Cultural Scenes and Voting Patterns in Canada

Daniel Silver *University of Toronto*
Diana Miller *University of Toronto*

Research on voting behaviour has been increasingly concerned with how local spatial context matters to political life. While early research investigated place and politics primarily by comparing large political regions like states or provinces (Blake, 1972), a new and invigorating area of inquiry shows that local environments, like cities and neighbourhoods, are also politically salient, correlating with variables like voter turnout and aggregate voting patterns (Johnston, 1983; Oliver, 2001; Sellers, 2013). Furthermore, when political attitudes are measured at these local levels, they often cluster in ways that transcend provincial boundaries (Henderson, 2004), with some places in Northern Ontario, for example, being more ideologically similar to places in the Atlantic provinces than they are to Southern Ontario.

These empirical findings clearly indicate a general connection between local spatial context and aggregate voting behaviour. However, there has been less attention to what substantive properties of localities lie behind this connection. In this note, we draw on an emerging body of research in cultural and urban sociology that investigates neighbourhood "scenes"—the lifestyle of a place and the values it affirms or opposes (Silver et al., 2010)—to suggest that scenes are important factors to consider in accounting for the link between place and politics. We then present statistical evidence that spatial differences in voting are related to the qualitative expressive characteristics of localities.

Acknowledgments: The authors would like to thank Terry Nichols Clark, Chris Cochrane, Matt Patterson and the journal's three anonymous reviewers for insightful comments on earlier drafts of this manuscript. Both authors contributed equally to this article. This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

Daniel Silver, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, 725 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5S 2J4, Email: dsilver@utsc.utoronto.ca
Diana Miller, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, 725 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5S 2J4, Email: diana.miller@utoronto.ca

Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique
Page 1 of 26 doi:10.1017/S0008423914000778
© 2014 Canadian Political Science Association (l'Association canadienne de science politique) and/et la Société québécoise de science politique

We measure variation in local scenes using an original national database of local Canadian amenities, such as art galleries, churches, antique shops and cafés. This amenities database was compiled from Statistics Canada's (2008) Canadian Business Patterns and Yellow Pages Canada's (2009) online business directories. Although a scene or lifestyle is not reducible to a set of amenities, amenities are indicators of scenes to the extent that they suggest the practices and experiences that are available in a space. The activity of antiquing generates an empirical indicator: a business listing for an antique dealer, with more antique dealers presumably indicating greater opportunities to participate in the activity of antiquing. Our database covers all of Canada's electoral districts and includes over 1800 types of amenities, such as art galleries, churches, body piercing studios, nightclubs, nature parks, campgrounds, and much more. We code these amenities along 16 dimensions of cultural meaning they support, such as self-expression, tradition, glamour or transgression, and merge this information with sociodemographic information from Statistics Canada (2008) and voting data from Elections Canada (2004; 2006; 2008; and 2011). We find that differences in scenes are significantly correlated with aggregate differences in voting in Canada between 2004 and 2011. In short, ridings with higher-than-average shares of Conservative votes offer different experiences and lifestyles compared with ridings with higher shares of votes for the Liberal party and the New Democratic Party (NDP).

Our approach offers at least two specific advantages in theorizing space and politics. First, it is *spatially flexible,* treating electoral districts (EDs) as the unit of analysis and empirically investigating their similarities and differences, rather than assuming that their cultural characteristics group neatly along provincial boundaries. This spatial flexibility allows us to compare geographically disparate places with similar scenes and ask whether they have similar political sensibilities, which is not possible when exclusively analyzing regions drawn along traditional political boundaries. Our approach is also *meaning centred,* based on qualitative coding that seeks to capture cultural and lifestyle differences across places. Rather than establishing that spatial differences exist and then attributing those differences to imagined and undertheorized "cultural differences" between places, our approach offers a first step in parsing out what those cultural differences consist in and which specific cultural differences are related to spatial variation in voting patterns.

Scenes and Regionalism in Voting Behaviour

The death of distance and the resurrection of place. The 1970s saw fairly sustained investigations into the sources of regional differences in Canadian voting, as reviewed by Gidengil and colleagues (1999). This

Abstract. Extending recent social science work using the concept of "scene" into politics, this paper investigates connections between cultural variation and political variation across Canadian localities. First, we introduce the notion of "scene." Then, using a national database of local amenities (with some 1800 categories and 1.6 million data points), we show that key dimensions of cultural meaning account for significant differences in voting patterns in recent Canadian elections. In particular, electoral districts with scenes that suggest themes of self-expression are associated with support for left-leaning parties, while scenes that support locality and corporateness are associated with the right. We conclude with suggestions for pursuing hypotheses about potential mechanisms driving these associations.

Résumé. Dans le but de prolonger les études en sciences sociales qui examinent l'utilisation de la notion de «scène » dans la sphère politique, nous étudions les liens entre la variation culturelle et la variation politique dans les localités canadiennes. Nous commençons par définir la notion de «scène». Nous poursuivons en utilisant une base de données nationale d'équipements (contenant environ 1800 catégories et 1,6 millions points de données) pour démontrer que les éléments culturellement significatifs des circonscriptions électorales expliquent les différences significatives notées dans les habitudes de vote aux élections canadiennes récentes. En particulier, nous observons que les circonscriptions électorales avec des scènes qui évoquent les thèmes de l'expression de soi sont associées avec le soutien de partis de gauche, tandis que les scènes qui soutiennent la localité et image de marque sont associées à des partis de droite. Nous terminons avec quelques suggestions qui permettraient d'approfondir les hypothèses concernant les mécanismes potentiels qui sous-tendent ces associations.

work often found regionalism to be one of the strongest factors driving Canadian politics, confirming in the process the long-standing view that region and religion "supersede class almost entirely as factors differentiating the support for national parties" in Canada (Alford, 1963: xi). Despite this important work, some researchers have expressed skepticism about what regional variations in voting actually mean; if "regionalism" is simply what is left over after controlling for individual-level variables, we lack a positive or meaning-based account of how place matters politically (Books and Prysby, 1988; Elkins and Simeon, 1979; Simeon, 1977).

One way to address these potential problems in regional analysis is to start from a more general standpoint: not from large, predefined geographical entities (like provinces or states), but from the *notion* of spatial context. Matthews (1983: 24–25), Schwartz (1974: 309), Cutler (2007) and Cochrane and Perrella (2012) are exemplary in this regard, in defining "region" as the spatial environment around an individual and "regionalism" as the social-psychological attachment to people, places and practices that corresponds to distinctive political attitudes and behaviours. This more general starting point implies less of a focus on the bare *fact* of spatial variation in political outcomes and more concern with specific *content* of such variation. It also helps us explain how local cultural and political context continues to matter, despite increases in communications technologies that have resulted in the so-called "death of distance" (Cairncross, 2001).

This approach to regionalism permits flexibility in the levels and units of analysis. Cochrane and Perrella (2012) thus find the urban-rural divide cuts across provincial boundaries and that unemployment levels of local constituencies strongly influence Canadian voters' attitudes toward economic policy, regardless of their provinces. Henderson (2004: 603), like us, analyzes the aggregate characteristic of Canadian constituencies. She finds that the country clusters into nine non-contiguous Canadian "regions" based on a host of shared political – ideological attributes. In the US context, Silver and colleagues (2011) show that, regardless of the state (and income, education, religion, and more), counties with more transgressive amenities (such as tattoo parlors, body piercing studios) tend to have lower Republican vote shares while counties with more "blue blood" amenities (like golf and country clubs) tend to have higher Republican votes shares. These analyses demonstrate that political trends at the provincial or state level obscure rich and interesting variation, which become visible only at lower levels of analysis. This research also takes an important step by identifying specific cultural and ideological characteristics of constituencies and counties that might underlie spatial variation in voting.

