

How to Win Proportional Representation

And What Comes Afterwards

Paul Nijjar

October 28, 2015

CONTEXT AND DISCLAIMERS

About this talk

This is not primarily a talk about how we can force the Liberals to adopt PR. But it is a talk about how voting systems change.

This is not primarily a talk about different PR systems. (That can be a different talk.)

Ask questions, but please don't sermonize.

The talk is being recorded: audio (and video?) will be online!

About the speaker

I am not an expert!

I am not a member of Fair Vote Canada! This is not an official FVC talk!

There are things in this talk that do not reflect Fair Vote Canada policy! (but I will let you know what they are!)

Contents

- What we have now: First-Past-the-Post
- Case studies of successful change
 - Lesotho
 - Scotland Municipal Elections
 - New Zealand
- The Canadian experience
- Lessons
- What next?
- Questions and Discussion

WHAT WE HAVE NOW

About First-Past-the-Post

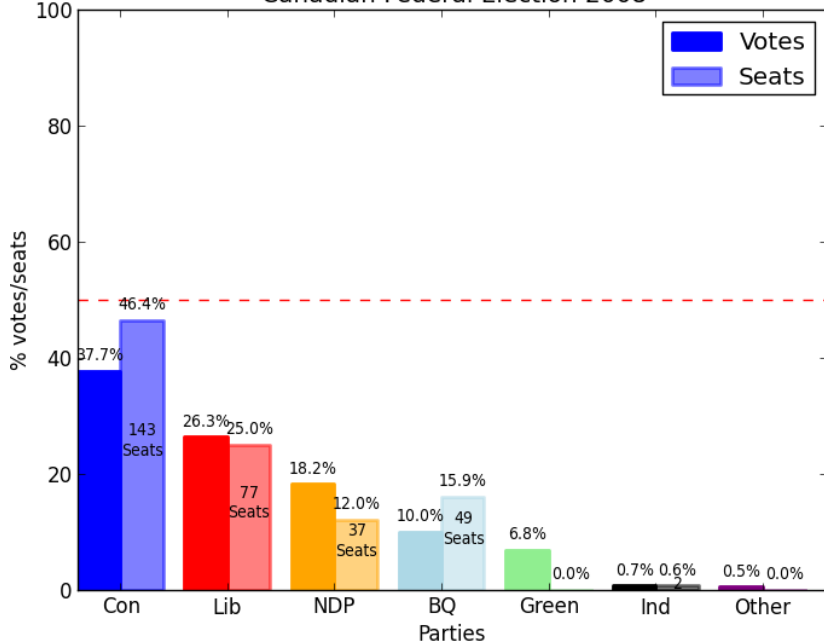
Idea: Divide the country into ridings.

Parties run candidates in each riding.

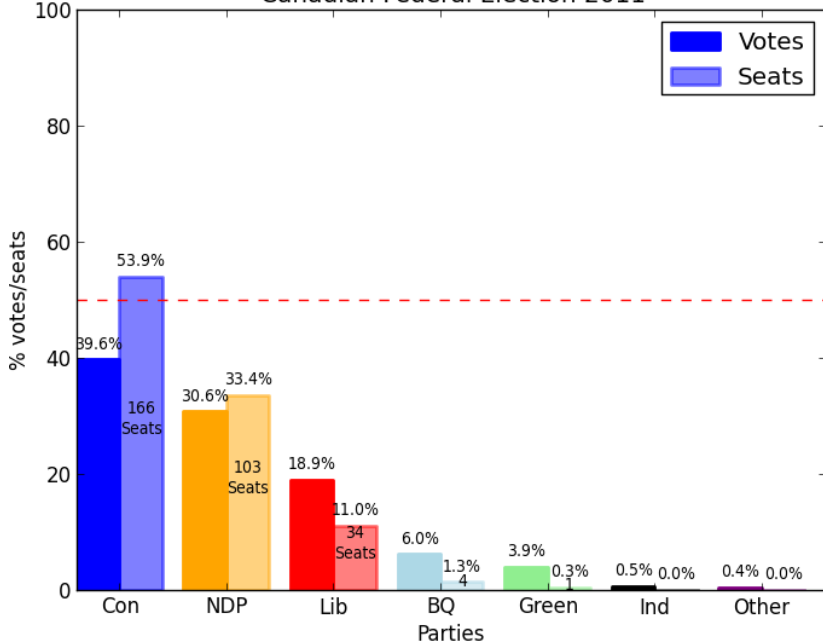
Each voter votes for one candidate in one riding.
The candidate with the most votes wins a riding seat.

