractions,"¹⁵ for example, monitoring economic growth with an eye to sustainable development. Also from the left, the party promised to: protect at least three additional parklands per year; re-establish the Manitoba Environmental Council to monitor and report environmental conditions in the province; and develop a "pollution watch" program to encourage community members to prosecute environmental offenders. Such public-private partnerships are, of course, a hallmark of reform liberal politics.

So, too, was the Liberals' preference for preventative justice, a theme outlined in the ninth plank of the party's platform. While promising "vigorous prosecution" of

¹³ Manitoba Liberals, "Health Future", p. 12.

¹⁴ Manitoba Liberals, "Health Future", p. 12.

¹⁵ Manitoba Liberals, "Health Future", p. 13.

violent crimes, the Grits promised a more restorative approach toward first-time, less serious offenders. The strategy, according to the party's programme, was to prevent individuals "from being 'schooled in crime' by their association in jail with criminals."¹⁶ Moreover, rather than focusing heavily on enforcement or incarceration, the Liberals opted to "counter-act the conditions that foster crime," including poverty, mental health issues, substance abuse, fetal alcohol syndrome, and a lack of productive after-school activities for youth. In this vein, the Liberals also promised \$500,000 to support local crime prevention groups and organizations, a further indication of the 'partnership' principle of reform liberal thinking. In the end, the Liberals did offer to develop a quicker, more efficient justice system, putting a stop to "hallway justice" by hiring more crown attorneys. Nonetheless, theirs was a substantially softer approach than advocated by those on the right, including the Conservatives, offering further evidence of the reform liberal influence over Grit policy.

In its tenth and final election pledge, the Liberal Party promised "Greater Accountability" to rebuild "public confidence in government."¹⁷ The principle may appear familiar to the reader. The issue of public accountability first appeared as an element of the New Right programme, before being adopted by the New Left, as well. As a centrist party, therefore, the Liberals' allegiance to the concept should come as little surprise. The party's platform promised a series of reforms to improve government transparency, including mandatory public accounting of all tax and transfer expenditures, and public cost projections for every new piece of legislation. Furthermore, the Liberals promised to open the government decision-making process to the public, making

¹⁶ Manitoba Liberals, "Health Future", p. 14.

¹⁷ Manitoba Liberals, "Health Future", p. 15.

government tenders, public employee hirings and appointments to crown corporations more transparent. Echoing a similar pledge by the provincial Grits in British Columbia, the Manitoba Liberals also vowed to open some cabinet meetings to the public. Such populist measures find support on both the left and right of the political spectrum, as well as within the Liberal Party programme.

Overall, our examination has revealed both left and right tendencies within the 2003 Manitoba Liberal platform. The party's rural and environmental strategies, in particular, showed strong 'reform liberal' influences, a presence that helped temper its neo-liberal approaches toward issues like health care and the economy. Dyck's assertion appears to hold true in this case: these divergent "forces" keep the party wavering on either side of the political centre. Ambiguous to the party's PC and NDP opponents, and eclectic at first glance, the question remains: How well is the Liberal's centrist platform conveyed among the party's candidates? And do their attitudes give us a clearer idea of the Liberal Party's placement on the political spectrum?

The Divided Centre in Manitoba

For those seeking to classify the Manitoba Liberals as either left or right of centre, our survey offers little in the way of a definitive answer. The comments of a Liberal candidate demonstrate the difficulties involved in such an assessment. "I am a fiscal conservative," he wrote, "but a social liberal..." – a dual identity that makes it challenging to label his attitudes as entirely left or right of centre. His progressive stance toward diversity and civil liberties was limited, moreover, by "the exception of abortion and homosexuality." This constrains our ability to classify his social attitudes as entirely

leftist, despite the fact he “strongly believe[s] in our health care system and multiculturalism.” Attitudinal profiles of several other Liberal respondents yielded similarly ambiguous results.

Nonetheless, our analysis of “the average Liberal candidate” does help shed some light on the topic. Calculating the mean scores for all Grit politicians, we can sketch the attitudinal profile for the party, as a whole. And the results depict the Liberals as being closer to the centre-left than the centre-right. (See Table 5.1.) For instance, the average Liberal respondent was moderately populist, scoring an average of 1.14 on our 3.00-point index, while positioned at 3.63 on the corresponding 7.00-point spectrum. This also translated into a relatively collectivist attitude toward social policy, including moderate support for public services over tax cuts, and strong support for public health care over private medical insurance. Furthermore, the average Liberal in our survey was also considerably progressive, scoring a low 1.05 on our moralism index and a leftist 3.10 on the matching spectrum. He or she assumed a more centrist position on civil liberties, however, displaying a slightly centre-right preference for restricting “some civil liberties to keep criminals off the streets.” This issue area notwithstanding, the average Liberal was distinctly centre-left in all other policy domains. This included his or her support for: environmentalism, protectionism, centralized federalism, increased social spending, and at least partial public ownership in key economic sectors. From this perspective, it appears that the party’s reform liberal tendencies are more prominently reflected in the attitudes of its “average” candidate.

Table 5.1: Average Attitudinal Scores, Liberals

Attitudinal Indexes		Attitudinal Spectra (1 to 7)	
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.14	Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.63
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	0.95	Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	3.84
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	1.05	More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	3.10
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	1.52	Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	4.16
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	1.76	Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	3.37
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	0.95	Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	4.42
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	5.70	Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	2.84
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	1.90	Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	2.68
	N=21	Overall Left/Right Spectrum	3.89
			N=19

Areas of Consensus and Disagreement

Indeed, there was a high level of consensus over the main tenets of reform liberalism, as illustrated in Appendix E. On the topic of the environment, for instance, the party achieved a consensus score of 35.7 out of a possible 50.0. With 95.2 percent in agreement, the Liberals were extremely united on the fact that “government should enforce stricter standards on private industry to improve their environmental practices,” and only slightly less cohesive over the fact that “global warming *is* as big a problem as environmentalists would have us believe.” At the same time, Liberal candidates were also quite unified in their ranking of social programs ahead of environmental concerns. Just under 76.2 percent of the party’s respondents disagreed with the idea of cleaning up the environment at the cost of cutbacks to education and health.

What is more, Liberals remained united over other social issues as outlined in our welfare index. Over 70 percent agreed over the necessity and universality of social programs in Manitoba, and 61.9 percent saw a role for the government in providing adequate housing – a key plank in the party’s election platform.

While dwindling somewhat, this level of consensus was also evident in Liberal responses under our individualism index. Over two-thirds of the party’s respondents agreed that “the government ought to make sure that everyone has a decent standard of living,” while over three-quarters disagreed with the idea that “most unemployed people could find a job if they really wanted to.”

Division arose over the future of health care in the province, however. Just over half (57.1 percent) of Liberal respondents agreed that “governments should allow privately-owned companies to deliver some health care services in Canada,” a position endorsed by the party’s platform. The remaining 42.9 percent disagreed, creating a noticeable gap between the reform and neo-liberal elements of the party. This was not the only area in which a difference of opinion arose over a key election issue.

A similar divide emerged on the topic of civil liberties, for instance. Whereas Liberals remained united in their support for “affirmative action” programs and even more unified in their opposition toward police encroachment upon civil rights, there was no consensus over the question of whether “homosexual couples should be allowed to be legally married.” While 42.9 percent agreed with the concept of same-sex marriage, 38.1 percent disagreed, and an additional 19.0 percent were either ‘neutral’ or offered ‘no opinion’. Similarly, Liberals were completely divided over the issue of marijuana legalization. When asked whether “the possession of small amounts of marijuana for

personal use should be legalized,” 47.6 percent agreed and 42.9 percent disagreed. Overall, the Liberals scored just 6.4 on our 50.0-point consensus measure when it came to issues of social moralism. What is more, with a consensus score of just 0.8, the party was almost entirely divided on the topic of continentalism.

Together, these stark divisions over health, same-sex marriage, drug legalization, and American influence suggest significant differences of opinion among Liberals over some of the major issues facing Manitobans today. United on issues of environmentalism, social welfare and collectivism, the Grits’ reform liberal consensus seemed to evaporate in other hot-button areas. This, in turn, appears to confirm the existence of a reform / neo-liberal divide within the party.

The Reform / Neo-Liberal Divide

In Chapters 3 and 4, respectively, we described how Conservative and New Democratic attitudes tended to vary along either side of the political spectrum. On the one hand, the viewpoints of PC respondents ranged from the tory-progressive centre to the neo-liberal right. On the other, our profile of the NDP revealed how their attitudes were scattered across the centre-left portion of the continuum. To this point, our analysis of the Liberals has suggested the party may be divided by the centre of the spectrum, itself, with the midpoint between left and right separating its reform and neo-liberal wings. Controlling for variables like age and region, this hypothesis appears to have some merit.

Age

Due to the small number of Liberal respondents in each category, we were forced to combine the various age cohorts into two main groups: those born before and after 1960. While losing considerable detail, we discovered some interesting findings using this dichotomous classification system. (See Table 5.2.)

Namely, younger Liberal respondents tended to identify more closely with the tenets of the New Right, whereas the attitudes of those born prior to 1960 could be more accurately described in terms of reform liberalism. Younger Liberals were more populist and individualist than their elder counterparts, for instance. While the former supported continentalism, privatization and tax relief, the beliefs of the latter were located on the opposite side of the spectrum entirely. Older Liberal candidates, instead, were in favor of protectionist measures, increased funding for public services, and the public provision of health care in the province. And while younger Liberals preferred “economic growth, even at the cost of damage to the environment,” older candidates opted for “protection of the environment, even at the cost of economic growth.” In fact, the only area in which this left-right divide did not hold true was on the topic of moralism. According to our index, older Liberals were more socially conservative than their younger counterparts, although both favored “more,” as opposed to less, “progressive policies on matters like homosexuality, abortion and multiculturalism.” Overall, however, the Liberals’ self-placements on the general political spectrum suggest the existence of a significant reform/neo-liberal divide according to age: older Liberal candidates placed themselves to the centre-left, at 3.46, while younger Liberals identified themselves as right-of-centre, at

5.00. Thus, aside from issues of moralism, the Liberal Party remains quite divided between its older, left wing and its younger, right wing.

Table 5.2: Average Attitudinal Scores, Liberals, by Year of Birth

<i>Attitudinal Indexes</i>			<i>Attitudinal Spectra (1 to 7)</i>	
	1900 - 1960	1961 - present	1900 - 1960	1961 - present
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.08	1.50	Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.69 3.60
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	1.00	1.00	Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	3.69 4.20
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	1.15	0.67	More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	3.15 3.20
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	1.62	1.33	Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	4.23 4.00
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	1.69	1.83	Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	3.15 4.20
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	0.69	1.67	Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	4.62 3.60
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	6.31	3.80	Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	2.54 3.60
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	1.54	2.83	Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	2.31 4.00
	N=13	N=6	Overall Left/Right Spectrum	3.46 5.00
				N=13 N=5

Region

Regional cleavages also divided Liberal respondents in terms of their attitudes, but to a much lesser degree. (See Tables 5.3 and 5.4.) Overall, urban candidates tended to be more progressive and populist than those in rural areas. Furthermore, rural candidates tended to be more individualist and less in favor of environmental protection than those from Winnipeg. Yet, the topic of civil liberties was the only issue area in which urban and rural respondents were divided left from right. Whereas Winnipeg Liberals believed “it is better to protect civil rights even if it allows some criminals to go free,” those from

outside the city were more likely to restrict some of those rights to “keep criminals off the streets.” Otherwise, the differences of opinion among urban and rural Liberals were – like those of the New Democrats – more a matter of *degree* than substance.

This was largely true of Liberal attitudes in each electoral region, as well. The only substantive left/right division came over the question of whether to “promote raising taxes to increase public services” versus “cutting public services to cut taxes.” On this question, Liberals in North Winnipeg and Southern Manitoba placed themselves to the centre-left, while those from South Winnipeg placed themselves to the centre-right. Aside from this spectrum, however, the attitudes of Liberal candidates from the regions were, once again, divided by degree rather than kind.