Our analysis here continues in this vein. We argue that research on region and politics can benefit from a growing body of academic research that integrates cultural dimensions into conventional analyses of place and migration (Gieryn, 2000; Molotch, 2011). Rich ethnographic research reveals what many of us already know intuitively: that the expressively laden character of cities and neighbourhoods is revealed in sidewalks (Duneier, 2000), baseball parks (Borer, 2008), blues clubs (Grazian, 2005), bumper stickers (Suttles, 1984), and more. Large-scale quantitative and comparative research uses indicators like juice bars, Birckenstock stores, cafés and opera houses to provide a systematic and consistent basis for comparing qualitatively different places. This research consistently shows that lifestyle differences strongly predict outcomes as diverse as population and sub-population changes, crime rates, and job and income growth (Clark, 2004; Falck et al., 2010; Kaufman and Kaliner, 2011; Kirk and Papachristos, 2011; Silver et al., 2011; Silver and Miller, 2013). If local cultures matter for migration, economic factors and crime, they very likely matter for politics too.

The Scenescape. Implicit in this cultural approach to spatial context is the idea that places differ sharply in the styles of life they embody and project; they have different "scenes" (Silver et al., 2010), some comprised of late night dance clubs, risqué clothing and loud music, some of church picnics and well-kept lawns. A place with a scene that encourages glamour, personal self-expression and transgression differs from one that promotes tradition, neighbourliness and local authenticity. A core

concern of scenes analysis is thus to discern and compare the range of *meanings* embedded in places.

Much work in the scenes perspective begins from a core heuristic that codifies an array of dimensions of meaning, like glamour or self-expression or tradition (Silver and colleagues, 2010, provide more detail on how these dimensions were developed and defined). These dimensions are not meant to be exhaustive but rather to provide a flexible yet stable basis for empirically measuring the qualitative meanings embedded in places and comparing those meanings across disparate locales. The themes in the scenes heuristic are drawn from classical social and cultural theory, as well as contemporary urban and community studies, much of which has joined the broader social sciences in making a "cultural turn." Starting from this heuristic, researchers can make additions, subtractions, or combinations depending on specific research questions. Table 1 summarizes the 16 dimensions on which our measures of scenes are based, along with some of the amenities most strongly associated with them.

The analytical value of a scenes perspective is considerable. Three core general ideas are *holism*, *multi-dimensionality* and *combinatorial thinking* (developed in more detail in Silver and Clark, forthcoming). In contrast to approaches that analyze one or a few indicators to get a read on a locality's cultural characteristics, *holism* implies that no single amenity or activity makes the scene; collections, mixes and sets of practice differentiate one scene from another. Hence our measures of scenes combine thousands of amenity indicators. In contrast to approaches that differentiate unitary cultural types (such as bourgeois or bohemian, *Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft*, and so forth), multi-dimensionality implies analyzing the multiple dimensions of meaning at work in any given scene. One scene may simultaneously affirm many qualities. Hence the many dimensions in our heuristic. *Combinatorial thinking* results in the "same" dimension (such as local authenticity) acquiring different meanings when joined with others (such as transgression or neighbourliness) to produce different overall scenes. Thus, any given scene is a specific configuration of abstract dimensions and, as these vary, so does the scene. The result is a set of techniques for discerning similarities and differences in the qualitative characteristics of places and for formulating propositions about their sources and consequences.

For politics more specifically, scenes analysis has much to offer. The approach suggests a return to classical ideas from Aristotle to Montesquieu about the embeddedness of political life in local customs, habits and manners. But it provides contemporary concepts and methods for investigating that correlation in specific rather than vague terms. By attending to local cultural variation, a scenes approach also sensitizes political analysis not only to contextual variation but also to the interplay between multiple contexts and levels. Individuals embedded in different scenic

contexts may differ, just as similar neighbourhood scenes surrounded by different urban or regional cultures may. Both—and rather than either—or is a central principle of our way of thinking.

This concept of "scene" has been used in a growing body of research to investigate the patterns and consequences of the cultural life of cities and places, often measured by amenities. Thus, Navarro (2012) uses amenities to map and compare Spanish cities in terms of how conventional or unconventional their scenes are, showing that cultural differences often are not reducible to other socio-economic differences. Navarro and colleagues (2012) extend this work to show that significant economic development trajectories of Spanish cities attach to scene variations. In France, Sawyer (2011) uses amenities to map the scenes of Paris, showing that Parisian scenes are organized polycentrically rather than in terms of the classical "centre-periphery" divide and drawing out the political implications of this fact for the city's ambitious *Grand Paris* project. Buin and colleagues (2011) map Seoul's scenes in terms of how glamorous, bohemian, traditional and ethnic they are, finding significant differences across the city and analyzing not only the demographic characteristics but also the values and identities of the people who live in Seoul's various scenes. Silver and colleagues (2010) show significant regional and metropolitan differences in US scenes, isolate some of the major determinants of "bohemian scenes" and demonstrate that bohemian scenes impact growth differently in Chicago than in New York and Los Angeles. Silver and colleagues (2011) build on this work to show that scenes are significant drivers of economic growth, compared to other major factors, like education, density, technology, and the like. Silver and Miller (2012) show that in Canada "the artistic dividend"—general economic growth associated with artist clusters—is strongly mediated by the presence of a scene that supports artistic work; outside such scenes, arts clusters have weak or no impact on wage growth.

This body of research clearly indicates at least two things: first, that cultural, meaning-laden aspects of life matter in measurable and often surprising ways; and second, that it is possible to quantify the cultural qualities that a space offers and to compare those qualities across neighbourhoods, cities and states or provinces. Our aim in this article is not a full demonstration of the range of political analyses opened up by the scenes perspective. It is, rather, to extend these two points into the study of Canadian politics by showing that Canadian voting patterns do to some extent map onto the Canadian scenescape and that there are thus substantive overlaps between local Canadian culture and politics.

Methods

Measuring the Scene. To quantitatively measure the "scene" of a place, we use an original dataset of Canadian amenities. These amenities include for-profit businesses (such as sushi restaurants, retail stores, bars, graphic design firms) and non-profit groups and organizations (such as schools, churches, public parks). Our data come from two sources: the online Canadian Yellow Pages (YP) listings, which we downloaded in 2009 using PageRaptor software, and the Canadian Census of Business (2008), also referred to as Canadian Business Patterns (CBP). In total, these two sources provide approximately 1800 amenity categories. We organize our data by electoral district (ED).[1] Our raw data include a count of how many amenities of each type exist in each electoral district; for example, how many lawyers' offices, women's organizations and cafés there are in Niagara West-Glanbrook.[2]

We transformed these raw counts of amenities into meaningful measures of a scenescape through qualitative coding. For each of the 1800 amenity types, both authors assigned a score on 16 qualitative dimensions derived from classical social and cultural theory, such as traditional legitimacy, glamorous theatricality, local authenticity, and the like, following detailed guidelines and using a step-by-step coding chart. This coding proceeded in steps as follows. First, we met to discuss the conceptual definitions of each category, ensuring that our understandings of these definitions were shared and developing a coding guide, including a decision tree, to guide our coding decisions. Second, working separately, each author assigned a score for each amenity on each dimension. Finally, we compared our coding, working through one section at a time (such as looking at retail amenities one week, health care amenities the next, and so on). For each section, intercoder reliability was generally .75 or higher. In the few instances where intercoder reliability was lower, we met to compare coding decisions and to discuss and resolve differences. The final codes are an average of the scores assigned by both authors. Table 1 provides an illustrative sample of amenities rated highly for each dimension.[3]

After coding was complete, we calculated a "performance score" for each ED for each dimension. We did this by multiplying the number of amenities in a given category by that category's score on each dimension, then summing all of the scores from one dimension and dividing by the total number of amenities in that ED. The resulting performance score provides an overall measure of how strongly a particular space affirms or opposes a particular dimension, for example, how traditional, self-expressive, formal, glamorous or rationalist an area is. In our analysis, we show how these individual scenes dimensions are related to patterns in voting.