The party with the most seats forms the government.

Canadian Federal Election 2008



Canadian Federal Election 2011



Justin Trudeau pledges 'real change' as Liberals leap ahead to majority government

Harper to resign as Conservative leader

By Mark Gollom, CBC News | Posted: Oct 19, 2015 7:00 PM ET | Last Updated: Oct 20, 2015 11:50 AM ET



WATCH: Highlights of Trudeau's victory speech 3:14



Justin Trudeau's principal adviser Gerald Bullis discusses Liberal majority

Related Stories

Results: Everything you want to know about last night's election

Justin Trudeau will be Canada's next prime minister after leading the Liberal Party to a stunning majority government win, dashing the hopes of Stephen Harper, who had been seeking his fourth consecutive mandate, but will now step down as party leader.

This will be the second time for Canada to be led by a Trudeau, as the 43-year-old Liberal leader follows in the footsteps of his father, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who served as prime minister for almost 16 years before retiring in 1984.

- INTERACTIVE | Explore election results from across the country
- ANALYSIS | Trudeau's turn to face that hopey-changey challenge
- POLL TRACKER | Was the Liberal majority won in the last days?

Stay Connected with CBC News



Mobile



Facebook



Podcasts



Twitter



Alerts



Newsletter

ADVERTISEMENT

Top News Headlines



Justin Trudeau — the details of his life, his and now

- Jessal Byrne tossed from Stephen Harper's inner circle
- Royals pommel Blue Jays pitching in Game 4
- The new House of Commons: More women and aboriginal MPs
- Justin Trudeau to appoint new cabinet with equal gender balance

Must Watch



Justin Trudeau on his cabinet

The new prime minister designate would like to solidify a cabinet by Nov. 4



Surprising election results

Poll analyst Eric Greider looks at how the polls fared in predicting the election outcome

22 hours ago | Vote  0  0

Trudeau scores stunning Liberal majority

OTTAWA - Just watch him.

RELATED STORIES

[Liberals sweep GTA on the road to...](#)

[Liberals make major breakthrough in...](#)

[Liberals gain back ground in...](#)

[Liberals make big gains across...](#)

A Trudeau is headed back to 24 Sussex Drive, completing the first father-son dynasty in Canada's federal government history, and vanquishing the Conservative

leader who came to politics hoping to remake the Trudeau vision of Canada.

Justin Trudeau will become Canada's 23rd prime minister after his party steamrolled to a stunning majority victory



Waterloo Record:

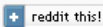
<http://www.therecord.com/news-story/5966616-trudeau-scores-stunning-liberal-majority/>