In fact, beyond their ultimate self-placement on the overall left/right spectrum, it is difficult to discern any strong patterns distinguishing Liberal candidates from one region from those of another. On this note, one familiar pattern did emerge, however. Despite being the most collectivist group – showing the strongest support for public health care, public ownership, civil liberties, and the environment – Liberals from South Winnipeg placed themselves closest to the political centre (4.00). Their fellow partisans from North Winnipeg (3.88) and Southern Manitoba (3.83), meanwhile, identified more strongly with the centre-left. Readers may recognize this configuration, as Conservatives from each of these regions arranged themselves in a similar order. Nonetheless, we find little evidence to suggest that the Liberals’ neo- and reform wings are divided according to region.

Instead, on most issues, the party’s candidates from the various regions remained united in their centre-left attitudes. This was most likely due to the party’s lack of a

strong, regional base and identity, one of its major electoral shortcomings. Age was a much deeper cleavage for the Liberals, in this sense.

Table 5.3: Attitudinal Index Scores, Liberals, by Region

	North Winnipeg	South Winnipeg	Southern Manitoba	Total
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.33	1.00	0.83	1.10
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	0.89	0.60	1.50	1.00
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	0.56	2.00	0.83	1.00
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	1.56	2.00	1.33	1.60
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	1.67	2.20	1.67	1.80
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	1.22	1.00	0.67	1.00
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	5.00	6.40	6.00	5.68
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	2.44	1.40	1.50	1.90
	N=9	N=5	N=6	N=20

Note: Northern Manitoba, Brandon East, and Brandon West omitted from this table, in interests of confidentiality

Table 5.4: Attitudinal Spectra Scores, Liberals, by Region

Attitudinal Spectra (1 to 7)	North Winnipeg	South Winnipeg	Southern Manitoba	Total
Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.00	4.20	3.83	3.61
Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	3.57	4.20	3.67	3.78
More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	2.75	2.80	3.67	3.05
Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	3.86	4.00	4.50	4.11
Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	1.67	2.20	1.67	1.80
Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	4.14	4.40	4.33	4.28
Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	2.71	1.60	3.50	2.67
Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	3.57	1.60	2.50	2.67
Overall Left/Right Spectrum	3.88	4.00	3.83	3.89
	N=7	N=5	N=6	N=18

Note: Northern Manitoba, Brandon East, and Brandon West omitted from this table, in interests of confidentiality

Gender

Gender, too, played a minor role in dividing the party's candidates. For, while identifiable divisions were visible within the Conservative and New Democratic Parties, a gender gap was more difficult to discern in the case of the provincial Liberals. The divisions that did occur between the party's male and female candidates were certainly less equivocal, in that findings based on our index calculations often contradicted the respondents' self-placement on the corresponding spectra. (See Table 5.5.) Such was the case in matters of moralism, civil liberties, and the environment, for instance. Moreover, what little evidence does exist to confirm the Liberal gender gap does not coincide with our analysis of the reform/neo-liberal divide. While women were more individualist and men more collectivist, both genders were largely left-of-centre on most measures. As

such, age emerged as the deepest cleavage among Liberal candidates, not gender or region.

Table 5.5: Average Attitudinal Scores, Liberals, by Gender

Attitudinal Indexes			Attitudinal Spectra (1 to 7)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.19	1.00	Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.43 4.20
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	0.88	1.20	Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	3.79 4.00
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	1.19	0.60	More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	2.93 3.60
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	1.44	1.80	Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	4.00 4.60
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	1.75	1.80	Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	3.36 3.40
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	0.94	1.00	Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	4.57 4.00
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	5.80	5.40	Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	2.57 3.60
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	1.81	2.20	Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	2.64 2.80
	N=15	N=5	Overall Left/Right Spectrum	3.93 3.80
				N=14 N=5

Conclusion

Considering the ambiguity of the party's platform, it was somewhat surprising to find that the Liberal campaign slate was as cohesive as it was. What is more, one may have assumed that the party was stretching itself to recruit enough candidates to run in all fifty-seven provincial constituencies in 2003, a feat that could have compromised the Liberals' consensus over many policy issues. This did not appear to be the case, however. With the exception of four main issues – same-sex marriage, marijuana legalization, Americanization, and the direction of health care – the party's pool of candidates was relatively united in their centre-left attitudes toward the environment, social welfare and

collectivism. In the final analysis, although offset by the party's centre-right tendencies on civil liberty issues, this helped anchor the party slightly to the left of the political centre.

What left/right divisions did emerge seemed to centre on the candidates' ages, with the Liberals separated between their younger, neo-liberal and older, 'reform liberal' wings. Indeed, whereas the provincial Conservatives and New Democrats appeared most strongly divided along the lines of region, age – not geography – played the largest role in dividing Liberal politicians. These findings aside, as a party of the centre, it was difficult to pinpoint the position of the Manitoba Liberals on the political spectrum. The party's eclectic platform certainly did not ease the challenge.

Yet, our ultimate placement of the party to the centre-left of the political spectrum is important beyond what it tells us about the Liberals, themselves. Certainly, these findings do suggest that reform liberalism carried greater sway in the minds of most Liberal candidates. But more than this, the Liberals' centre-left placement tells us something about the nature of party politics in the province, as a whole. Taking our analyses in Chapters 3 and 4 into consideration, Manitoba supports a party system with two parties on the political left – the Third Way New Democrats and the centre-leaning Liberals – and one on the right – the Conservatives. Considering that the latter party contains a substantial tory-progressive wing, as well, one might argue that each party has a substantive link to leftist ideology. Furthermore, to the extent that the New Democrats and Liberals subscribe to some portions of the neo-liberal programme, including the belief in affordable, transparent government, one might argue each party is also tied somewhat to the right of the spectrum, as well. With substantial elements of both New

Left and New Right thinking as part of its programme, moreover, this places the Liberal Party squarely in the centre of not only the political spectrum, but the *party spectrum*, as well. As will be shown in the following, concluding chapter, this position has not been advantageous to the Liberals, considering the adversarial, regionalized character of Manitoba politics.

CHAPTER 6 – THE STRUCTURE OF THE MANITOBA PARTY SYSTEM

One question sprang to mind very early in conceptualizing our study: Are the political attitudes of party candidates, in fact, configured *ideologically*? Can we, in other words, apply terms like ‘social democratic’, ‘conservative’, and ‘liberal’ – or ‘left’, ‘right’ and ‘centre’ – to describe the structure of political beliefs in Manitoba? Or, conversely, are such terms now outdated in postmodern times, leaving the attitudes of today’s politicians essentially *unstructured*?

The dilemma, itself, has been a part of political science debates throughout the past twenty years, ranging from those over brokerage politics to the ‘end of ideology’, itself. In addition, it is at the root of the ‘clear choices, coherent options’ issue we raised in Chapter 1. As such, considering the depth of the quandary, our analysis would never promise a definitive response.

Indeed, our study was never designed to address this question at the micro level – that is, we did not aim to examine the belief systems of each individual candidate to discern his or her ideological sophistication. Instead, like Archer, Stewart, Carty, and others before us, ours was a macro approach. By grouping our respondents according to their partisan affiliation, we sought to discern whether politicians’ attitudes were organized along the lines of both party and ideology.

In this context, the fact that our survey revealed attitudinal divisions both between and within parties offers evidence that ideology may, indeed, play a role in Manitoba party politics. As the previous chapters have hinted and the following chapter will illustrate, each party has staked out a distinct position for itself on the political spectrum.

And, while far from completely cohesive in all policy areas, their lack of internal consensus may provide further proof of the role of ideology in the province's politics. Whether divided between 'progressive' and 'conservative', left and centre-left, or welfare and neo-liberal wings, each party maintains its own unique alloy of attitudinal elements. Thus, although far from definitive in addressing the 'end of ideology' debate, our study does suggest left-right distinctions remain valid in Manitoba provincial politics.

The Traditional Party Spectrum in Manitoba

The traditional conception of the Canadian political party spectrum depicts the New Democrats on the left, the Conservatives on the right, and the Liberals in the centre. The concept, itself, dates back to Robert Alford's discussions in the 1940s, while more recent studies by Stewart and Archer, Archer and Whitehorn, Blake et al., and Archer and Ellis have continually verified the configuration at both the federal and provincial level.

Our results reveal similar conclusions. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Manitoba Conservatives are, in fact, liberal-conservative in their beliefs. For, while tempered somewhat by its 'progressive' wing, the PC party is, nonetheless, a party of the right. In particular, the neo-conservative attitudes of some of its members help distinguish the party from its competitors. By the same token, we described the 'Third Way' nature of New Democratic attitudes in Chapter 4. The NDP's continued attachment to social democracy – despite the influence of reform liberalism, the 'New Left' and neo-liberalism – is unique among Manitoba parties. And, as described in Chapter 5, the counter-balancing forces of reform and neo-liberalism have anchored the Liberals to the

centre, between the Conservatives and NDP. In broad terms, then, it would appear that the structure of the traditional left-right party spectrum holds true in Manitoba.

According to our individualism index, for instance, the New Democrats (0.30) and Liberals (0.95) proved more collectivist than the Conservatives. This arrangement was confirmed when examining the parties' attitudes toward healthcare. While all three groups agreed "that government should provide universal free health care," there was considerable attitudinal distance between the more centrist Conservatives (3.74) and the more left-leaning Liberals (2.68) and New Democrats (1.93). On the topic of public services, in general, the divisions were even starker. Whereas NDP candidates took a distinctively leftist stance (2.85) on the 'public services versus tax cuts' spectrum, the Liberals (3.84) placed themselves closest to centre; meanwhile, the neo-liberal Conservatives (5.13) assumed a right-wing position, placing great attitudinal distance between themselves and the other two parties. What is more, New Democrats (6.74) ranked highest on our spending index, recommending increased funding in more areas than either the Liberals (5.70) or Conservatives (4.27). The same left-right pattern emerged from our privatization index, with PC's (2.30) more supportive of private ownership than the Liberals (1.90) and NDP (0.59). On the topic of individualism, therefore, the traditional left/right spectrum definitely holds true for Manitoba parties. As social democrats, the NDP is furthest to the left, with the reform liberal Grits and neo-liberal Conservatives occupying the centre and right, respectively.

Similar patterns emerged over questions of moralism, progressivism and civil liberties. The 'New Left' New Democrats (0.67) proved the most socially tolerant of all parties, with the reform liberal Grits (1.05) falling between the NDP and the more moralist

Conservatives (1.85). Moreover, both the New Democrats (2.59) and Liberals (3.10) favored "more progressive policies on matters like homosexuality, abortion and multiculturalism," whereas the neo-conservative Tories (4.24) placed themselves on the opposite side of the spectrum. The sentiments of the Liberal Party shifted to the right on issues of civil rights, however. Both the Grits (4.16) and Tories (4.87) agreed that "it is better to restrict some civil liberties to keep criminals off the streets," leaving the NDP (3.38) as the only party on the left side of the spectrum.

The conventional party spectrum held true even on non-traditional issues like the environment, continentalism and federalism. The New Democrats (2.04) scored highest on the environmentalism index, for instance, with the Liberals (1.76) and Conservatives (1.03) somewhat lower. According to the corresponding spectrum, all three parties favored environmental protection over all-out economic growth, with the NDP (2.56) leaning further to the left than the Liberals (3.37) and PC'S (3.77). This is perhaps further evidence of the strong 'New Left' presence within the NDP. On the issue of continentalism, moreover, all parties assumed a 'protectionist' position on the spectrum. The New Democrats (4.67) and Liberals (4.42) were most protectionist according to this measure, while Conservatives (4.03) were least likely to "advocate Canada's sovereignty over its own economy." These results were echoed in the parties' respective continentalism index scores, with the social democratic NDP (0.48) and reform liberal Grits (0.95) scoring considerably lower than the neo-liberal PC'S (1.76). And, lastly, although all parties believed in a strong, centralized form of federalism, the New Democrats (2.19) and Liberals (2.84) held a stronger belief than the Conservatives (3.67) that "the federal government should take leadership in establishing national standards in

matters like health care.” Thus, the conventional NDP-Liberal-PC party spectrum applies in Manitoba even in non-traditional areas like environmentalism, continentalism and federalism.

As follows, our survey confirms the traditional party spectrum in all but one issue area. On the topic of populism – itself a difficult concept to define in left-right terms – the Liberals shift from between the two other parties to assume the least-populist position. This suggests the party remains somewhat more elitist than its opponents, a product, perhaps, of what Drummond describes as the party’s upper class, business liberal origins.¹ According to our index, the Conservatives sit opposite the Liberals as the most grassroots party, while the New Democrats believed most strongly that “government is better run ‘by the people’”, according to their self-placement on our spectrum. Using either measure, however, the greatest attitudinal distance emerges, not between the New Democrats and Conservatives, but between the Liberals and the two other parties. This, in turn, implies a rare area of common ground between the PC’s and NDP, an indication of some overlap between the grassroots principles of the neo-liberal Conservative programme and the social democratic origins of the New Democratic Party.