TABLE 1
Dimensions, Coding Questions, and Associated Amenities

Legitimacy		
The type of legitimacy promoted by a scene consists in the way it affirms or resists some basis of moral authority, some standard of ethically right or wrong action.		
Dimension	**Positive**	**Examples of highly-rated amenities**
	Do the activities associated with [insert name of amenity here] assert that the right way to behave is…	
Traditional	…according to heritage and/or the models provided by exemplary figures from the past?	Antique Dealers, Stamps for Collectors, Art Restorations, Calligraphers, Picture Restoring, Bibles, Cemeteries, Crests, Genealogy, Archives, Etiquette, Ethics and Protocol Lessons, Heritage Buildings Consultants, Antique and Classic Cars, Churches and Religious Organizations, Rare Book Dealers, Synagogues, Elementary Schools, Museums, Mausoleums, Historic and Heritage Sites, Libraries
Utilitarian	…to calculatively extract profit, especially for oneself, pursue disciplined, regular work, efficient consumption, and/or delay gratification ?	Money Transfer, Money Order and Services, Productivity Consultants, Internet—Electronic Commerce Solutions Providers, Business Brokers, Business and Trade Organizations, Convenience Stores, Investment Advice, Car Dealers, Advertising Agencies, Business Associations, Gas Stations, Corporate and Institutional Banking Industry, Investment Banking and Services, Oil and Gas Development and Exploration, Mining Companies, Management Training and Development, Business Centres
Egalitarian	…according to norms of universal, reciprocal respect for all persons and peoples?	Public Libraries, Women's Organizations and Services, Social and Human Service Organizations, Social Workers, Social Housing, Courts of Law, Child and Youth Services, Community Food Services, Local Credit Unions, Elementary and Secondary Schools, Community Colleges, Social Advocacy Organizations, Services for the Elderly and Persons with Disabilities, Community Housing Services, Civic and Social Organizations
Self Expressive	…in your own way, originally, uniquely, spontaneously, and/or creatively?	Artists—Fine Arts, Decals, Schools—Dramatic Art and Speech, Tattooing, Piercing and Body Art, Fine Arts Schools, Musical Groups, Interior Design Services, Yoga Instruction, Holistic Health Care Services, Arts and Cultural

		Organizations, Scrapbooking, Arts and Crafts Fairs, Esoteric Services, Art Galleries, Pottery Classes, Cosmetics, Beauty Supplies and Perfume Stores, Musical Theatre and Opera Companies, Music Stores, Record Production, Sound Recording Studios, Theatre, Independent Artists, Writers, and Performers, Dance Companies, Meditation,
Charismatic	…determined by the aura around a great leader, religious figure, or star?	Advertising—Motion Picture, Designers—Apparel, Haute Couture, Art Galleries, Dealers and Consultants, Fashion Show Producers, Monuments, Cinemas, Fine Art Schools, Cosmetics and Beauty Supply Stores, Sporting Goods, Spectator Sports, Festivals, Churches and Other Places of Worship, Bibles, Beauty Salons, Fashion Stylists and Consultants, Talent Agencies, Modeling Agencies, Operas, Museums, Circus Companies, Music Stores, Movie Theatres, Sports Cards and Collectibles, Record Production, Sound Recording Studios, Dance Companies, Musical Groups and Artists, Performing Arts Companies,

Theatricality

The type of theatricality promoted by a scene consists in the way it affirms or resists some style of appearance, some way of seeing and being seen.

Dimension	**Positive**	**Examples of associated amenities**
	Do the activities associated with [insert name of amenity here] assert that the appropriate way to display oneself is…	
Glamorous	…as shining out, glittering, like gold, fashionably, sparkling?	Schools—Hairdressing and Esthetics, Modeling Agencies, Fashion Show Producers, Pearls, Precious and Semi-Precious Stones, Fashion Stylists and Consultants, Haute Couture, Jewellers—Retail, Musical Theater and Opera Companies, Night Clubs, Interior Design Services, Cosmetics, Beauty Supplies and Perfume Stores, Theatre Companies, Dance Companies, Opera Companies, Performing Arts Companies, Art Dealers, Beauty Salons, Modeling Schools, Designers—Apparel, Diamonds, Art Galleries, Nail Salons and Services, Boutiques
Formal	…according to ceremonial and/ritualized, often codified standards of appearance or behavior	Clergy, Consulates and Other Foreign Government Representatives, Neckwear, Caps and Gowns, Tuxedos, Etiquette, Ethics and Protocol Lessons, Bridal

Continued

		Shops, China, Crystal and Glassware—Retail, Opera Companies, Maids' and Butlers' Service, Formal Wear, Night Clubs, Fur Stores, Offices of Lawyers, Limousine Services, Law Courts, Golf Courses and Country Clubs, Corporate and Institutional Banking Industry, Offices of Accountants
Transgressive	….as offending mainstream culture and values?	Sex Shops, Entertainment—Adult, Tattooing, Piercing and Body Art, Costumes—Masquerade and Theatrical, Casinos, Nudist Parks, Hemp Stores, Smoke Shop, Escort Services, Cabarets, Discothèques, Leather Clothing—Retail, Motorcycles,
Neighbourly	…as warmly offering intimate, close, personal connection?	Religious Goods, Libraries, Churches and Other Places of Worship, Religious Organizations, Schools—Academic-Elementary and Secondary, Schools—Academic, Nursery and Kindergarten, Flea Markets, Community Transport and Carpooling, Picnic Grounds, Clubs, Greeting Cards, Fruit Baskets, Farmers Markets, Arts and Crafts Markets, Coffee Houses, Picnic Grounds, Athletic Organizations, Patios, Decks, Hockey Clubs and Leagues, Skating Rinks, Bingo Halls, Bridge Clubs, Youth Organizations and Centres, Pubs and Taverns, Bowling, Public Swimming Pools
Exhibitionistic	…as a body on display, rather than for onès personality or other individual, non-physical attributes?	Modeling Agencies, Escort Service, Sex Shops, Entertainment—Adult, Nudists Parks, Fashion Show Producers, Night Clubs, Automobile Customizing and Detailing, Discotheques, Modeling Schools.

Authenticity

The type of authenticity promoted by a scene consists in the way it affirms or resists some way to be real or genuine rather than fake or phony.