to

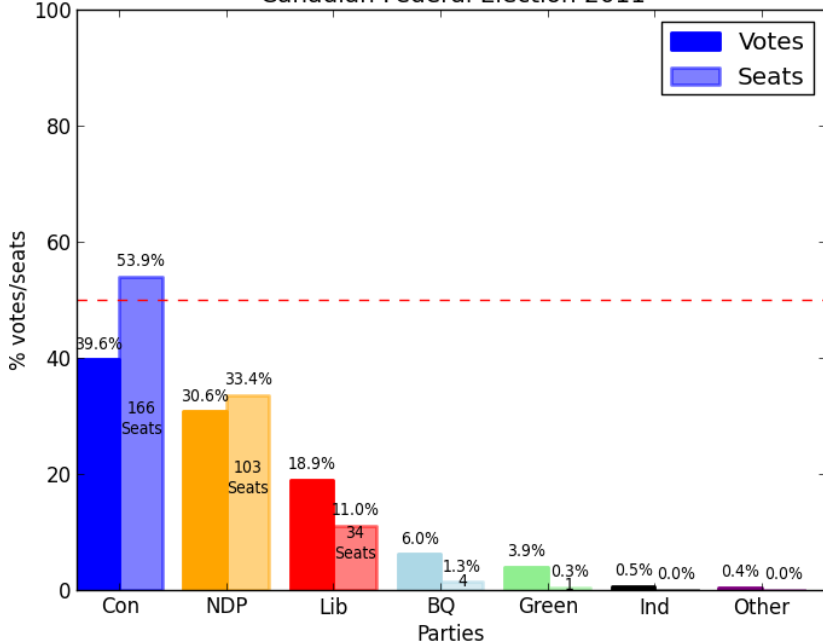
News

Liberals unseat Conservatives

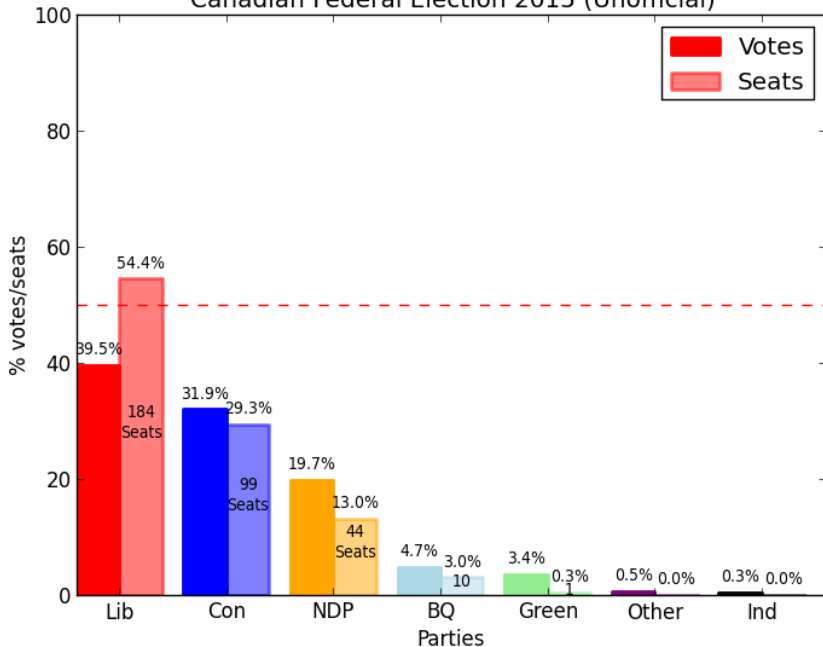
Liberal leader Justin Trudeau wins Canada's general election in a landslide that ends nine years of Stephen Harper's Tory rule.



Canadian Federal Election 2011



Canadian Federal Election 2015 (Unofficial)



Vote Distortions

It appears that winning parties usually win more seats than they deserve.

Parties that don't form the majority get squished, unless they win Quebec. Smaller parties get squished entirely.

What's going on?

Typical Riding Results

Party A Candidate	40%
Party B Candidate	30%
Party C Candidate	20%
Party D Candidate	10%

Typical Riding Results

Party A Candidate	40%
Party B Candidate	30%
Party C Candidate	20%
Party D Candidate	10%

60% of the votes are **wasted** – they don't count towards earning political representation.

75% Ridings, 40% of the Vote

Party A	40%
Party B	35%
Party C	15%
Party D	10%

Party A	40%
Party D	25%
Party B	25%
Party C	10%

Party A	40%
Party B	39%
Party D	16%
Party C	5%

Party C	45%
Party A	40%
Party B	10%
Party D	5%

VOTE SPLITTING

News Flash

Stephen HARPER

Raj SAINI

Stephen HARPER

Stephen HARPER

In Kitchener Centre
only **Raj SAINI** can stop
Stephen Harper

Liberal
Authorized by the Official Agent for Raj Saini Campaign

240 Duke St W
Kitchener, ON
N2H 3X6

519 570-2001
info@rajsaini.ca
@VoteRajSaini
/RajSaini2015

VOTE Raj SAINI
Real Change for Kitchener Centre

Source: Official Agent for Raj Saini Campaign

If you believe...

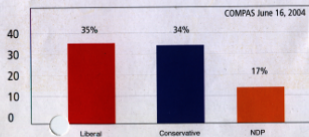
- In aircraft carriers over health care.
- In Mulroney-Harris-Eves failed economics and deficits.
- We should have gone to war in Iraq.
- Women shouldn't have the right to choose.
- Charter rights should be subject to political interference.
- Kyoto should be scrapped.

Then sit on the sidelines by not voting:

Or vote NDP or Green Party.

Both parties have their merits. But a vote for either will do nothing to reduce the chances of a right wing Harper government.

Stephen Harper says he wants to change Canada in a way "you won't recognize." The choice for progressive voters is clear.