Populism was the only issue area in which our results contradicted the conventional party spectrum, however. On all other topics, Liberal attitudes fell between those of the New Democrats and Conservatives. Specific figures are available in Appendix B.

¹ Robert Drummond. “Liberal Party Organization and Manitoba’s 1995 Provincial Election.” Master of Arts Thesis. University of Manitoba. 1995. p. 24.

Attitudinal Positions and Distance

To this point, our analysis has not discussed the *precise* positions of each party, however. Exactly *how far apart* are the Liberals from the New Democrats or Conservatives (or the PC's from the NDP, for that matter), and, furthermore, in which issue areas are the various parties most divided? To respond, we borrowed a means of measurement employed by Blake et al. (1988). By comparing each party's mean scores on our various indexes and spectra, we can estimate the *attitudinal distance* between each party. This figure is, in effect, the absolute value of the difference between the average index or spectrum scores of a given pair of parties.

Of course, this is by no means an absolute measure; a distance of 1.00, for instance, does not tell us that parties are objectively 'close' or 'far apart'. Rather, it tells us the extent to which one pair of parties differs compared to another pair. A second distance of 0.75, to continue our example, would indicate a closer ideological affinity between the latter set of parties than the former. In this sense, our attitudinal distance measure is a comparative tool, one that matches the left-right spectrum quite well, as it, too, is a relative concept. Thus, the following figures reveal the extent to which Manitoba's major parties differ from one another ideologically, and – as a consequence – clarify their relative positions on the political spectrum. (See Tables 6.1 and 6.2.)

Table 6.1: Attitudinal Distances Between Parties (Indexes)

	NDP – LIB	LIB – PC	NDP – PC
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	0.30	0.55	0.25
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	0.66	0.90	1.55
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	0.38	0.80	1.18
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	0.62	0.61	1.24
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	0.28	0.73	1.01
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	0.47	0.81	1.28
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	1.04	1.43	2.47
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	1.31	0.40	1.71

Table 6.2: Attitudinal Distances Between Parties (Spectra)

	NDP – LIB	LIB – PC	NDP – PC
Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	0.56	0.46	0.09
Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	0.99	1.28	2.27
More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	0.51	1.14	1.65
Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	0.77	0.71	1.49
Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	0.81	0.40	1.21
Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	0.25	0.39	0.64
Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	0.65	0.82	1.47
Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	0.76	1.06	1.82
Overall Left/Right Spectrum	1.56	1.11	2.67

Since both are parties of the centre-left, we would expect the New Democrats and Liberals to be attitudinally closer to each other than the Conservatives. This was true on the majority of our indexes and spectra, including those relating to: 'public services

versus tax cuts'; 'public versus private health care'; 'continentalism versus protectionism'; progressivism; moralism; federalism; individualism; spending; and our environmentalism index. In each of these instances, the attitudinal distance between Liberal and New Democratic candidates was smaller than both the gaps between the Grits and Conservatives, and the NDP and the PC's. In other words, on all these topics, the centrist Liberals were closer to the New Democratic left than the Conservative right. This was not the case in all issue areas, however.

The attitudinal distance between the Liberals and Conservatives narrowed over questions of 'environmentalism versus economic growth', privatization, and 'civil rights protection versus criminal prosecution'. What is more, the Liberals placed themselves closer to the Conservatives than the New Democrats on the overall left-right spectrum. As such, the attitudinal distance between the Liberals and their centre-left counterparts, the NDP, was often, but not always, shorter than the gap between the neo-liberal Grits and Tories (or, on the topic of populism, the Conservatives and New Democrats).

Self- and Mutual Perceptions

This raises interesting questions as to the candidates' own perceptions of the various parties. How do New Democrats perceive PC's and Liberals, for instance? Or, from the other angle, how do Conservatives or Liberals view the NDP? Or, more fundamentally, where does each set of candidates' place its own party on the left-right spectrum?

Our study offers insight into these questions, by applying a survey technique employed by Blake et al.² and Laver.³ In Section 3 of our questionnaire, we asked respondents to indicate not only their personal positions on the various issue spectra, but their judgement of the policy positions of *each* major Manitoban party, including their own. Comparing this data, we see how each party viewed the provincial party system through the eyes of its candidates.

Perceptions of the New Democratic Party

New Democratic candidates, for one, viewed themselves, personally, as being further to the left than their party. Herself at 2.33 on the political spectrum, the average NDP respondent rated her party a more centrist 2.89, suggesting some candidates may wish the party to embrace more social democratic or 'New Left' principles. New Democrats appeared particularly critical of their party's perceived centrist position in the 'public services versus tax cuts' and 'environmental protection versus economic growth' debates. On average, NDP candidates placed themselves at 2.85 and 2.56 on these respective spectra, but viewed their party at 3.52 and 3.38, respectively. One New Democratic candidate commented on the latter concern. "Unfortunately," he wrote, "my present party of membership is not 'left' enough for me. By that I mean not concerned enough about the environment and too concerned with pushing economic development over environmental protection, particularly for water." Such critiques from within are nothing new for the party. As noted throughout Chapters 2 and 4, the New Democrats have often

² Donald E. Blake. "Division and Cohesion: The Major Parties." *Party Democracy in Canada: The Politics of National Party Conventions*. George Perlin, ed. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall. 1988.

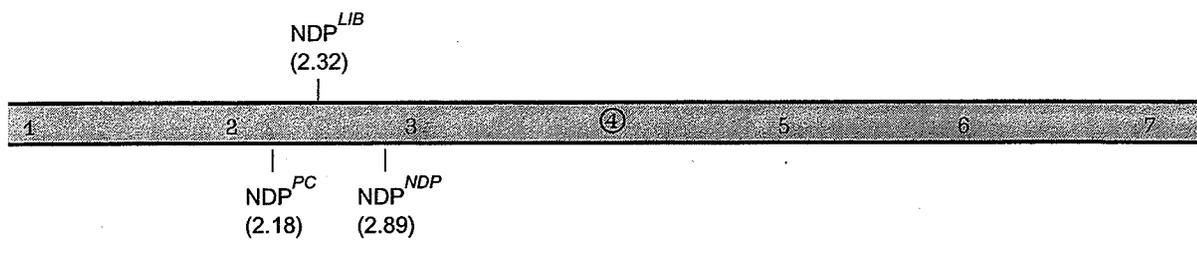
³ Michael Laver and W.B. Hunt. *Policy and Party Competition*. London: Routledge. 1992.

been critical of their own party for failing to reach far enough to the left, especially while in power.

The Liberals and Conservatives, on the other hand, placed the NDP further to the left than did the New Democrats, themselves. On the overall, 7.00-point spectrum, PC respondents rated the New Democrats a 2.18. Meanwhile, at 2.32, the NDP was only slightly closer to the centre in the eyes of Liberal candidates. In their view, Conservatives saw the New Democrats as furthest to the left on questions of 'public services versus tax cuts' (1.70) and 'public versus private health care' (1.29), perhaps as part of an effort to further distinguish their own, centre-right position on these topics. As one PC candidate commented, "There is a stark difference between the New Democrats and the Conservatives: The PC Party wants to help you create your own future, while the NDP wants to give you a future they've created. The former offer hand-ups, while the latter offer hand-outs." Liberals also saw the New Democrats as leaning heavily to the left (1.84) on the issue of health care, but not as far as the NDP respondents saw their own party (1.81). Indeed, whereas the Conservatives placed the New Democrats further to the left than did the NDP's own candidates, the Liberals depicted the NDP in much the same way the New Democrats viewed themselves as candidates.

Taken together, this evidence suggests the New Democrats view their own party as being more centrist than the Conservatives and Liberals perceive. Whether the product of the continuing internal critique, or the caricaturizing of the party by its opponents, the New Democrats are, nonetheless, a leftist party according to all perspectives. (See Figure 6[a].)

Figure 6(a): Perceptions of New Democratic Party Position



E.g. NDP^{LIB} = Liberal perception of NDP Position

Perceptions of the Liberal Party

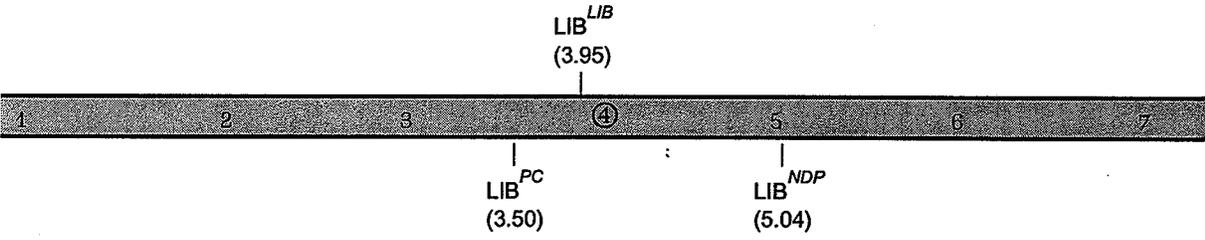
If the attitudes of New Democratic respondents appeared relatively out-of-sync with their perceptions of their party, Grit candidates saw themselves much closer to Liberal Party position. On the overall spectrum, for instance, Liberal respondents placed themselves at 3.89, just slightly further left than their perception of their own party (3.95). In fact, the only major gap between Liberals' personal attitudes and their views of the party's position emerged over populism. Whereas Liberal candidates saw *themselves* as more grassroots-oriented (3.63), they placed their party on the opposite side of the spectrum (4.16). This may lend credibility to what Drummond claims are "long-time criticisms that the party is dominated by a small coterie of River Heights lawyers."⁴ Otherwise, however, the views of Liberal candidates seem to match quite closely with their views of their party's position on the political spectrum. From both perspectives, the Liberal Party appears strongly centrist, with a slight centre-left tendency.

Interestingly, however, the other two parties held conflicting opinions of the Liberals' position. What is more, not only did they disagree with the Grits' own, centrist assessment of their party's attitudinal profile, but neither the Conservatives nor the New

⁴ Drummond, "Liberal Party", p. 24.

Democrats could agree on which side of centre the Liberal Party actually stood. In overall terms, NDP candidates placed the Liberal Party at 5.04, to the *right* of the political spectrum. Conservatives, on the other hand, positioned the Liberals to the *left*, at 3.50. These assessments are consistent across most of the issue spectra. These conflicting appraisals of the Liberal position could be due to their opposition's desire to monopolize their respective sides of the spectrum. New Democrats, for instance, may label the Liberals as right-wing in an effort to distinguish themselves as the province's only left-wing party. The Conservatives may render an opposite verdict to preserve their right-wing image. Alternatively, however, each party's candidates may have legitimate difficulties discerning the tenor of the Liberals' electoral agenda. Admittedly, according to the views of the Liberal respondents, themselves, their party's programme was quite centrist, containing both left and right elements. Our analysis in Chapter 5 of the 2003 Liberal platform revealed the potential for ambiguity. Whatever the reason, however, it remains intriguing that Liberal Party views itself as centrist, while each of its opponents perceives it on different sides of the political spectrum. (See Figure 6[b].)

Figure 6(b): Perceptions of Liberal Party Position



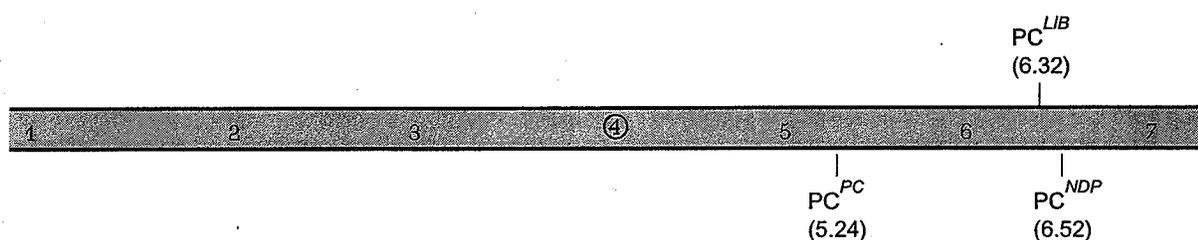
Perceptions of the Progressive Conservative Party

Conversely, there was little disagreement over which side of centre the Conservatives reside. All three parties placed the PC's to the right of the spectrum, with the party's two opponents pushing the Conservatives near the continuum's farthest reaches. (See Figure 6[c].) New Democrats placed the PC's outermost to the right (6.52), with the Liberals only moderately less extreme in their assessment (6.32). Each of its opponents placed the Conservative party furthest to the right on environmental and health care issues, two major topics in the 2003 election. For their part, Conservatives also viewed their party further to the right than their own, personal position. On average, PC candidates rated themselves 5.00 on the overall left-right spectrum, while placing their party at 5.24.