Dimension	Positive	Examples of associated amenities
	Do the activities associated with [insert name of amenity here] assert that being real rather than fake comes from…	
Local	…distinct local roots, a particular place with its own organic customs and practices?	Farmers Markets, Microbreweries, First Nations Goods, Western Apparel, Flags and Banners, Bed and Breakfasts, Aboriginal Organizations, Community Care Facilities, Nursery Stores and Garden Centres, Historic and Heritage Sites, Wineries, Sightseeing, Sports Teams and Clubs, Farming, Religious Organizations, Lobster Suppers, Historical Places, Antique Shops, Arts and Crafts Schools, Wineries, Maple Sugar Camps, Bag Pipers, Kilt Makers, Nature Centres, Whale Watching,

Ethnic	… ethnic roots, unadulterated by foreign traits?	Tapas, Sushi, Thai Food, Chinese Foods, Mexican Foods, Oriental Goods, First Nations Organizations, Aboriginal Organizations and Services
Corporate	…corporate brands, logos, culture, standardization?	Trade Mark Agents—Registered, Trade Mark Development and Searching, Corporate Image Development Service, New Car Dealers, Advertising Agencies, Department Stores, Warehouse Clubs and Superstores, Fashion Show Producers, Marketing Consultants, Handbags—Retail, Haute Couture, Media Buying Agencies, Antique and Classic Cars, Sports Stadiums, Public Relations Services, Marketing Research, Sporting Goods Stores, Shoe Stores, Amusement and Theme Parks, Commercial Banking Industry, Insurance Industries, Sportswear—Retail, Business Centres,
State	…citizenship, in being a member of a nation and participant in civic life?	Flags and Banners, Consulates and Other Foreign Government Representatives, Elected Government Representatives, Embassies, Government Relations Consultants, Welcoming Service for Newcomers, Immigration and Naturalization Consultants, Passport and Visa Services, Military Goods, Political Organizations, Federal Labour and Employment Services, Urban Transit Systems, Defense Services, Law Courts, Police Services, Hospitals, City Hall, Civic and Social Organizations, Social Housing, Community Food Services, Universities, Public Schools, Libraries, Immigration Services, Foreign Affairs, Child and Youth Services, Individual and Family Services
Rational	… cognitive understanding, calculation, rational planning, exercise of the mind?	Encyclopedias, Telescopes, Microscopes, Astronomy, Consultants (many types), Engineers (many types), Laboratories, Robotics, Insurance Agents, Stock Brokers, Accounting, Universities, Geophysical Surveys and Mapping, Technical Schools, Law Courts, Libraries, Legal Offices, R&D, Geologists, Astronomers, Universities, Community Colleges, Geophysicists, Archaeologists, Detective Agencies, Industrial Designers, Economic Research and Analysis, Technologists

Continued

Natural	...being natural, arising spontaneously, free from willful planning or social intervention?	Nudists Parks, Fishing and Hunting, Canoe Trip Outfitters, Nature Centres, Nature Parks, Naturopaths, Yoga, Natural and Organic Foods, Organic Products, aromatherapy, Wilderness Outfitters—Guides and Tours, Trail Rides, Campgrounds, Farms, Orchards, Rafting Excursions, Snowmobile Centres, Hay Rides, Recreational Trails, Orange Groves, Camps and Campgrounds, Psychoanalysis, Tents, Camping Equipment, Fishing Parties, Canoes and Kayaks, Holistic Health Services, Meditation, Hemp Products

Note. This table shows questions coders asked themselves as they scored each amenity along each of the 16 dimensions of scenes as well as samples of some of the amenities (out of over 1800) rated highly on each dimension. Note that amenities were weighted both positively and negatively on each dimension, but this table only shows examples of positive weightings.

Control variables. Even if the local scenescape is correlated with collective voting patterns, scenes are clearly part of a broader suite of factors that distinguish Canadian communities from one another politically, such as income, education and language. Such factors might well render spurious any apparent correlation between scenes and voting. We thus include in our analysis variables that are well-established correlates of voting. As our primary interest is in scenes, we consider these variables controls.

Our first set of control variables includes region, ED population, income, education and non-official language speakers. Our regional control variables include dummy variables for the "5-region" Canada, divided into the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies, and British Columbia (Elkins and Simeon, 1979; Schwartz, 1974: 5). Ontario is the reference category. Traditional regions continue to be strong predictors of party voting, with the Conservative party (CPC) base in the Prairies and the Liberals in Canada's urban centres (Cochrane and Perrella, 2012; Gidengil et al., 1999).

Our measures of ED population, income, education and non-official language speakers are all taken from the 2006 Canadian Census of population. Our measure of ED population is the number of people living in each ED. Our income measure is median ED income. Our education measure is the percentage of ED population with a university bachelor's degree or higher. Education has been a consistent predictor of Liberal party support, while income is significantly, if weakly, associated with typically Conservative party voting (Gidengil et al.,1999). Our measure of non-official language speakers is the percentage of people in an ED reporting that their mother tongue is neither French nor English.

As our concept of "scene" refers to the lifestyle of a place, which includes both the experiences made available by the amenities therein and the attitudes of the people living there, we would ideally like to include aggregate measures of the political and ideological attitudes of people in each constituency. Because we have no direct measure of these attitudes, we instead control for the presence of specific demographic indicators that suggest lifestyle preferences or affiliations: the proportion of non-religious Canadians, single (never married) Canadians, owned (as opposed to rented) dwellings and the working class in each ED.

We include these variables to assess the degree to which associations between scenes and voting are reducible to demographically rooted individual preferences, even when considering an extended range of factors.[4] Across a number of especially post-industrial societies, religiosity versus secularism has become a major source of the division between the right and the left (Gelman, 2008). We also include the percentage of singles and rented dwellings in a constituency, as young and unattached voters likely have lifestyles and priorities that differ from homeowners and families. And although the working class is not a unified group or

homogenous voting bloc (Johnston, 1987), places with high proportions of people employed in working-class occupation might have symbolic attachments, moral convictions and material interests that are connected with distinctive politics. We include this working-class variable to investigate this possibility.

Dependent variables. Our dependent variables are the percentage of the vote that each major, national party (that is, the Liberals, the Conservatives, and the New Democratic Party) received in each riding. These variables are calculated using election results from four different points in time: the 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2011 election years.

Although our dependent variables are measured at four time points, we measure our independent and control variables at a single point in time. Our preliminary analysis indicated that the aggregate characteristics of geographic spaces, including scenes and their general demographic profiles, changed very little from 2004–2011, so little, in fact, that the correlation between observations of the same variable in different years tended to be .96 or higher. Between 2004 and 2011, many individuals moved and many businesses opened and closed; however, these changes had little effect on the aggregate characteristics of Canada's EDs. For this reason, we treat the "scene" and the aggregate demographic characteristics of a constituency as fixed. We investigate the associations between ED scenes and voting patterns using OLS regression, and account for potential differences over time by including fixed effects for each year in our models

Results

We begin with a factor analysis of the 16 scenes dimensions, shown in Table 2. We do this to demonstrate that our qualitative coding of amenities is, in fact, a meaningful way to measure the cultural characteristics of local scenes. Dimensions such as glamour, neighbourliness and utilitarianism are not spread haphazardly or randomly throughout Canadian constituencies. Instead, our coding categories cluster in ways that suggest holistic and thematically consistent scenes.