Or if you believe...

- In public health care and shorter waiting times.
- In protecting the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
- In continuing to balance the books.
- In an independent Canada.

Then, on June 28th, vote Liberal and stop American-style policies that won't work in Canada.

Only the Liberals can prevent Stephen Harper and his hidden agenda from fundamentally changing our country.

On June 28th,
choose your Canada.
Vote Liberal.

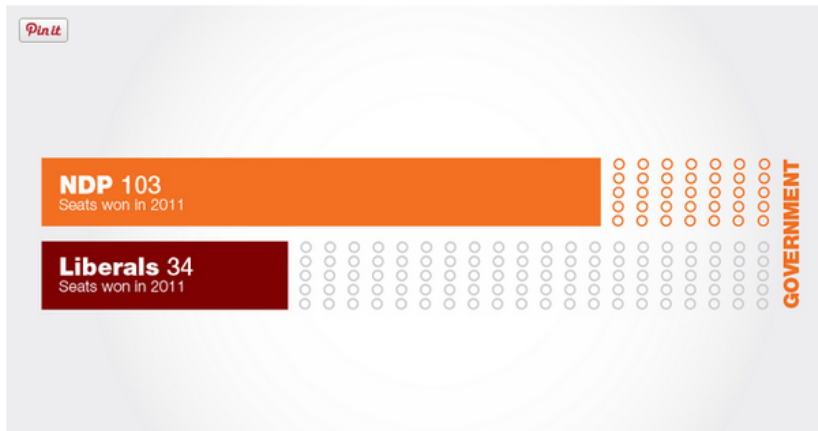
Liberal
Canada

**Then sit on the sidelines by not voting:
Or vote NDP or Green Party.**

Both parties have their merits. But a vote for either will do nothing to reduce the chances of a right wing Harper government.

Stephen Harper says he wants to change Canada in a way “you won’t recognize.” The choice for progressive voters is clear.

10. The NDP only need 35 more seats – Liberals need 100



Source: <http://www.ndp.ca/top-ten-reasons-to-vote-ndp>

LOPSIDED VICTORIES

75% Ridings, 40% of the Vote

Party A	40%
Party B	35%
Party C	15%
Party D	10%

Party A	40%
Party D	25%
Party B	25%
Party C	10%

Party A	40%
Party B	39%
Party D	16%
Party C	5%

Party C	45%
Party A	40%
Party B	10%
Party D	5%

100% Ridings, 40% of the Vote?