Its own candidates' perceptions aside, the evaluations of the party's rivals speak more to the nature of politics in Manitoba. We discussed in Chapter 2 how the left was lampooned during the height of neo-liberalism in 1980s and 1990s, caricatured by its opponents for perceived mismanagement and over-spending. The Pawley New Democrats felt the brunt of this criticism, having run large deficits and having failed to prevent rate increases in key public utilities. Interpreting the results of our own survey, it would appear the climate has reversed in Manitoba – it is now the 'New Right' that is viewed as most extreme, at least among candidates. Staunchly neo-liberal principles, particularly when applied to issues like health care and the environment, appear radical to those in the political centre and left. One need look no further than the 2000 Canadian Federal Election for evidence of how Liberal and New Democratic Parties attempt to label their conservative rivals as extremists. Under perceived ultra-conservative leader

Stockwell Day, the Canadian Alliance was branded as a radical right-wing party, espousing a programme that was deemed too neo-liberal and neo-conservative for the Canadian public. As the ideology's self-described spokesperson in Manitoban politics, the Conservative Party's image appears most closely associated with the right-wing elements of neo-liberalism. Perhaps this is why New Democratic and Liberal respondents placed the PC party so far to the right of the political spectrum.

Figure 6(c): Perceptions of Progressive Conservative Party Position



Before leaving the topic of party perceptions, it was also interesting to note how each party perceived the others as being elitist as opposed to populist. While, on average, each slate of candidates believed “government is better run ‘by the people’, or the ‘grassroots’,” each party viewed the others as promoting the idea that “government is better left to politicians and experts.” This may offer further support to our contentions regarding ‘strategic perceptions’ – that is, candidates may have satirized or exaggerated the attitudes of their opponents in an effort to make their own party appear more moderate and desirable. Without further inquiry into the reasoning behind these perceptions, however, these types of explanations must remain conjecture.

Below, three separate spectra summarize how each party viewed the partisan landscape in Manitoba, from the perception of the New Democrats, Liberals and

Conservatives. A final spectrum has been added to illustrate the party spectrum taking all of these perceptions into account.

Figure 6(d): New Democratic Party Perception of the Manitoba Party System

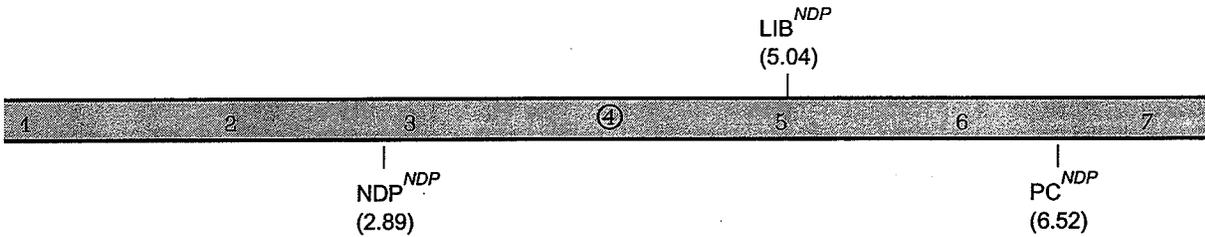


Figure 6(e): Liberal Party Perception of the Manitoba Party System

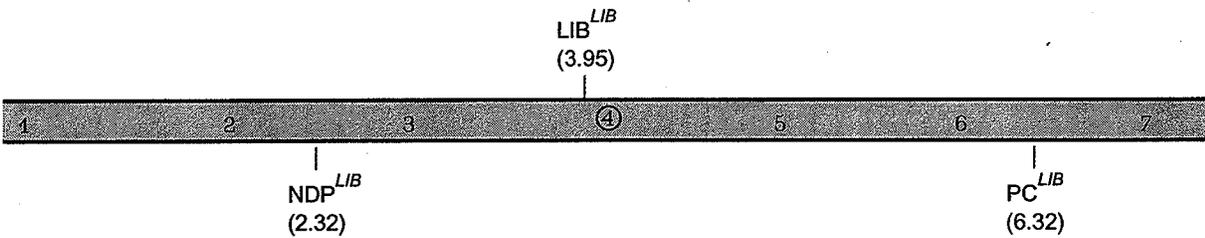


Figure 6(f): Progressive Conservative Party Perception of the Manitoba Party System

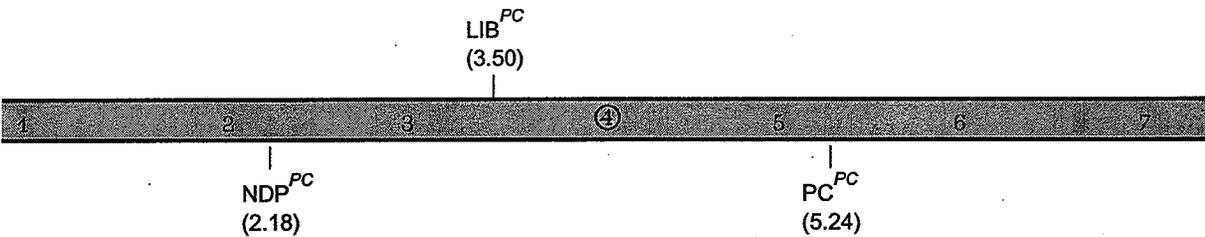
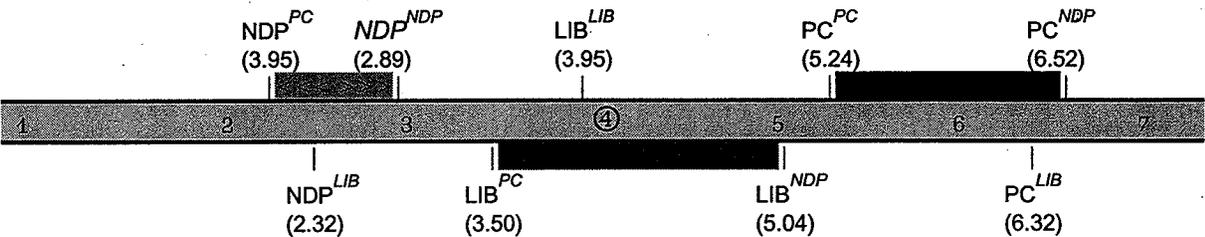


Figure 6(g): Manitoba Party Spectrum



Cleavages Within and Bridges Between

The findings in this chapter bring our study full circle. In our opening pages, we described how political attitudes often divide parties internally, while joining individuals across party lines. As the title of Chapter 1 suggested, this dual tendency tends to cloud both the coherence of choices and clarity of the options available to the electorate. Voters expect parties to offer distinct, comprehensible programmes, while maintaining internal consensus within their campaign slate. Placing the question in the context of our thesis, we asked if Manitoban parties do, in fact, offer the electorate consistent, distinguishable electoral alternatives.

To this point in the discussion, our reply – like those of our respondents – has been a resounding ‘yes’. There are sizable gaps between not only the platforms of the various parties, but in the attitudes of their candidates. And, while admittedly relative, the attitudinal distances between the parties – on a wide range of issues – appear large enough to indicate clear differences between the province’s New Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives. These distinctions are most marked between the left-leaning NDP and right-leaning PC’s, but there also seems to be space between each of the two parties and their more centrist Liberal opponents. In short, then, it appears that Manitoban parties present the electorate with the coherent choices and clear options they desire.

This analysis does require qualification, however. For, although the general position of the parties does suggest separation, the “dual tendency” of which we spoke in Chapter 1 is still at work. There are, in fact, differences of opinion *within* the various

parties, and attitudinal convergence *across* party lines. Each of these concerns must be addressed before we achieve a complete profile of the Manitoba party system.

Intra-Party Divisions

If ideologies may be likened to mineral elements, each of the parties in Manitoba maintained its own, unique alloy of political attitudes. For the PC party, its two main components were 'progressivism' and 'conservatism', the latter of which was dominant. Likewise, the Liberals maintained an alloy of neo- and reform liberal elements, the latter of which was most prevalent in the attitudes of its candidates. The New Democrats, whose crucible seemed to be at a higher temperature than those of its counterparts, appeared to dissolve well the varying elements of the Third Way – social democracy, reform liberalism, the 'New Left', and neo-liberalism.

Indeed, examining the consensus scores of the various parties, one theme becomes abundantly clear: the New Democrats maintained a far more cohesive campaign slate than the Liberals and Conservatives. At an overall average of 25.8 out of 50.0, the NDP's mean level of consensus across all seven policy indexes was nearly greater than the other two parties' combined. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the New Democrats were most cohesive on issues of social welfare, collectivism, and environmentalism, but maintained a high level of consensus across most issue domains. This may be a product of the party's position in government; some may argue it is easier for partisans to strike accord while in power. Regardless of the reason, however, at 14.5, the Liberal Party placed second according to this measure, followed closely by the Conservatives, at 13.7.

As iterated throughout our discussions, these consensus scores are not meant to be normative measures. The fact that the Liberal Party entertains debate from its neo- and reform liberal wings may be a positive attribute, a sign of the party's inclusiveness or open-mindedness. Likewise, the diversity of opinion from within the 'progressive' and 'conservative' ranks of the PC Party may display as much breadth as it does discord. What these figures do show, however, is the extent to which each party was divided over many of the basic policy questions facing the province today.

Hot Button Issues

In this vein, our examination uncovered a series of 'hot-button' issues over which a high degree of partisan polarization has occurred. Such policy debates have drawn the Conservatives firmly to the right and the New Democrats decisively to the left, while leaving the Liberals divided in the centre. Included among them were questions of health care provision, the legalization of marijuana, same-sex marriage, Americanization, and free trade. In each of these issue areas, as shown in Appendix E, over two-thirds of Conservatives and New Democrats lined up on opposite sides of the debate. The NDP favored public health care, the legalization of marijuana, the government's allowance of same-sex marriage, less American influence on Canadian culture, and believed free trade has not had a positive effect on Manitoba. Meanwhile, an overwhelming majority of Conservatives disagreed with each of these positions, and the Liberal Party remained relatively divided on which side to support. (See Appendix E.)

Each party was, of course, united or divided to varying degrees throughout each of our seven main policy indexes. Yet, these five particular hot-button issues may reveal

more about the nature of party competition in the province. If the Liberal programme has earned a reputation for being ambiguous, for instance, perhaps it has been built on the party's inability to generate consensus over such key political issues. On the other hand, if voters seek substantive differences between the attitudes of the province's two most successful parties, they may need look no further than these five main policy areas. Election campaigns are often built on such issues, suggesting the Conservative and New Democratic campaign slates may have been more internally cohesive and mutually polarized in areas that mattered most to the electorate.

Inter-Party Convergence

Reform Liberalism

At the same time, however, there was considerable policy convergence among the parties. Divided as they may be over several hot button topics, we cannot ignore the extent to which parties in Manitoba share common ground on others. We have alluded to such attitudinal overlap on several occasions, noting the similarities between 'progressive', Third Way and reform liberal principles. Within each party, members of these various wings share a set of common beliefs. First, they tend to value politics over economics, a principle that helps set them apart from their neo-liberal counterparts. Second, they tend to be more less individualist, viewing society as a community of interdependent individuals. Third, and in this sense, 'progressives', social democrats and reform liberals see a role for government in the provision of a substantial welfare state, including universal health care and education. Plus, fourth, the left-leaning, collectivist values of these groups often extend to issues of environmental protection, even in the

face of opportunities for economic growth. And fifth, members of these wings often take tolerant positions toward issues of inclusion and civil liberties, supporting the rights of people in minority or disadvantaged groups and, perhaps, favoring affirmative action as a means of extending equality. This high level of attitudinal consensus contributes to a wide-ranging policy convergence within the Manitoba party system, helping to blur the lines of partisanship over certain issues.