CBP Factor 2, for example, combines charisma, self-expression, glamour, ethnic authenticity and natural authenticity. These themes suggest a space heavy in the visual and performing arts, perhaps with a slightly bohemian lifestyle component. Predictably, the highest-scoring constituencies on this factor are Laurier-Sainte Marie (which includes Montreal's arts-heavy Plateau district), Parkdale-High Park (which includes many artist neighbourhoods in the West end of Toronto, including Bloor Street West, part of Queen Street West, and Roncesvalles Village) and

TABLE 2
Factor Analysis of Scenes Dimensions

	Component			Component		
	YP1	YP2	YP3	CBP1	CBP2	CBP3
Traditional Legitimacy	.050	1.017	−.179	.580	.174	.439
Self-Expressive Legitimacy	.877	.032	.081	.135	.986	−.221
Charismatic Legitimacy	.719	.353	−.303	−.181	1.071	−.206
Utilitarian Legitimacy	−.001	−.288	.987	−.310	−.521	−.402
Egalitarian Legitimacy	.011	.841	.192	.054	−.040	.947
Neighbourly Theatricality	.415	.637	−.032	.282	.308	.270
Formal Theatricality	−.055	.501	.608	−1.003	.335	.126
Glamorous Theatricality	.779	−.291	.409	−.891	.747	.042
Transgressive Theatricality	.966	−.138	−.047	.875	.198	−.075
Exhibitionistic Theatricality	.741	.086	.341	.883	.087	−.119
Rational Authenticity	−.245	.326	.839	−.560	−.652	.078
Ethnic Authenticity	.561	.452	.118	.798	.406	−.195
State Authenticity	−.159	.658	.497	−.102	−.379	1.059
Local Authenticity	.023	.915	.058	.808	.143	.292
Corporate Authenticity	.273	.085	.712	.448	−.165	−.689
Natural Authenticity	.746	.207	−.370	.002	.656	.399

Note: This table shows factor scores describing the most common groupings of expressive, cultural characteristics in Canadian localities. Cultural characteristics were calculated by qualitatively coding the amenities in each Canadian electoral district, based on listings in two data sources: Statistics Canada's 2008 Canadian Business Patterns (CBP) data, and online Canadian Yellow Pages listings, downloaded in 2009 using Pageraptor software. Factor scores are computed separately for each data source using principal component analysis, and Promax rotation with Kaiser normalization.

Vancouver East (which includes the most bohemian neighbourhoods in Vancouver).

Similarly, YP factor 3 combines utilitarianism, rationality, glamour, formality, and corporate authenticity. Many of the highest-scoring constituencies on this factor are suburban areas dominated by highways rather than public transit, and newly constructed chain stores rather than independent local boutiques—for example, Mississauga, Ontario, Lloydminster, Alberta, and suburban Calgary. Other types of places that score highly on this factor score include wealthy uptown neighbourhoods such as Toronto's Don Valley West and Vancouver Centre. These factor scores, and their intuitively plausible connections to their highest-scoring neighbourhoods, suggest that our measures have high face validity.[5]

Multivariate analysis allows us to investigate whether variations in scenes correspond with political variations. Our analysis begins with traditional sociodemographic factors that past research suggests should be correlated with voting patterns. In Table 3, model 1 shows the associations

between party voting and these traditional factors. These first models show, as expected, that these factors are significantly associated with voting patterns.

A few general notes on Table 3 help to provide a baseline for interpreting results for scenes variables. First, the fixed effects for election years show the gains made by the CPC and NDP in the time under study, together with the decline of the Liberal party during the same period. The other results we report, here and below, are net of these temporal changes; our main findings are not about drivers of recent shifts in Canadian voting but about variables that persistently divide the country politically between 2004 and 2011. Beyond capturing recent trends, Table 3 results are generally consistent with other analyses of Canadian voting. Conservative support is highest in higher-income EDs and in the Prairies, for instance. Liberal support is also particularly high in areas with many non-official language speakers, which is consistent with the Liberal party's strong base of support among immigrants

Next, we add scenes dimensions to the analysis. Although we coded our amenities data on 16 dimensions, those 16 dimensions are sometimes highly correlated with each other; utilitarian legitimacy and rational authenticity, for example, are both theoretically similar and empirically correlated. For this reason, we selected only some of our 16 dimensions to present here: self-expressive legitimacy, local authenticity, corporate authenticity and state authenticity. We use the same dimensions for each data source, but analyze each data source separately.

We selected these dimensions by paring down the original 16 dimensions in a stepwise fashion. We looked at bivariate correlations among all of the dimensions and the dependent variables and then chose one or two scenes dimensions to remove from the analysis on the basis that they were too highly correlated with other scenes dimensions, or not highly correlated with our dependent variable and therefore not of theoretical interest. After removing one or two dimensions, we ran a linear regression model with the remaining scenes variables and the first set of controls. This allowed us to see which scenes dimensions remained correlated with the dependent variable when controlling for sociodemographic factors and other scenes dimensions, and allowed us to check for collinearity among all the variables in the model. We continued in this exploratory, stepwise fashion, selecting one or two scenes dimensions to remove from analysis, then re-running a linear regression model, until we had narrowed our focus to a handful of scenes dimensions that were not highly collinear with each other (measured by Variance Inflation Factor < 6), and that still produced theoretically interesting results.

Model 2 in Tables 3a, 3b, and 3c add the Yellow Pages performance scores for these scenes dimensions and model 4 adds the CBP scores. In both cases, scenes dimensions are associated with vote shares for the

TABLE 3A
Scenes and Party Voting

	Percent Vote for the Conservative Party				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	29.550*** (1.036)	29.424*** (.981)	27.697*** (1.022)	30.426*** (.952)	28.645*** (.943)
Election Year 2006	6.655*** (.604)	6.655*** (.605)	6.655*** (.606)	6.655*** (.605)	6.655*** (.606)
Election Year 2008	8.138*** (.609)	8.139*** (.609)	8.146*** (.610)	8.161*** (.611)	8.156*** (.611)
Election Year 2011	10.349*** (.592)	10.351*** (.592)	10.357*** (.593)	10.373*** (.594)	10.368*** (.594)
AtlanticDummy	−1.830 (2.402)	−3.512 (2.428)	−3.778 (2.625)	−4.634* (2.167)	−2.720 (2.342)
PrairiesDummy	18.861*** (1.851)	18.816*** (2.016)	19.772*** (1.911)	16.842*** (1.755)	16.242*** (1.576)
BCDummy	6.819*** (1.688)	5.817** (1.753)	6.756** (2.358)	5.487** (1.570)	3.696 (2.400)
QuebecDummy	−16.847*** (1.660)	−15.146*** (1.787)	−9.204*** (2.326)	− 17.191*** (1.645)	−9.415*** (2.085)
Total ED population	1.506** (.556)	1.400** (.516)	.205 (.469)	.564 (.513)	−.021 (.475)
Median family income	4.188*** (.679)	3.241*** (.747)	1.849* (.860)	2.008** (.757)	2.259* (1.031)
Percent with unofficial first language	−2.810*** (.640)	−3.379*** (.638)	−3.804*** (.791)	−3.014*** (.768)	−3.358*** (.938)
Percent with bachelor's degree or higher	−4.187*** (.626)	−3.087*** (.565)	3.202* (1.289)	.346 (1.032)	2.910* (1.409)
Self-expressive legitimacy (YP)		−3.936*** (.678)	−3.007*** (.597)	—	–
Local authenticity (YP)		3.089** (1.022)	1.823 (1.296)	—	–
Corporate authenticity (YP)		3.292*** (.839)	2.262*** (.642)	—	–
State authenticity (YP)		−2.811* (1.200)	−2.818** (1.035)	—	–
Self-expressive legitimacy (CBP)			–	− 5.541*** (.680)	−3.771*** (.717)
Local authenticity (CBP)			–	5.534*** (1.083)	3.494** (1.204)
Corporate authenticity (CBP)			–	.834 (.879)	.005 (.857)
State authenticity (CBP)			–	−1.764* (.842)	−1.594† (.910)
Percent not religious			−.119 (1.110)		1.363 (1.030)
Percent single			−5.107*** (.946)		−5.060*** (.936)