Party A 40%

Party B 35%

Party C 15%

Party D 10%

Party A 40%

Party D 25%

Party B 25%

Party C 10%

Party A 40%

Party B 39%

Party D 16%

Party C 5%

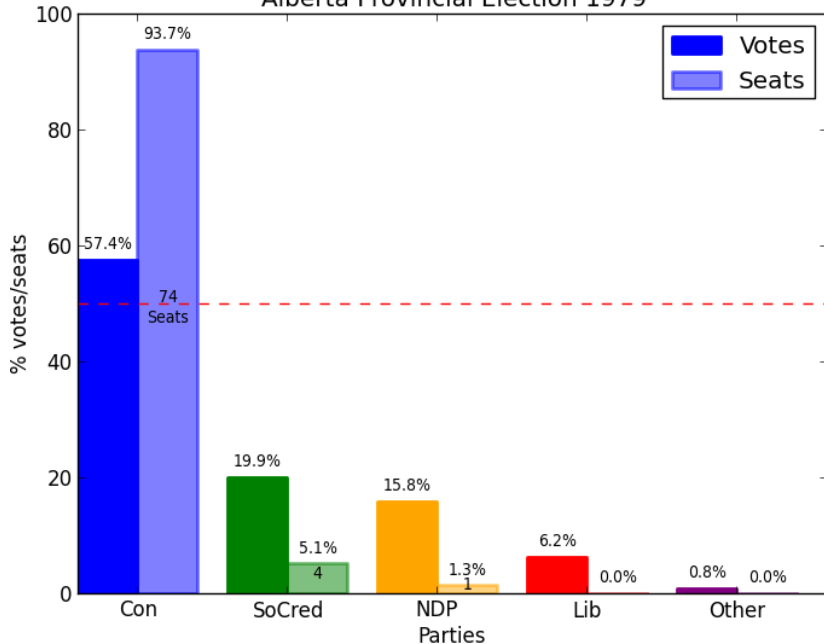
Party A 40%

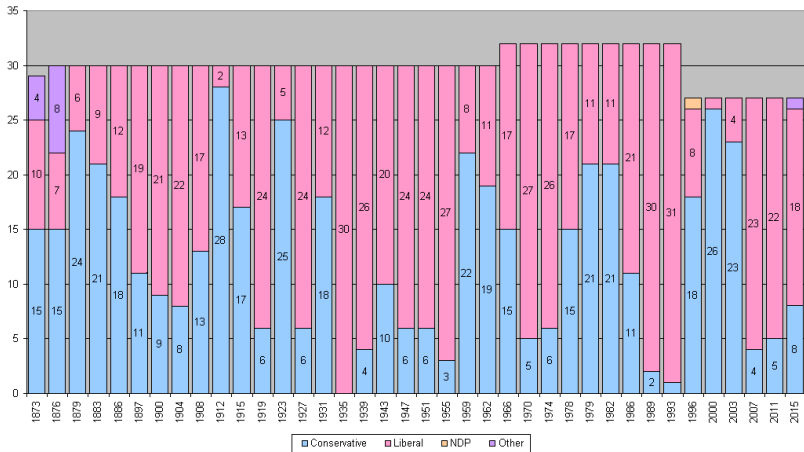
Party C 39%

Party B 16%

Party D 5%

Alberta Provincial Election 1979

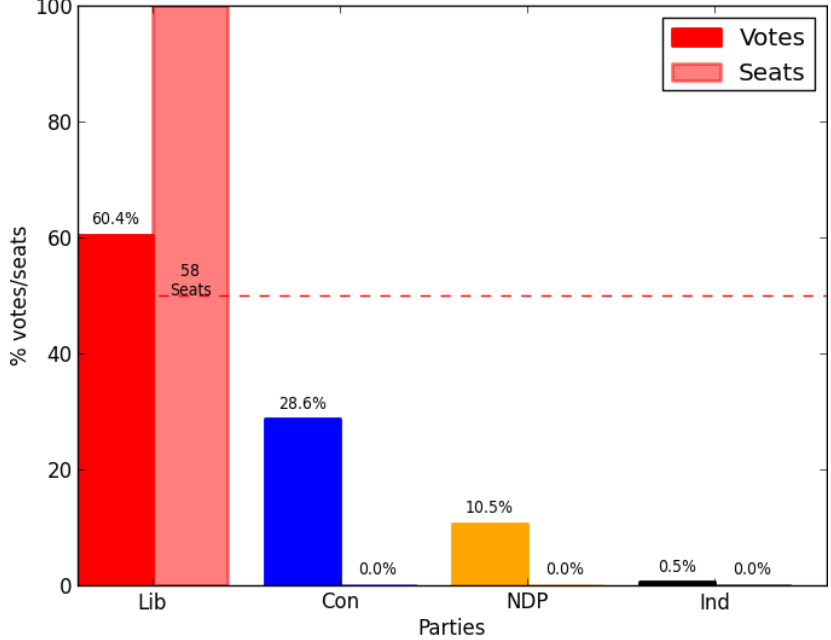




"PEI elections2". Licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0 via Wikipedia -

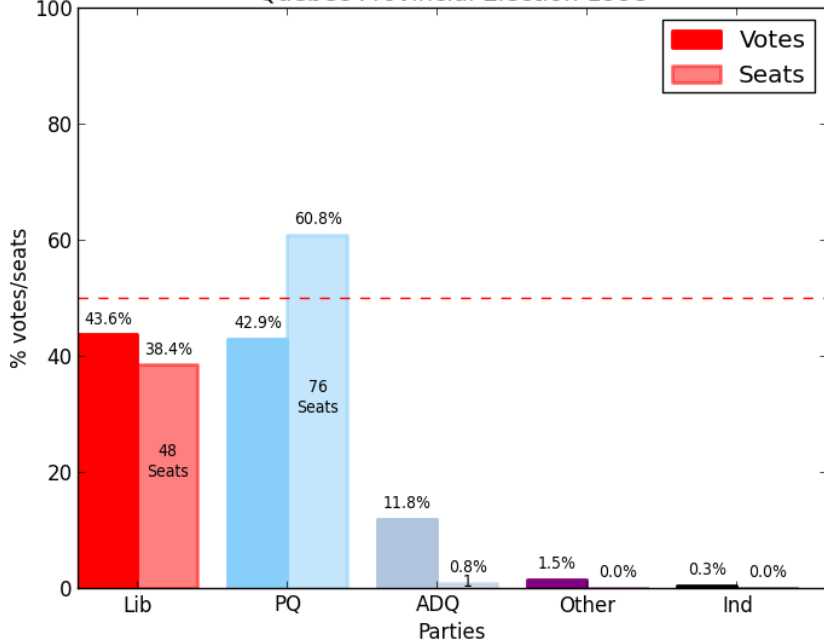
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:PEI_elections2.gif