Accordingly, our survey revealed a majority of candidates from each party agreed over policy positions in three of our major issue indexes: welfare, civil liberties, and the environment. For instance, 92.6 percent of New Democrats, 71.4 percent of Liberals, and 51.5 percent of Conservatives disagreed with the statement that “a lot of the welfare and social security programs that we have now are unnecessary.” Similar proportions of each party also felt that “social programs should remain universal.” Meanwhile, on the topic of civil liberties, a majority of respondents from each party supported the continuation of affirmative action programs, and railed against police encroachment upon civil rights. As Appendix E illustrates, similar, cross-party consensus was also generated over issues of environmental protection. In all these areas, ‘progressives’, social democrats and reform liberals, regardless of their party affiliation, hold similar beliefs on several dimensions.

Neo-liberalism

Somewhat ironically, our study has revealed a similar policy convergence around certain right-wing principles, as well. The majority of the evidence for this trend exists not in the findings of our survey, necessarily, but in our analysis of each party’s platform. As noted in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the Conservatives, New Democrats and Liberals all demonstrated

support for neo-liberal values like government transparency, efficiency, affordability, and moderate tax relief. This included an all-party consensus over balanced budgets. When these institutional attitudes are added to the significant tri-partisan agreement over the principles of populism, it appears each party is anchored on not only the left, but also the right. A majority of both New Democrats and Conservatives – and a plurality of Liberals – believed that “we could probably solve most of our big political problems if government could actually be brought back to the people at the grassroots,” for instance. Considering this, the conservative wing of the PC party, the neo-liberal wing of the Liberal Party, and the more centrist element of the NDP share a considerable bond.

Right, Left and Centre in Manitoban Party Politics

Taking our entire study into account, we found both common ground and visible cleavages within and among Manitoba’s three chief political parties. The concept may be somewhat complex to outside observers. How could parties be distinct in their positions along the political continuum, yet share many fundamental ideals with regard to both institutions and social policy? The answer requires us to re-examine the way we perceive the party spectrum.

For, in reality, there is no monolithic right or left any longer – if there ever was – and today’s political issues, values, and parties do not fit readily under the old, unidimensional spectrum model. Indeed, at its base, the Manitoba party spectrum contains elements of both left and right thinking. There are no exclusively left-wing or right-wing parties in the province, nor do any parties hold monopolies over either side of

the spectrum. Our survey has found evidence of left and right policy principles within each party's programme and varying attitudes within each campaign slate.

This should come as little surprise, considering the province's political history. Ideological polarization has never been a hallmark of Manitoban politics. Instead, since 1958, Manitoban parties have offered competing interpretations of the dominant political paradigm. Up to 1979, this involved New Democrats, Conservatives and Liberals debating the correct course – and ultimate outcome – for Keynesianism. As discussed in Chapter 2, for instance, it was difficult to discern ideological differences between the Roblin Tories and the Schreyer New Democrats. Both groups supported an increased welfare state and public ownership. The distinction, then, lay in the ultimate goals of each group's policies – the Roblin Conservatives pursued these means in a tory-based effort to build the provincial community and foster economic growth, whereas the Schreyer New Democrats adopted similar policies in a leftist attempt to decrease inequality and foster social justice.

In the 1980s and 1990s, this dominant paradigm shifted from Keynesianism to neo-liberalism, with each of the three parties presenting their own interpretations of its merits. The process culminated in 1999, with the left-wing New Democrats adopting the Conservatives' balanced budget legislation – a law based on age-old Liberal-Progressive principles from decades before. The NDP's Third Way programme had prescribed such measures as part of its objective to provide quality, but affordable, government.

At the same time, however, the continued presence of left-wing values like the welfare state, environmentalism and universality in social programmes, also became engrained in the ideology of each party. Perhaps each organization learned from the

perils of previous parties, whose programmes of absolute restraint proved electorally disastrous. Carried forth by the PC'S 'progressives', the Liberals' reform wing, and social democrats in the NDP, this left-wing strain of attitudes provided a second pillar in the Manitoba party spectrum's foundation.

Thus, today, the province's political structure rests on both left- and right-wing premises. As social democrats, the NDP sits farthest to the left in this context, but maintain ties to the reform liberal centre and neo-liberal right. The Conservatives stand furthest to the right, though retaining aspects of leftist thought in the attitudes of their 'progressive' wing. And, in the centre, the Liberals straddle the left/right divide by offering elements from both sides of the political spectrum. Such conclusions may have been predictable in the eyes of many readers, but the results of our study, nonetheless, provide much-needed academic support for our general perceptions.

Coherent Choices and Clear Options

Echoing the conclusions of Archer and Whitehorn before us, our study did produce significant, concrete findings regarding political competition. "In examining the broader question of the role of ideology in structuring choices at Canadian elections," they wrote, "our observations suggest that... the ideological divisions are clear and straightforward, even if those perceptions might not extend to the general public."⁵

In the end, we do not know whether the Manitoban electorate viewed the three parties as the parties saw themselves. We do not know if the external lines dividing – or

⁵ Keith Archer and Alan Whitehorn. "Opinion Structure Among Party Activists: A Comparison of New Democrats, Liberals and Conservatives." *Party Politics in Canada*. (8th Ed.) Hugh G. Thorburn and Alan Whitehorn, eds. Toronto: Prentice-Hall. 2001. p. 117.

the internal forces uniting – the Conservatives, New Democrats and Liberals were visible to the public. Nor do we know whether voters felt satisfied with the coherence of the choices and clarity of the options they were presented in the 2003 Provincial Election. We may hazard some speculation, based on the low voter turnout rate or the level of voter apathy reported by the candidates, themselves. But, without further study, these answers are little more than conjecture.

What our survey has done, however, is shed valuable light on the perceptions of the parties' most public figures. As we wrote in our cover letter to all candidates, their "thoughts and opinions are central to our understanding of Manitoba politics," and their "personal influence, interpretation and promotion of [their] party's platform have a large impact on other Manitobans." Yet, more than their role as crucial *players* in the political arena, we considered these politicians to be among a select few *experts* in Manitoba parties. They are not only *in* the action, but closest to it, and, in the absence of any recent, substantial academic research into Manitoba politics, their beliefs, opinions and sentiments may be the most vital source of information about the province' party system. It is for this reason that we surveyed each party's candidates following the 2003 Manitoba Election, and for this reason that our findings reveal a great deal about party politics in this province.

Archer and Whitehorn were correct. "There are many ways of measuring the degree to which parties are successful in being both internally coherent and externally distinguishable from one another."⁶ Their analysis, like those of many others over the past two decades, focused on the attitudes of party activists as an indication of the

⁶ Archer and Whitehorn, "Opinion Structure", p. 117.

structure of party systems. Such studies were conducted not only at the federal level, but at the provincial level in British Columbia and Alberta. Ours was both an extension of these analyses and expansion of these methods. By examining office-seekers in Manitoba, our survey revealed never-before-seen contours in the province's political landscape.

Having witnessed eight (8) provincial elections in 2003, Canadian political scientists are presented with even more opportunities for comparable discovery elsewhere across the country. The left-centre-right configuration of Manitoba's New Democratic, Liberal and Conservative parties, and the internal challenges faced by each, are by no means unique. The potential for idiographic and comparative analyses of other provinces appears boundless, in this sense. We hope our survey has provided stimulation – if not foundation and inspiration – for such further research.

For now, we trust the preceding chapters have provided a belated glimpse into the realm of party politics in Manitoba. We have discussed how the evolution of party competition has culminated in today's adversarial, yet somewhat convergent, partisan atmosphere. In closing, throughout this project, I have come to view Manitoba politics as an intriguing research field, to say the least – one that provides its analysts with plenty to study, and even more to learn.

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APPENDIX A

2003 MANITOBA PROVINCIAL ELECTION CANDIDATES STUDY – QUESTIONNAIRE

Section 1: POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

In this section, we would like to know about your involvement in Manitoban politics, and Canadian politics more generally.

1. When did you *first* become a member of the party you represented in the 2003 Provincial Election?
 - 2000 – 2003
 - 1995 – 1999
 - 1989 – 1994
 - before 1989

2. Whom did you consult prior to making up your mind to run in the 2003 Provincial Election? (Please select as many as necessary.)
 - relatives co-workers
 - friends prominent party members
 - other (please specify): _____

3. Was your *nomination* contested?
 - No, I was acclaimed as my party's candidate.
 - Yes, I ran against at least one other candidate to gain my party's nomination.

4. Other than 2003, have you previously run as a candidate in a Manitoba Provincial election?
 - no
 - yes

5. Do you think you will actively seek your party's nomination in the *next* provincial election?
 - no
 - yes

6. Are you a member of a *federal* political party?

no

yes.....If "yes", in which federal party are you a member?

- New Democratic Party
- Liberal Party
- Conservative Party of Canada
- Other (please specify):

7. Did you vote in the *2000 Federal Election*?

no

yes.....If "yes", for which federal party did you vote?

- New Democratic Party
- Liberal Party
- Progressive Conservative Party
- Canadian Alliance
- Other (please specify):

8. Do you plan to vote in the *next Federal Election*?

no

yes.....If "yes", for which federal party do you plan to vote?

- New Democratic Party
- Liberal Party
- Conservative Party of Canada
- Other (please specify):

Section 2: GENERAL ISSUES AND POLICY CONCERNS

This section contains a number of statements about politics in Manitoba and in Canada more generally. Please select the position that comes closest to your own opinion.

1. Using a five-point scale, please indicate the extent to which you DISAGREE or AGREE with the following statements:

	strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree	no opinion
	1	2	3	4	5	8
i) In the long run, I'll put my trust in the simple down-to-earth thinking of ordinary people rather than the theories of experts and intellectuals.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
ii) We could probably solve most of our big political problems if government could actually be brought back to the people at the grass roots.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
iii) There should be a referendum on all amendments to the constitution.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
iv) Let's face it, most unemployed people could find a job if they really wanted to.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
v) The government ought to make sure that everyone has a decent standard of living.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
vi) Governments should allow privately-owned companies to deliver some health care services in Canada.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
vii) A lot of the welfare and social security programs that we have now are unnecessary.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
viii) Social programs should remain universal.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
ix) The government should see that everyone has adequate housing.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
x) Our society has become too permissive.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xi) This country would have far fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family values.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xii) The possession of small amounts of marijuana for personal use should be legalized.	<input type="checkbox"/>					

	strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree	no opinion
	1	2	3	4	5	8
xiii) For the most part, discrimination in our society has decreased, making most "affirmative action" programs out-of-date.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xiv) Certain restrictions on civil rights would be acceptable if it would help police reduce crime.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xv) Homosexual couples should be allowed to be legally married.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xvi) Global warming is not as big a problem as environmentalists would have us believe.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xvii) The government should make a greater effort to clean-up the environment, even if this means making cut-backs to social programs like education and health.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xviii) The government should enforce stricter standards on private industry to improve their environmental practices.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xix) We must ensure an independent Canada even if that were to mean a lower standard of living for Canadians.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xx) Canada must take steps to reduce American influence on its culture and mass media.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xxi) The North American Free Trade Agreement has been good for Manitoba.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xxii) People in the various provinces should put less emphasis on their distinctive provincial identities and more emphasis on their common Canadian identity.	<input type="checkbox"/>					
xxiii) In relation to other provinces, Manitoba has received fair and equitable treatment from the federal government.	<input type="checkbox"/>					

strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	strongly agree	no opinion
1	2	3	4	5	8

xxiv) The federal government is paying its fair share when it comes to things like:

(a) disaster relief	<input type="checkbox"/>					
(b) health care	<input type="checkbox"/>					
(c) trade injury payments	<input type="checkbox"/>					
(d) education	<input type="checkbox"/>					
(e) highways	<input type="checkbox"/>					

2. Governments face considerable challenges in setting priorities for spending. For the following policy areas, please indicate whether you believe government spending should be REDUCED, INCREASED or MAINTAINED at current levels:

	substantially reduced	reduced	maintained at current levels	increased	substantially increased
	1	2	3	4	5
welfare rates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kindergarten to Grade 12 education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
post-secondary education and training	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
health care	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
job creation grants	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tourism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
day care	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
scientific research	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	substantially reduced 1	reduced 2	maintained at current levels 3	increased 4	substantially increased 5
business and farm subsidies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
environmental protection	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
highways	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Some people believe certain businesses should be owned and run by the government. For each of the following corporations, please indicate whether you believe it should be: PUBLICLY-OWNED, PARTIALLY-OWNED BY THE PUBLIC, or PRIVATELY-OWNED.