Continued

TABLE 3A
Continued

	Percent Vote for the Conservative Party				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Percent of rented dwellings			.246 (.852)		1.803* (.913)
Percent working class			4.500*** (.991)		3.840*** (1.015)
Adjusted R2	0.626	.666	.710	.672	.700

†p < 0.1, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.
Standard errors in parentheses.
Note: This table reports OLS regressions analyzing associations between amenities-based measures of the "scene" or qualitative, expressive characteristics of a constituency and the proportion of the vote received by each major national party in that constituency in the 2004, 2006, 2008 and 2011 federal elections. We use clustered errors to account for the fact that observations of the same constituency over multiple years are not independent from each other. We control for standard variables known to be correlated with aggregate voting patterns (such as education, median income and the proportion of residents reporting visible minority status) as well as demographic control variables that suggest cultural affiliations of lifestyle preferences (such as the proportion of single residents, non-religious residents, renters, and working-class residents). Results show that the qualitative characteristics or "scenes" of a constituency are associated with aggregate voting behaviour.

TABLE 3B
Scenes and Party Voting

	Percent vote for the Liberal Party				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	42.233*** (.797)	41.808*** (.890)	40.946*** (.964)	41.984*** (.789)	41.160*** (.907)
Election Year 2006	−6.524*** (.636)	−6.524*** (.637)	−6.523*** (.638)	−6.524*** (.637)	−6.524*** (.638)
Election Year 2008	−10.218*** (.622)	−10.222*** (.623)	−10.208*** (.623)	−10.208*** (623)	10.198*** (.624)
Election Year 2011	−17.711*** (.596)	−17.712*** (.597)	−17.697*** (.597)	−17.702*** (.597)	−17.691*** (.598)
AtlanticDummy	10.448*** (2.424)	12.337*** (2.461)	9.908*** (2.638)	10.028*** (2.330)	7.353** (2.375)
PrairiesDummy	−15.402*** (1.173)	−15.982*** (1.376)	−13.291*** (1.679)	−15.799*** (1.210)	−13.270*** (1.485)
BCDummy	−14.643*** (1.308)	−13.556*** (1.455)	−10.200*** (2.603)	−15.314*** (1.367)	−10.027*** (2.663)
QuebecDummy	−7.535*** (1.266)	−6.665*** (1.673)	−5.814* (2.437)	−5.759*** (1.514)	−5.756* (2.327)
Total ED population	−1.000* (.484)	−.773† (.456)	−.823† (.488)	−.666 (.467)	−.609 (.475)
Median family income	−0.121 (.555)	.528 (.608)	−.125 (.804)	.440 (.745)	−.280 (.892)
Percent with unofficial first language	5.883*** (.630)	6.264*** (.681)	5.295*** (.627)	6.364*** (.800)	5.163*** (.729)
Percent with bachelor's degree or higher	2.647*** (.648)	2.202** (.643)	2.980** (1.090)	1.908* (.956)	2.778** (1.059)
Self-Expressive Legitimacy (YP)		.309 (.663)	.840 (.636)	–	–
Local authenticity (YP)		−.983 (.888)	−.806 (.865)	–	–
Corporate authenticity (YP)		−1.589* (.717)	−2.109** (.748)	–	–
State authenticity (YP)		2.735* (1.808)	2.169+ (1.207)	–	–
Self-expressive legitimacy (CBP)			–	.033 (.715)	1.394† (.795)
Local authenticity (CBP)			–	−.512 (.923)	−1.572 (1.122)
Corporate authenticity (CBP)			–	.256 (.642)	−.576 (.707)
State Authenticity (CBP)			–	1.967* (.922)	1.446† (.832)
Percent not religious			−2.002† (1.189)		−.2722* (1.180)
Percent single			−3.199*** (.955)		−3.667*** (.992)
Percent of rented dwellings			1.540† (.801)		.785 (.927)
Percent working class			−1.344† (.765)		−.848 (.763)
Adjusted R2	.635	.645	.667	.643	.664

†p < 0.1, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.
Standard errors in parentheses. See note for Table 3a.

TABLE 3C
Scenes and Party Voting

	Percent vote for the NDP				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	19.022*** (1.196)	19.101*** (1.203)	20.339*** (1.281)	18.443*** (1.123)	19.555*** (1.236)
Election Year 2006	1.647*** (0.281)	1.647*** (.282)	1.647*** (.282)	1.647*** (.282)	1.647*** (.282)
Election Year 2008	2.710*** (.452)	2.703*** (.454)	2.684*** (.456)	2.676*** (.454)	2.668*** (.456)
Election Year 2011	14.564*** (.908)	14.559*** (.910)	14.538*** (.911)	14.545*** (.910)	14.534*** (.911)
AtlanticDummy	−4.741 (2.997)	−3.970 (3.021)	−1.167 (2.941)	−2.100 (3.079)	−1.332 (3.004)
PrairiesDummy	−3.382* (1.675)	−2.557 (1.975)	−4.743* (2.020)	−1.606 (1.799)	−2.004 (1.778)
BCDummy	5.571** (1.992)	6.254** (2.029)	1.893 (3.056)	7.192*** (1.910)	4.645 (2.921)
QuebecDummy	−9.553*** (1.562)	−11.122*** (1.882)	−13.539*** (3.062)	−10.304*** (1.622)	−13.608*** (2.865)
Total ED population	−1.087* (.540)	−1.128* (553)	−.163 (.516)	−.471 (.528)	−.036 (.501)
Median family income	−4.079*** (.714)	−3.751*** (.766)	−2.089* (.899)	−2.538** (.819)	−2.144* (991)
Percent with unofficial first language	−1.152* (.609)	−1.032 (.688)	−.286 (.826)	−1.323* (.640)	−.633 (.815)
Percent with bachelor's degree or higher	1.937**	1.436* (.724)	−4.650*** (1.286)	−1.774 (1.140)	−4.413** (1.337)
Self-expressive legitimacy (YP)		2.366** (.831)	1.568* (.768)	–	–
Local authenticity (YP)		−1.964 (1.235)	−1.288 (1.321)	–	–
Corporate authenticity (YP)		−1.502† (.854)	−.576 (.775)	–	–
State authenticity (YP)		.654 (.935)	1.217 (1.074)	–	–
Self-expressive legitimacy (CBP)			–	4.639*** (.753)	2.786** (.911)
Local authenticity (CBP)			–	−4.549*** (1.147)	−2.143 (1.325)
Corporate authenticity (CBP)			–	−1.387 (.841)	−.198 (894)
State authenticity (CBP)			–	.033 (.958)	.204 (973)
Percent not religious			2.332† (1.365)		1.187 (1.298)
Percent single			4.346*** (1.149)		3.808** (1.139)
Percent of rented dwellings			.0699 (.878)		−.608 (.928)
Percent working class			−3.514*** (.882)		−3.185** (.905)
Adjusted R2	.297	.316	.379	.351	.383

†p < 0.1, *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001.
Standard errors in parentheses. See note for Table 3a.

Conservatives, Liberals, and NDP in ways that resonate with those parties' histories and platforms. In the Yellow Pages data, scenes that stress themes of corporate authenticity and local authenticity, as well as those that downplay the state, are associated with voting for the Conservative party. In the CBP data, there are similar positive associations with locality and Conservative voting, and similar negative associations with self-expression and state authenticity. These findings persist in both the YP and CBP data. Voting for the Liberal party is negatively associated with corporate authenticity in the YP data, and positively associated with state authenticity in both data sources. Higher vote shares for the NDP are positively associated with self-expressive legitimacy in both sources and lower local authenticity in the CBP data.

These results offer considerable support for the idea that political differences across Canadian localities are not fully captured by standard variables (like income and education) and that voting patterns often cleave to cultural and lifestyle differences. Moreover, the substantive content of these lifestyle differences are intuitively plausible: a left that thrives in areas that prize personal self-expression and state institutions while being suspicious of corporate culture; a right that thrives in places that prize small town local and neighbourly scenes but is suspicious of the state. While not surprising, this is exactly the point in the present context: with this approach we can capture and account for important aspects of political life to which our models would be otherwise insensitive.

Models 3 and 5 in Tables 3a, 3b, and 3c add our second set of controls, which demonstrate that the overlap between scenes and voting is not entirely reducible to an expanded range of demographic factors that plausibly indicate cultural or lifestyle preferences: the proportion of singles, renters, non-religious persons or working-class residents in a constituency. Some of these demographic factors do help to predict whether an ED will lean to the right or the left politically; a large working-class presence is positively correlated with conservative voting, the presence of singles and non-religious Canadians is positively correlated with NDP voting, and the presence of renters is positively correlated with Liberal voting. Although these effects reduce the impacts of scenes, they do not explain them away; scenes matter above and beyond the presence of specific lifestyle groups or taste communities in a constituency.

To confirm the robustness of these findings, we ran many supplementary analyses, which are not shown here but are available from the authors on request. We investigated different combinations of scenes dimensions and different methods of combining them, including regressing factor scores based on the analysis in Table 2, rather than individual scenes dimensions, on our three dependent variables. We also experimented with multiple combinations of control variables including average rent, the proportion of the labour force employed in creative class occupations, visible minorities as a percentage

of the population, and specific religious groups (such as Protestants, Catholics) as a percentage of the population. And we experimented with different dependent variables, combining elections results into a summary measure (a left-right scale), rather than analyzing each party separately. These changes in the independent variables, dependent variables and controls did not substantively alter our main finding that scenes dimensions have a consistent, significant connection with aggregate voting patterns.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper, we have established that cultural variation between constituencies can be empirically, systematically measured in a way that allows for comparisons on a national scale. We have also shown that such cultural variation is correlated with aggregate voting patterns. In doing so, we have taken some initial steps toward integrating local cultural scenes into political analysis as part of an emerging, meaning-centred approach. We have also proposed a new analytical strategy for investigating the impact of the local scenescape on politics: systematic coding of the meanings embedded in amenities. Our coding has produced 16 dimensions of meaning that can be added to regression models separately or in combinations derived through factor analysis or other techniques.

To be sure, there are additional analytical steps to take. Our purpose here has been to argue that political life significantly maps onto local cultural differences and to demonstrate a method for evaluating that claim. In this paper, we have barely scratched the surface of what this approach can offer. A logical next step would be to conduct in-depth analyses of how scenes dimensions matter in different contexts. Some scenes dimensions might have similar impacts across many contexts; others might matter only in some regions or for only some political parties. Another intriguing possibility would involve investigating how and whether individual voting dynamics vary by scene, Do otherwise similar individuals tend to vote differently depending on the scene in which they live?[6]

It might be just as important to look to smaller geographic units like census tracts and forward sortation areas, as we expect that scenes—not only the ones examined here but others—might become even more important at the genuinely neighbourhood level. Smaller geographic units would be particularly useful in modeling the effect of cultural context outside of urban centres, where electoral districts are quite large and data at the forward sortation areas or census tracts would provide a more meaningful measure of local spatial and cultural context. These lower levels of analysis would also expand the number of cases we can examine; indeed, given the relatively small number of electoral districts, it is possible that our analyses here actually underestimate the correlations between scenes and aggregate voting

behaviour. Another step would move in the opposite direction, looking at larger units of analysis instead of smaller ones, and specifically engaging in cross-national comparison. In the same way that scenes analysis allows us to find shared aesthetic qualities in neighbourhoods in different cities and even provinces, scenes analysis provides us with an empirical way to compare the qualitative dimensions of a space across nations. Cross-national comparison of scenes could further our understanding of political similarities and differences between Canada and the US, North America and Europe, and more.

In this article we have avoiding speculation about the mechanisms underlying the correlations between cultural variations and voting patterns. Although our data do not allow us to establish these mechanisms or test them empirically, we do however have some tentative hypotheses. One possibility is that scenes directly impact individuals' voting behaviour; as individual voters interact with the amenities available to them in their neighbourhoods, their sensibilities are subtly shaped. They learn about what sorts of people, practices and ideologies are valued, and these values inform their voting decisions. Another possibility is that individuals choose to live in scenes that resonate with their already formed sensibilities; a voter who already leans to the right politically will be more likely to move to a neighbourhood where the Conservative party consistently does well electorally. We expect that both of these processes occur simultaneously and reciprocally, and analyzing data that permits us to tease out their separate and joint operations is an important area of ongoing future research.

The present article has nevertheless accomplished quite a bit. A major contribution is in advancing a clearer conception of how spatial context can relate to politics. "Regions" in this sense are not only large, geographically contiguous jurisdictions in the traditional sense but the style of life, the aesthetic, the imagery, the symbolic meaning accruing to distinct localities. We understand amenities as stable, empirical indicators of scenes and lifestyles and hypothesize that they communicate values to the people who interact with them, and impact those people's political sensibilities. Those immersed in such scenes have distinctive tastes and distinctive outlooks, whether on the Prairies or in Ontario, which sensibilities are in turn associated with distinct politics. Rather than attempting to capture local experience indirectly, for instance, by home values, education or income, we show how to tap more directly into the specific cultural content embedded in local amenities.

Notes

1 We exclude one electoral district, the Prince Edward Island riding of Malpeque, from our analysis due to data limitations that prevented us from developing an accurate count of the amenities in that constituency. Our analysis therefore uses 307 instead of 308 electoral districts.

2 In analyzing cultural context and voting patterns at the ED level we follow Henderson (2004) and Cochrane and Perrella (2012). Further investigation of local "scenes" would

clearly benefit from studying units even smaller than electoral districts, such as forward sortation areas or FSAs (the first three digits of the postal code), census tracts, municipal definitions of neighbourhoods or resident defined neighbourhood boundaries, and we are pursuing such analyses. In the present context, as a reviewer pointed out, running our analyses at the ED level is not a major problem in urban areas, where constituencies are often small enough that they provide some measure of meaningful local context; it is potentially more of a problem in rural areas where EDs are quite large—or in the far north, where each territory is represented by only one ED. We acknowledge this limitation and hope to test the association between scenes and voting at lower levels of analysis. To gauge the extent to which this affects the present results, we conducted our analysis using only electoral districts located in census metropolitan areas with a population of 500,000 or more. This produced minimal change in our results.

3 The subjectivity involved in the coding process is a necessary component of looking for meanings expressed in the local amenity mix. However, we used multiple techniques to ensure that, while our coding was subjective, it was consistent and transparent rather than arbitrary. We followed clear, consistent coding guidelines, used a step-by-step coding chart and discussed and resolved any differences in coding. While it might be possible to disagree with some of our coding decisions, with over 28,000 coding points and millions of amenities, the individual decisions are much less important than the overall averages. We have consistently found that small changes in individual weightings, or removing individual amenities, make negligible differences in our aggregate scene variables. Moreover, the fact that many of our findings resonate with what we already know about the cultural aspects of different spatial contexts in Canada—for example, Alberta scores higher-than-average on utilitarian legitimacy, Quebec scores higher on glamorous theatricality—lends credibility to our approach.