	100% publicly- owned 1	partially- owned by the public 2	100% privately- owned 3
Winnipeg CanadInns Stadium	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Manitoba Hydro	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Manitoba Liquor Control Commission	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Manitoba Public Insurance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Manitoba Telecom Services (MTS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Manitoba Highways	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section 3: POLICY POSITIONS

In this section, we are interested in your opinions regarding the positions of the various parties in Manitoba. For each set of statements, please indicate your own position, plus your judgment of the policy position of each PROVINCIAL political party.

Example:

Favour high levels of state regulation And control of the economy.				Favour deregulation of markets at every opportunity.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

My position: 5 Party A: 3 Party B: 7 Party C: 2

Promote raising taxes to increase public services.				Promote cutting public services to cut taxes.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

My position: _____ NDP: _____ PC: _____ Liberal: _____

Support protection of the environment, even at the cost of economic growth.				Support economic growth, even at the cost of damage to the environment.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

My position: _____ NDP: _____ PC: _____ Liberal: _____

Believe it is better to protect civil rights even if it allows some criminals to go free.				Believe it is better to restrict some civil liberties to keep criminals off the streets.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

My position: _____ NDP: _____ PC: _____ Liberal: _____

Advocate that government should provide universal free health care.				Advocate that medical expenses should be paid by individuals and private insurance plans.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

My position: _____ NDP: _____ PC: _____ Liberal: _____

Advocate integration of the North American economies.	Advocate Canada's sovereignty over its own economy.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

My position: _____ NDP: _____ PC: _____ Liberal: _____

Believe government is better run "by the people", or the "grass roots".	Believe government is better left to politicians and experts.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

My position: _____ NDP: _____ PC: _____ Liberal: _____

Favour more progressive policies on matters like homosexuality, abortion and multiculturalism.	Favour less progressive policies on matters like homosexuality, abortion and multiculturalism.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

My position: _____ NDP: _____ PC: _____ Liberal: _____

Believe the federal government should take leadership in establishing national standards in matters like health care.	Believe the provinces should determine their own, individual provincial standards in matters like health care.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

My position: _____ NDP: _____ PC: _____ Liberal: _____

Please locate yourself and each party on a general left-right dimension, taking all aspects of policy into account.

Left	Right					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

My position: _____ NDP: _____ PC: _____ Liberal: _____

Section 4: GENERAL BACKGROUND

In this section, we'd like to know about your background so we can see how different types of people feel about the issues we have been examining.

1. Gender: female male

2. Year of birth: _____

3. How would you describe your ethnic or cultural background? (For example: Aboriginal, German, Scottish, Ukranian, etc.)

4. Place of birth:
 Manitoba
 Other Canadian province or territory (please specify):

- Country other than Canada (please specify):

5. Length of residence in Manitoba:
 less than one year 11 to 15 years
 1 to 5 years over 15 years
 6 to 10 years

6. What is the population of the community in which you currently reside?
 less than 1,000
 1,000 to 9,999
 10,000 to 24,999
 25,000 to 49,999
 over 50,000

7. Do you have a religious affiliation?
 no
 yes.....If "yes", what is your religious affiliation? _____

8. How frequently do you attend religious services?
- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> once a month |
| <input type="checkbox"/> once or twice a year | <input type="checkbox"/> couple of times a month |
| <input type="checkbox"/> several times a year | <input type="checkbox"/> nearly every week |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> every week |
9. Amount of formal education:
- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> elementary school | <input type="checkbox"/> some college or university |
| <input type="checkbox"/> some high school | <input type="checkbox"/> college or university graduation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> high school graduation | <input type="checkbox"/> post-graduate university |
10. Employment status (please select as many as necessary):
- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> self-employed | <input type="checkbox"/> home-maker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> employed full-time | <input type="checkbox"/> retired |
| <input type="checkbox"/> employed part-time | <input type="checkbox"/> student |
| <input type="checkbox"/> unemployed | <input type="checkbox"/> other (please specify): _____ |
11. If you are currently employed, how would you describe your present occupation? (For example: teacher, farmer, manager, clerk, laborer, etc.)
- _____
12. If you are an MLA or are retired, how would you describe your previous occupation?
- _____
13. In which category would your total household income fall?
- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> less than \$20,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000 to 74,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 to 34,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$75,000 to 99,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$35,000 to 49,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> over \$100,000 |

Section 5: COMMENTS

Finally, we would welcome any additional comments you may wish to make about Manitoba politics, or about this survey. Please feel free to continue with your comments on the pages that follow. We value your thoughts and opinions, and appreciate your efforts in completing this questionnaire.

APPENDIX B

ATTITUDE INDEXES

The following attitude indexes were derived from a series of Likert-style scales measuring the degree of the respondent's agreement or disagreement with a series of statements. Many items were drawn from previous studies, including those of: Archer and Whitehorn (1990); Blake, Carty and Erickson (1991); Archer and Ellis (1994); Stewart and Archer (2000); and the 1997 and 2000 Canadian Election Studies.

The specific statements used to construct each index are listed below. The directions of each index and each statement are given in parentheses. Respondents were asked to format their responses to each statement on a 1 to 5 scale: (1) 'strongly disagree', (2) 'disagree', (3) 'neutral', (4) 'agree', or (5) 'strongly agree'. Respondents were also given the option to offer (8) 'no opinion'. A response given in the direction of the index was scored as '1'; all other responses – including 'neutral' or 'no opinion' – were scored as '0'. The respondent's total index score was calculated as the sum of his or her score on each statement. As each index contained three (3) statements, respondents' scores on each index ranged from 0 to 3. Further details regarding the construction of these indexes are available upon request.

POPULISM INDEX (scored in populist direction)

In the long run, I'll put my trust in the simple down-to-earth thinking of ordinary people rather than the theories of experts and intellectuals. (Agree)

We could probably solve most of our big political problems if government could actually be brought back to the people at the grass roots. (Agree)

There should be a referendum on all amendments to the constitution. (Agree)

INDIVIDUALISM INDEX (scored in individual responsibility direction)

Let's face it, most unemployed people could find a job if they really wanted to. (Agree)

The government ought to make sure that everyone has a decent standard of living. (Disagree)

Governments should allow privately-owned companies to deliver some health care services in Canada. (Agree)

WELFARE INDEX (scored in the direction of support for social welfare)

A lot of the welfare and social security programs that we have now are unnecessary. (Disagree)

Social programs should remain universal. (Agree)

The government should see that everyone has adequate housing. (Agree)

MORALISM INDEX
(scored in moralist direction)

Our society has become too permissive. (Agree)

This country would have far fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family values. (Agree)

The possession of small amounts of marijuana for personal use should be legalized. (Disagree)

CIVIL LIBERTIES INDEX
(scored in the direction of support for civil liberties)

For the most part, discrimination in our society has decreased, making most "affirmative action" programs out-of-date. (Disagree)

Certain restrictions on civil rights would be acceptable if it would help police reduce crime. (Disagree)

Homosexual couples should be allowed to be legally married. (Agree)

ENVIRONMENTALISM INDEX
(scored in environmentalist direction)

Global warming is not as big a problem as environmentalists would have us believe. (Disagree)

The government should make a greater effort to clean-up the environment, even if this means making cut-backs to social programs like education and health. (Agree)

The government should enforce stricter standards on private industry to improve their environmental practices. (Agree)

CONTINENTALISM INDEX
(scored in continentalist direction)

We must ensure an independent Canada even if that were to mean a lower standard of living for Canadians. (Disagree)

Canada must take steps to reduce American influence on its culture and mass media. (Disagree)

The North American Free Trade Agreement has been good for Manitoba. (Agree)

SPENDING INDEX

(scored in the pro-spending direction)

The spending index was created using a formula designed by Blake et al. (1991), assigning a score from -1 to +1 to respondents depending on whether they believed that government spending in policy areas should be substantially / slightly increased (1), maintained at current levels (0), or slightly / substantially reduced (-1). The scores for each item were then summed to produce an overall index score. The eleven (11) policy areas examined were: welfare rates; Kindergarten to Grade 12 education; post-secondary education and training; health care; job creation grants; tourism; day care; scientific research; business and farm subsidies; environmental protection; and highways. Index scores ranged from -11 to +11.

PRIVATIZATION INDEX

(scored in the pro-privatization direction)

For each given corporation, respondents were assigned a score of 0 if they favored complete or partial public ownership, 1 if they favored complete private ownership. The scores from each item were then summed to produce a public ownership index score for each respondent. The six (6) corporations examined were: Winnipeg CanadInns Stadium, Manitoba Hydro, Manitoba Liquor Control Commission, Manitoba Public Insurance, Manitoba Telecom Services (MTS), and Manitoba Highways. Index scores ranged from 0 to +6.

Average Index Scores by Party

	NDP	Liberal Party	PC Party	All Respondents
POPULISM Index (0 to 3 in populist direction)	1.44	1.14	1.70	1.47
INDIVIDUALISM Index (0 to 3 in individualist direction)	0.30	0.95	1.85	1.10
MORALISM Index (0 to 3 in moralist direction)	0.67	1.05	1.85	1.25
CIVIL LIBERTIES Index (0 to 3 in supportive direction)	2.15	1.52	0.91	1.48
ENVIRONMENT Index (0 to 3 in environmentalist direction)	2.04	1.76	1.03	1.56
CONTINENTALISM Index (0 to 3 in continentalist direction)	0.48	0.95	1.76	1.12
SPENDING Index (0 to 11 in pro-spending direction)	6.74	5.70	4.27	5.46
PRIVATIZATION Index (0 to 6 in pro-privatization direction)	0.59	1.90	2.30	1.63
	N=27	N=21	N=33	N=81

ATTITUDE SPECTRA

The attitude spectra were adapted from a study conducted by Laver and Hunt (1992). Each spectrum was labelled with numbers ranging from 1 (far left) to 7 (far right), with 4 symbolizing a neutral position. Contrasting statements were placed at opposite ends of each spectrum as indicated below, and each respondent was asked to indicate his or her own position, plus the positions of all three Manitoban parties.

Left	Right
Promote raising taxes to increase public services.	Promote cutting public services to cut taxes.
Support protection of the environment, even at the cost of economic growth.	Support economic growth, even at the cost of damage to the environment.
Believe it is better to protect civil rights even if it allows some criminals to go free.	Believe it is better to restrict some civil liberties to keep criminals off the streets.
Advocate that government should provide universal free health care.	Advocate that medical expenses should be paid by individuals and private insurance plans.
Advocate integration of the North American economies.	Advocate Canada's sovereignty over its own economy.
Believe government is better run "by the people", or the "grass roots".	Believe government is better left to politicians and experts.
Favour more progressive policies on matters like homosexuality, abortion and multiculturalism.	Favour less progressive policies on matters like homosexuality, abortion and multiculturalism.
Believe the federal government should take leadership in establishing national standards in matters like health care.	Believe the provinces should determine their own, individual provincial standards in matters like health care.
Left ("taking all aspects of policy into account")	Right ("taking all aspects of policy into account")

Average Spectrum Scores by Party

	NDP	Liberal Party	PC Party	All Respondents
Grass Roots vs. Expert Governance	3.07	3.63	3.17	3.25
Public Services vs. Tax Cuts	2.85	3.84	5.12	4.03
More Progressive vs. Less Progressive	2.59	3.10	4.24	3.36
Civil Rights vs. Criminal Prosecution	3.38	4.16	4.87	4.18
Environmental Protection vs. Economic Growth	2.56	3.37	3.77	3.24
Economic Continentalist vs. Protectionist	4.67	4.42	4.03	4.26
Centralized vs. Decentralized Federalism	2.19	2.84	3.67	2.95
Public vs. Private Provision of Health Care	1.93	2.68	3.74	2.84
Overall Left/Right Spectrum	2.33	3.89	5.00	3.74
	N=26	N=19	N=29	N=74

ATTITUDINAL DIFFERENCES

At this point, we should also note the standard by which we defined a substantive difference between the attitudes of various groups of candidates. While our study did not make use of statistical significance testing, an objective standard was established to define substantive attitudinal division. First, we examined the size of the attitudinal difference between the given groups of candidates. To reach this figure, we subtracted the smaller attitudinal score from the larger. If this difference was greater than 0.25, we then examined the standard deviation of each group's attitudes. If these figures were less than 0.700, we then searched for other, related attitudinal differences between the groups of candidates. If this search provided context and a logical explanation for the difference in attitudes, we then assumed that a substantive attitudinal division existed between the two groups. While not statistically-based, we are confident that this objective method is reliable, especially considering the small size of the population under study.