4 All of these variables come from the 2006 census, except the religiosity variables, which are a weighted average of the 2001 and 2011 censuses because religion questions are not asked in every census year.

5 Although we use individual scenes dimensions as independent variables in our main analysis, we also ran analyses using these factor scores as independent variables. This analysis produced substantively similar results.

6 Adequately investigating this question is challenging, given data limitations. One potentially useful source is the IPSOS 2008 exit survey of individuals, which has enough locally geocoded cases to be useful for this purpose. Cochrane and Perrella (2012) used this survey as a methodological check on their regional effects, but express caution in applying it more widely given all of the well-known problems with Internet-based opt-in surveys.

References

Alford, Robert R. 1963. *Party and Society: The Anglo-American Democracies*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Blake, Donald E. 1972. "The Measurement of Regionalism in Canadian Voting Patterns." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 5 (1): 55–81.

Books, John and Charles Prysby. 1988. "Studying Contextual Effects on Political Behavior." *American Politics Quarterly* 16 (2): 211–38.

Borer, Michael. 2008. *Faithful to Fenway: Believing in Boston, Baseball, and America's Most Beloved Ballpark*. New York: New York University Press.

Buin, Miree, Wonho Jang, Terry Clark and Jong Y. Lee. 2011. *"Seoul Scenes" and Its Use for Space Characterization*. Seoul: Seoul Development Institute.

Cairncross, F. 2001. *The Death of Distance: How the Communications Revolution Is Changing Our Lives*. Boston: Harvard Business Press.

Clark, Terry N., ed. 2004. *The City as an Entertainment Machine. Research in Urban Policy* 9. Boston: Elsevier Ltd.

Cochrane, Christopher and Andrea Perrella. 2012. "Regions, Regionalism, and Regional Differences in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45 (4): 829–53.

Cutler, Fred. 2007. "Context and attitude formation: Social interaction, default information, or local interests?" *Political Geography* 26 (5): 575–600.

Duneier, Mitchell. 2000. *Sidewalk*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Elections Canada. 2004. Results for the 38th General Election. Data archived and publicly available at Elections Canada, *www.elections.ca* (June 2, 2014).

Elections Canada. 2006. Results for the 39th General Election. Data archived and publicly available at Elections Canada, *www.elections.ca* (June 2, 2014).

Elections Canada. 2008. Results for the 40th General Election. Data archived and publicly available at Elections Canada, *www.elections.ca* (June 2, 2014).

Elections Canada. 2011. Results for the 41st General Election. Data archived and publicly available at Elections Canada, *www.elections.ca* (June 2, 2014).

Elkins, David J. and Richard E. Simeon. 1979. "A Cause in Search of Its Effect, or What Does Political Culture Explain?" *Comparative Politics* 11 (2): 127–45.

Falck, Oliver, Michael Fritsch and Stephan Heblich. 2010. "The Phantom of the Opera: Cultural Amenities, Human Capital, and Regional Economic Growth." IZA Discussion Papers 5065, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA).

Gelman, Andrew. 2008. *Red State, Blue State, Rich State, Poor State: Why Americans Vote the Way They Do*. Princeton University Press.

Gidengil, Elisabeth, André Blais, Richard Nadeau and Neil Nevitte. 1999. "Making Sense of Regional Voting in the 1997 Canadian Federal Election: Liberal and Reform Support Outside Quebec." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 32 (2): 247–72.

Gieryn, Thomas F. 2000. "A Space for Place in Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 463–496.

Grazian, David. 2005. *Blue Chicago: The Search for Authenticity in Urban Blues Clubs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Henderson, Ailsa. 2004. "Regional Political Cultures in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37 (3): 595–615.

Johnston, R.J. 1983. "Spatial Continuity and Individual Variability: A Review of Recent Work on the Geography of Electoral Change." *Electoral Studies*, 2 (1): 53–68.

Johnston, R.J. 1987. "The geography of the working class and the geography of the Labour vote in England, 1983: A prefatory note to a research agenda." *Political Geography Quarterly* 6 (1): 7–16.

Kaufman, Jason and Matthew E. Kaliner. 2011. "The re-accomplishment of place in twentieth century Vermont and New Hampshire: History repeats itself, until it doesn't." *Theory and Society* 40 (2): 119–54.

Kirk, David S. and Andrew V. Papachristos. 2011. "Cultural Mechanisms and the Persistence of Neighborhood Violence." *American Journal of Sociology* 116 (4): 1190–1233.

Matthews, Ralph. 1983. *The Creation of Regional Dependency*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Molotch, Harvey. 2011. "Granite and green: Thinking beyond surface in place studies." *Theory & Society* 40 (2): 155–59.

Navarro, Clemente, ed. 2012. *Las Dimensiones Culturales de la Ciudad: Creatividad, entretenimiento y política de difusión cultural en las ciudades españolas*. Madrid: Catarata.

Navarro, Clemente J., Cristina Mateos, and Maria J. Rodriguez. 2012. "Cultural scenes, the creative class and development in Spanish municipalities." *European Urban and Regional Studies*, September 5, 2012, DOI 10.1177/0969776412448188.

Oliver, J.E. 2001. *Democracy in Suburbia*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sawyer, Stephen, editor. 2011. *Une cartographie culturelle de Paris: Les Ambiances du Paris-Métropole.* Report submitted to the City of Paris

Schwartz, Mildred A. 1974. *Politics and Territory: The Sociology of Regional Persistence in Canada*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Sellers, Jeffery M. 2013. "Place, Institutions and the Political Ecology of U.S. Metropolitan Areas." In *The Political Ecology of the Metropolis: Metropolitan Sources of Electoral Behaviour in Eleven Countries*, ed. Jeffrey M. Sellers, Daniel Kübler, Alan Walks, and Melanie Walter-Rogg. New York Columbia University Press.

Silver, Daniel and Terry N. Clark. Forthcoming. "Quantities of Amenities and Qualities of Places." *Cultural Studies*.

Silver, Daniel and Diana Miller. 2013. "Contextualizing the Artistic Dividend." *Journal of Urban Affairs*. 35(5): 591–606.

Silver, Daniel, Terry N. Clark and Chris Graziul. 2011. "Scenes, Innovation and Urban Development." In *Handbook of Creative Cities*, ed. David Emanuel Andersson, Åke E. Andersson and Charlotta Mellander. Cheltanham: Edward Elgar.

Silver, Daniel, Chris Graziul and Terry N. Clark. 2011. "Scenes and Politics." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting. Las Vegas.

Silver, Daniel, Terry N. Clark and Jesus C. Navarro. 2010. "Scenes: Social context in an age of contingency." *Social Forces* 88 (5): 2293–2324.

Simeon, Richard 1977. "Regionalism and Canadian Political Institutions." In *Canadian Federalism: Myth or Reality?* ed. J. Peter Meekison. 3rd ed. Toronto: Methuen.

Statistics Canada. 2008. Canadian Business Patterns data for 2008. Ottawa, ON.

Suttles, Gerald D. 1984. "The cumulative texture of local urban culture." *American Journal of Sociology* 90 (2): 283–304.

Yellow Pages Canada. 2009. Data downloaded directly from yellowpages.ca using PageRaptor software. Data archived with the authors, and available on request.