APPENDIX C

REGIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

With attention to electoral patterns and geographic location, constituencies were classified under the following headings. Due to the small number of returns and questions about representativeness, generalizations about respondents from Northern Manitoba, Brandon East, and Brandon West were kept to a minimum:

Northern Manitoba

Flin Flon
Interlake
Rupertsland
Swan River
The Pas
Thompson

North Winnipeg

Assiniboia
Burrows
Concordia
Elmwood
Fort Rouge
Inkster
Kildonan
Lord Roberts
Minto
Point Douglas
Radisson
River East
Rossmere
St. Boniface
St. James
St. Johns
The Maples
Transcona
Wellington
Wolseley

South Winnipeg

Charleswood
Fort Garry
Fort Whyte
Kirkfield
Riel
River Heights
Seine River
Southdale
St. Norbert
St. Vital
Tuxedo

Southwestern Manitoba

Arthur-Virden
Dauphin-Roblin
Minnedosa
Russell
Ste. Rose
Turtle Mountain

Southeastern Manitoba

Carman
Emerson
Gimli
Laverendrye
Lac du Bonnet
Lakeside
Morris
Pembina
Portage la Prairie
Selkirk
Springfield
Steinbach

Brandon East

Brandon East

Brandon West

Brandon West

URBAN/RURAL CLASSIFICATIONS

Constituencies were divided into three (3) categories. The first – “urban – Winnipeg” – included all constituencies listed above under “North Winnipeg” and “South Winnipeg”. The second – “urban – other” – included Thompson, Portage la Prairie, Brandon East, and Brandon West. All other constituencies were classified as “rural”.

APPENDIX D

PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATIVE COMMENTS

Comment 1:

I believe most politicians are in politics for the money. They do not think long term as a rule. They believe their first job is to get re-elected by spending other people's money.

Comment 2:

To be honest, I had basically quit the party before the election, with no intentions to volunteer as I disagree with too many of their policies. Seemed like an interesting opportunity, so I took them up.

Comment 3:

It is unfortunate that you do not fully understand the economics internationally. It is also unfortunate that you fail to realize the aggregate economic impact our primary sector producers have on the economy and the huge positive impact our agricultural sector has on the environment. If you did, you would have asked the questions in a different manner and different tone. You imply by your questions that the farm sector is still heavily subsidized. If you would do your homework, you would find that not to be the case. Expenditure on agriculture in the U.S.A. was 90 billion, while Canada has a budget of 1.1 billion for all agriculture programs, with 50% of this directed at environmental programs. Please check it out.

Comment 4:

At the time of the 2003 provincial election, I was still a high school student. Our provincial government is now broke and although many of these questions are valid, opposite outcomes will unfortunately be the result.

Comment 5:

Many generalizations which are somewhat difficult to respond to.

Comment 6:

Manitoba is grossly underserved by our Federal Government. We are a resource-rich province subjected to poor management and federal neglect. Federal transfer payments extract billions of dollars from Alberta and Ontario, often finding their way directly into Quebec coffers without thanks to the western provinces. Although federally, the Liberals have proven they can easily win, they often produce ill-considered legislation and trivialize protest generated in Western Canada.

Most Canadians have become cynical about all levels of government. We no longer vote for the best candidate but often opt for the lesser of three evils.

Boundaries commissions have restructured federal and provincial ridings to favour election success of incumbent parties and Western Canada has consistently been under-represented in Ottawa. A very high percentage of under-30 voters don't even make the effort to vote because they are convinced "nothing will change." Many have no faith or trust in the political system.

Comment 7:

Marijuana - legal yes but with restrictions... more so than tobacco. Marriage is a defined term... Legal union yes, change the definition of marriage no. Protect environment yes, clean-up environment no. Were you aware the water quality in our lake and stream is significantly better today than 100 years ago and that wild life (i.e. deer/beaver) are more plentiful than at any time recorded! Welfare (income assistance) rates and eligible educational/vocational programs need to increase but number of persons on long-term income assistance must be reduced. Health care expenditures are more than \$1000.00 higher per person in Manitoba than Newfoundland. Why? Answer/address that issue and that is where all other spending increases are financed! Day care subsidies need increasing but why not recognize the stay at home parent which in the long term would cost less! Farm subsidies currently mean the cheapest food in the world is found in Manitoba relative to income - a fact not appreciated by many. You must qualify "damage" to the environment. Currently it is considered illegal to remove a fallen tree from a stream (fish habitat!) I personally think its removal is an enhancement. True health and nutritional education/care is a national concern. Integration of economies: the NDP are forcing this by making integration an absolute through an uncompetitive environment yet the NDP and Liberals speak otherwise.

Comment 8:

Where are the questions regarding effective/efficient government?

Comment 9:

As a political science grad at the UofM, I hope this helps!

Comment 10:

Governments that spend more tax revenue than they receive cannot be considered to have balanced the budget. I am opposed to changing the definition of marriage but do not object to homosexuals receiving things like death benefits, tax splitting benefits, etc. if they can show they have been in a relationship for x number of years. I am opposed to same sex couples' adoption of children for the benefit of the child. Wind hydro generation to satisfy the Kyoto Accord will be much more of a cost than a benefit. Water generation of hydro is much cheaper and is readily available in Manitoba. It is also environmentally friendly.

Comment 11:

It seems like after talking to people they don't look for the best person any more. They look for whom is going to screw them the least. Also there seems to be a stigma attached to each group. NDP are for low income, social program, union voters. Conservatives are

big business, period!! (the rich voters). Liberals are in the middle: small and medium business, middle and lower income. When I was going door to door I heard a lot of complaints about politics in general. The ones that bothered me the most were: They didn't care any more -- we're all the same cheats, liars and crooks. The misprint in the Free Press about the Conservatives wanting to cut school funding to band, sports, etc.... One mother grabbed me and asked to explain to her 10-year-old why I wanted to cut money from his education. This all started with some self-righteous teacher getting her students to write a letter about the cuts to school funding. Teachers should keep their opinions to themselves -- mouth shut and eyes open -- and they would have seen the retraction in the FP. Whatever happened to doing what's right -- not 'politically right', just 'right'? Could it be that doing what is right is also the hardest thing to do? There is a stark difference between the New Democrats and the Conservatives: The PC Party wants to help you create your own future, while the NDP wants to give you a future they've created. The former offer hand-ups, while the latter offer hand-outs.

Comment 12:

I believe strongly that what is required in Manitoba is more wealth creation and less wealth redistribution. We need to find ways to lessen the tax burden. To me this means less government. I believe the problem Manitoba/Canada faces is too much top-down socialism. There is a need for more bottom-up democratic capitalism. Most of these problems are found at the federal level. Provinces need to be more self-governing with less interference from the federal level. Perhaps their taxation powers should be removed. I think this country needs a constitutional convention with the main parties being a cross-section of society rather than manipulating politicians. I would be in favor of more referendums and citizen initiatives. Manitoba/Canada is more like an oligarchy than a democracy. There needs to be a devolution of power with decisions made at the lowest level, i.e. citizens, to be more of a democracy. I believe preferential voting and/or proportional representation which more closely reflects the will of the people. I favor an equal, elected and effective federal Senate. Do we need ten provinces with 30 million people? Five provinces might make more sense. Do we need thirty federal government departments? Maybe all we need is about seven.

NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY COMMENTS

Comment 1:

Politics is a little more complex than taking a left or right ideological approach relating to specific issues or issues in general. Historical, cultural, social, and economic considerations need to be addressed when dealing with issues. Government is more about taking a pragmatic approach to being able to provide services to the citizens being governed with a holistic, sustainable perspective in mind. It is also imperative that a municipal, provincial and federal perspective as well as a humanistic perspective be given to these same public issues. Government is also about providing public service in an efficient manner as possible. That is, running a government is not the same as running a business, but it would seem without saying that governments must take a business-like approach to governance so that they are able to provide maximum services at affordable

costs. This means its citizens, who put these people (the government) in their positions in the first place. Good luck with this project. I would like to hear more about the results of this project...

Comment 2:

Unfortunately, my present party of membership (NDP) is not "left" enough for me. By that I mean concerned enough about the environment and too concerned with pushing economic development over environmental protection, particularly for water. Example: promotion of the hog industry as opposed to hog farming (that is, helping family farmers operate in a smaller sustainable manner) and government assistance to Maple Leaf and the McCain family which only served to further erode the family farms and the communities they support. Economic growth of one food industry in conjunction with diminished environmental standards regarding size, location, methods of storage and spreading of manure and disposal of dead livestock will have devastating consequences to our groundwater. Witness the rising pollution in Lake Winnipeg, the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and private rural wells just to mention a few. Good environmental stewardship can pay off in increased research, clean up technology and jobs, cleaner water, healthier people and animals, and lower health costs. I could go on... Good luck with your survey. I hope it will be of some value to folks at large.

Comment 3:

We should aim to serve with dignity and honesty.

Comment 4:

Well constructed questionnaire! Love to have a cc of the results.

Comment 5:

Political standards in this province have vastly improved since the imposition of a ban on union and corporate donations to political parties. The spring election in '03 was very honourably contested with a minimum of dirty tricks in marked contrast to 1995 (the vote-rigging scandal that led to the Inquiry) and 1999 (smear campaign orchestrated against the Interlake NDP candidate). Clean elections that focus on the issues will lend to greater interest in the public eye and higher turn-outs at the polls. Low road, American-style politics turn Canadians off. In general, Manitobans are very centrist in their way of thinking and will vote for politicians and parties who move to the middle of the political spectrum. People appreciate well-run public services and for the most part are prepared to pay the necessary taxes to have them. I personally feel that governments should focus their efforts on public health, education, the environment, and the maintenance of public infrastructure. When they start to put in place laws that limit the rights and freedoms of individuals, then "it's time for a change," as they say.

Comment 6:

Regarding a national vision: Ideally any search for identity in Canada must involve a renewed partnership with Quebec, with whom francophone and Acadian communities share a history and common language. Regarding health: We should create and take charge of health spaces such as community health centres that focus on primary services.

The prevention of sickness and the promotion of health must be linked directly to cultural and linguistic values. Regarding economic development: Our communities need to position themselves on the economic game board by establishing a clear and common vision shared by all partners, including public sector partners at municipal, provincial and national levels.

Comment 7:

Manitoba politics for the most part are very predictable, the cities and northern areas vote NDP and the rural South appears to subscribe to the Conservatives. I believe there is some evidence of swing to the centre of the road politics in rural areas, but it appears to be very slow. I enjoyed my two runs at the [censored] riding even though I lost both times... I feel the NDP has shifted its position to the right and is almost center of the road; I feel this position change has boded well for the election results of '99 and '03. I consider myself very fortunate to have been able to participate in this process and will cherish the memories for many years as well as the many friends I have made through the whole process.

Comment 8:

Some questions were very reductive and could have been better crafted. Lots of generalization, e.g. section on maintaining/decreasing spending in policy areas. Not just about how much to spend, but how to allocate resources more efficiently and/or target specific methods/programs in a given policy area.

Comment 9:

The establishment (media and business) have supported the Tories at the provincial level. There seems to be a move away from "dollar democracy". The new legislation of banning union and business donations to political parties has created a level playing field for politics in Manitoba. I do think Manitobans and most Canadians, as well, are following politics much closer because globalization, privatization and so-called 'free trade' have not been the panacea that they were led to believe. People are not accepting arguments or promises that come from Bay Street.

Comment 10:

Some of these questions clearly come close to identifying one since only about five people my age and gender ran in the last election. Please ensure that the answers remain confidential.

Comment 11:

I have read the accompanying letter and I trust this information will be used only for its intended purpose of assisting with understanding Manitoba politics. Any other use of this information must be requested prior to it taking place.

LIBERAL PARTY COMMENTS

Comment 1:

I am a fiscal conservative – but a social liberal with the exception of abortion and homosexuality. I strongly believe in our health care system and multiculturalism. Kyoto needs more evidence-base.

Comment 2:

The province needs to take responsibility to manage [federal funds] properly. I found your questions largely confining -- not essential. I trust this will assist you in your thesis. Good luck!

Comment 3:

An excellent survey. I would be most interested in learning your findings/conclusions...

Comment 4:

Disappointed in Manitoba's Election Act with fund raising and restriction to corporation giving. I.e. Unable to use aircraft available to remote communities! Feel the media coverage factors in to influence voters!

Comment 5:

When I decided to run for public office it was my intention from the outset to keep an open mind. I was ready to act as a "sounding board" for any variety of views and opinions and I prepared myself studiously for that task. I was however not prepared for the bleak ennui which appeared like a black hole before me. More often than not I was told point blank "I don't vote!" and the 48% voter turnout in my constituency served to underscore this opinion. I challenged these people by saying "get out and spoil or decline your ballot!" Perhaps some people took my advice. I will never know. The electorate has been so disconnected from the process that all that is left is inaction. "And so it ends not with a bang but with a whimper." There will be a hard lesson in this. One which we have failed to learn from the past.

Comment 6:

There should have been opportunity to express an opinion not on the form. For example there are other options other than "homosexuals should not be allowed to legally marry." I believe marriage is an institution of the church. The government has no business in church issues. I believe homosexual couples deserve the same constitutional rights as heterosexual couples. Leave it up to the churches whether or not they wish to perform marriage ceremonies for them. In "government should make greater effort to clean up the environment" there shouldn't have been the disclaimer of cutting back education or healthcare. There are many areas that could be cut back. As for health care expenses, if our country were to fund more preventative programs and make exercise and health regimes tax deductible, we would see an actual reduction in the need for services and funding to treat illnesses. Let's fix the boat instead of bailing it!

Comment 7:

Manitoban politics is not made by politicians to me, it seems, that it is more of its geographic location. Once upon a time, this place was occupied by creatures that is very active in one season and hibernate in the other. The people who inhabit this place seem to have acquired such practice or habit. They will one time go to the left then to the right and get confused in the process. They get dizzy and become stagnant. That's why in provincial elections we barely get more than 50% of the voters to vote. The truth is that voters here are crazy. For almost half a century, they keep on voting PC or NDP. And so when the other party is in power the other one can hibernate knowing when their season comes, the province is theirs. Did you ever notice that the NDP is more conservative than the PC? Thank you and good luck on your thesis or dissertation.

Comment 8:

I always welcome surveys. I feel they are a sound mechanism for political growth. Politics in Manitoba is geared for the uninformed. I ran in an area where 4.2 out of 10 voted and experienced a controlled media and 'done deal' attitude. Most voters responded by a 'I don't care' attitude and it reflected in the voter turnout. Since becoming a caucus member, I have gone against the grain of the party by suggesting the following: (a) tax the Americans, a PST on the US dollar exchange; (b) move the minimum wage to \$12.00/hour (become the Texas of Canada); (c) split the P.S.T. with businesses (cash flow); (d) if you drive safely for a full year, the government should pay your licence. MPI would save millions because Manitobans would be driving better; (e) match the family allowance so more parents would and could stay at home; (f) end the obligation to treaty Natives -- because of demographics they have to contribute to the PST; (g) the future is water, make the Yanks pay for Hydro and water; (h) end the free trade agreement -- the queen had the opportunity to become the most powerful woman if she would have said no to Reagan and Mulroney.

Comment 9:

What is the political affiliation of Jared Wesley, Duff Roblin Fellow? Certain questions, while carefully-worded, suggest a politically-motivated agenda.

Comment 10:

Section 3 was particularly frustrating because it was generally not possible to position the Manitoba Liberal Party accurately on what is an old paradigm and does not recognize the realities of the Knowledge Age, the Knowledge Age economy and the nature of what is required in modern provincial government.

Comment 11:

First of all, I would say that running for political office at a provincial level was a tremendous experience. The people I met were very interested in the position I put forth. I believe even though I was not successful as a candidate, I was successful in getting good debate happening... I believe that by running, I also created greater voter turnout. Both mainstream parties were concerned about the vote I might get and worked hard to get their voters out. I am concerned in Manitoba that the rural viewpoint is often not strongly put forth. Many people said to me, "You are the right person, but the wrong

party." If you didn't run Conservative in most rural ridings, you don't have much chance to get in. However, my leanings are closer to NDP so that is not an option. Rural areas need to learn to work effectively together, but difficult to get that to happen. I would like to say we need many more dollars for many more areas, but I have been a School Board member for too many years to come up with that. What we need is to be sure that the dollars are effectively targeted and utilized.

Comment 12:

I think that it is becoming harder to define traditional left/right wing policies of the three provincial parties. I think the province benefits when there are three strong parties. I found this an exercise in frustration. I resented being asked to choose "either" or "or". Call me an idealist, but the goal in good government is to be attentive to "all" and promote policies for the greater good... I'm a Liberal and I believe in a balanced approach on all issues. I'm broad-minded, generous and tolerant and hold the right of individual freedom in high regard. The only exception would be the exploitation of children or the disabled. I expressed "my" opinion in many questions as I did not want to be interpreted as: not caring, being wishy-washy, indecisive or a fence sitter. Ask me a fair question -- I'll give you a fair answer. Ask me a question designed to force me to respond negatively no matter what I choose and you're in for a verbal battle. In a true democracy, both [down-to-earth and expert thinking] are essential to good government. I consider myself down-to-earth, but I am smart enough to know when I need to call in the experts. Participation of grassroots is essential. Each elected official should be representing the grassroots. The challenge is to convince the majority of people at the grassroots to care enough to voice opinions and vote. I'm not anti-American -- I'm pro-Canadian... I believe it's possible to have both a positive provincial and Canadian identity. Manitobans receive more than our fair share of equalization payments. We just need to spend it more wisely.

APPENDIX E

CONSENSUS SCORES

Consensus scores were calculated for each index using a formula developed by Blake et al. (1991). The score is actually an index, itself, measuring the amount of internal party cohesion over specific policy issues. The figure is reached by calculating the “absolute value of 50 minus the percentage of respondents agreeing with a given statement.” (Blake et al., p. 143) As a result, each consensus score has a maximum value of 50, which would be reached only if everyone agreed (or disagreed) on the given item. If a majority was not reached in favour of any of the possible statements – i.e. if opinion was split between two or more options such that no single response received over 50 percent support – a score of ‘0’ was recorded, reflecting the lack of consensus on the issue.

		NDP	LIB	PC
POPULISM INDEX	AVERAGE CONSENSUS SCORE	8.4	7.9	9.6
In the long run, I'll put my trust in the simple down-to-earth thinking of ordinary people rather than the theories of experts and intellectuals.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	48.1%	61.9%	42.4%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	48.1%	28.6%	57.6%
	Neutral / No Opinion	3.7%	9.5%	0.0%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	0	11.9	7.6
We could probably solve most of our big political problems if government could actually be brought back to the people at the grassroots.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	37.0%	42.9%	33.3%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	63.0%	47.6%	66.7%
	Neutral / No Opinion	0.0%	9.5%	0.0%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	13.0	0.0	16.7
There should be a referendum on all amendments to the constitution.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	66.7%	61.9%	54.5%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	33.3%	38.1%	45.5%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	16.7	11.9	4.5

		NDP	LIB	PC
INDIVIDUALISM INDEX	AVERAGE CONSENSUS SCORE	32.7	16.7	19.7
Let's face it, most unemployed people could find a job if they really wanted to.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	81.5%	76.2%	51.5%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	14.8%	19.0%	48.5%
	Neutral / No Opinion	3.7%	4.8%	0.0%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	31.5	26.2	1.5
The government ought to make sure that everyone has a decent standard of living.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	14.8%	33.3%	60.6%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	85.2%	66.7%	39.4%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	35.2	16.7	10.6
Governments should allow privately-owned companies to deliver some health care services in Canada.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	81.5%	42.9%	3.0%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	11.1%	57.1%	97.0%
	Neutral / No Opinion	7.4%	0.0%	0.0%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	31.5	7.1	47.0

WELFARE INDEX	AVERAGE CONSENSUS SCORE	41.4	19.8	5.5
A lot of the welfare and social security programs that we have now are unnecessary.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	92.6%	71.4%	51.5%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	7.4%	23.8%	48.5%
	Neutral / No Opinion	0.0%	4.8%	0.0%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	42.6	21.4	1.5
Social programs should remain universal.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	11.1%	23.8%	36.4%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	88.9%	76.2%	63.6%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	38.9	26.2	13.6
	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	7.4%	38.1%	51.5%
The government should see that everyone has adequate housing.	Agree / Strongly Agree	92.6%	61.9%	45.5%
	Neutral / No Opinion	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	42.6	11.9	1.5

MORALISM INDEX	AVERAGE CONSENSUS SCORE	20.4	6.4	17.7
Our society has become too permissive.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	74.1%	66.7%	27.3%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	22.2%	28.6%	72.7%
	Neutral / No Opinion	3.7%	4.8%	0.0%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	24.1	16.7	22.7
This country would have far fewer problems if there were more emphasis on family values.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	66.7%	52.4%	36.4%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	33.3%	47.6%	63.6%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	16.7	2.4	13.6
	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	25.9%	42.9%	66.7%
The possession of small amounts of marijuana for personal use should be legalized.	Agree / Strongly Agree	70.4%	47.6%	33.3%
	Neutral / No Opinion	3.7%	9.5%	0.0%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	20.4	0.0	16.7

CIVIL LIBERTIES INDEX	AVERAGE CONSENSUS SCORE	25.3	14.3	11.6
For the most part, discrimination in our society has decreased, making most "affirmative action" programs out-of-date.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	81.5%	66.7%	54.5%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	18.5%	33.3%	42.4%
	Neutral / No Opinion	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	31.5	16.7	4.5
Certain restrictions on civil rights would be acceptable if it would help police reduce crime.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	70.4%	76.2%	54.5%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	29.6%	23.8%	45.5%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	20.4	26.2	4.5
	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	22.2%	38.1%	75.8%
Homosexual couples should be allowed to be legally married.	Agree / Strongly Agree	74.1%	42.9%	18.2%
	Neutral / No Opinion	3.7%	19.0%	6.1%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	24.1	0.0	25.8

ENVIRONMENTALISM INDEX	AVERAGE CONSENSUS SCORE	32.7	35.7	10.1
Global warming is not as big a problem as environmentalists would have us believe.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	92.6%	85.7%	48.5%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	3.7%	14.3%	48.5%
	Neutral / No Opinion	3.7%	0.0%	3.0%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	42.6	35.7	0.0

		NDP	LIB	PC
The government should make a greater effort to clean-up the environment, even if this means making cut-backs to social programs like education and health.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	66.7%	76.2%	78.8%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	25.9%	14.3%	21.2%
	Neutral / No Opinion	7.4%	9.5%	0.0%
	CONSENSUS SCORE	16.7	26.2	28.8
The government should enforce stricter standards on private industry to improve their environmental practices.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	11.1%	4.8%	48.5%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	88.9%	95.2%	51.5%
	Neutral / No Opinion			
	CONSENSUS SCORE	38.9	45.2	1.5

CONTINENTALISM INDEX		AVERAGE CONSENSUS SCORE	19.8	0.8	21.7
We must ensure an independent Canada even if that were to mean a lower standard of living for Canadians.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	44.4%	47.6%	63.6%	
	Agree / Strongly Agree	44.4%	42.9%	30.3%	
	Neutral / No Opinion	11.1%	9.5%	6.1%	
	CONSENSUS SCORE	0	0.0	13.6	
Canada must take steps to reduce American influence on its culture and mass media.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	22.2%	42.9%	75.8%	
	Agree / Strongly Agree	77.8%	47.6%	24.2%	
	Neutral / No Opinion	0.0%	9.5%	0.0%	
	CONSENSUS SCORE	27.8	0.0	25.8	
The North American Free Trade Agreement has been good for Manitoba.	Disagree / Strongly Disagree	81.5%	52.4%	21.2%	
	Agree / Strongly Agree	14.8%	47.6%	75.8%	
	Neutral / No Opinion	3.7%	0.0%	3.0%	
	CONSENSUS SCORE	31.5	2.4	25.8	

OVERALL AVERAGE CONSENSUS SCORE		25.8	14.5	13.7
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