New Brunswick Provincial Election 1987

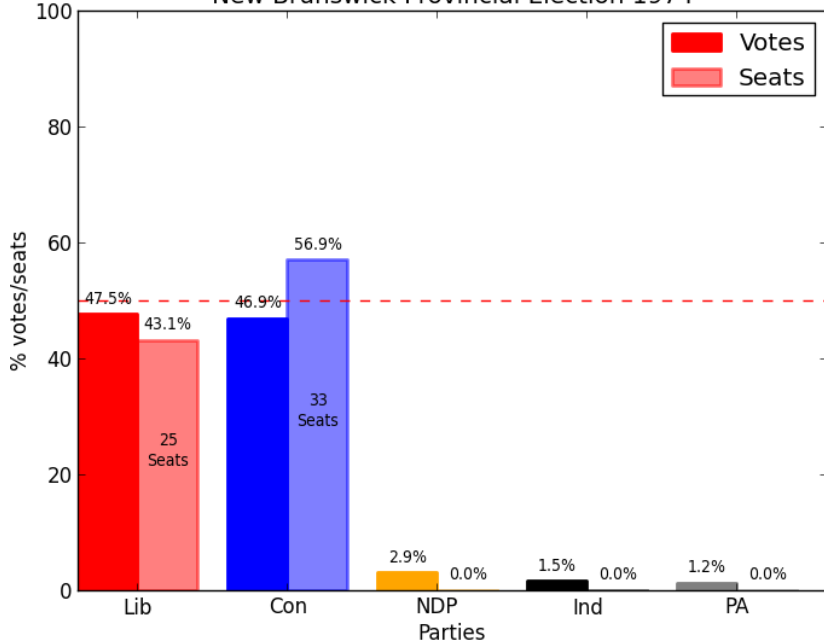


"WRONG-WAY" WINNERS

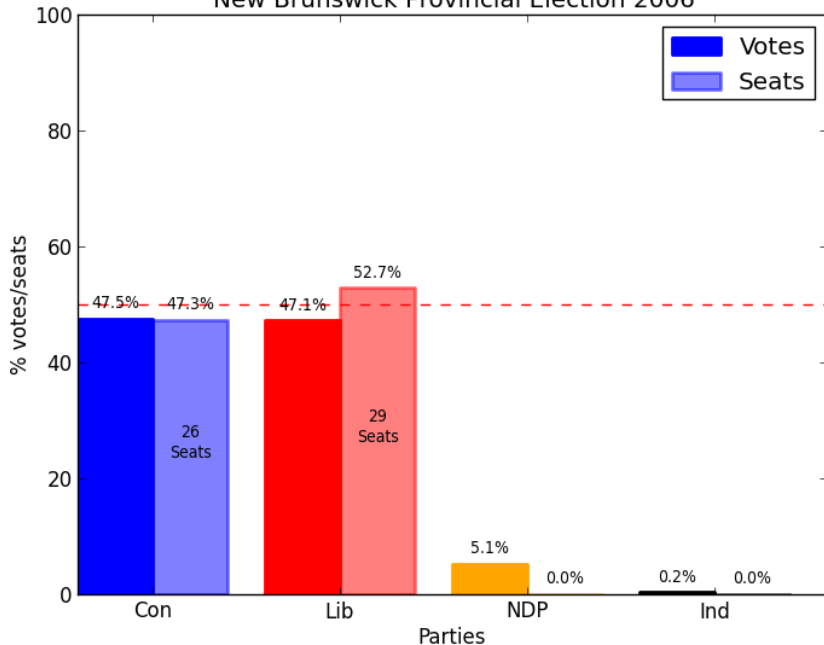
Quebec Provincial Election 1998



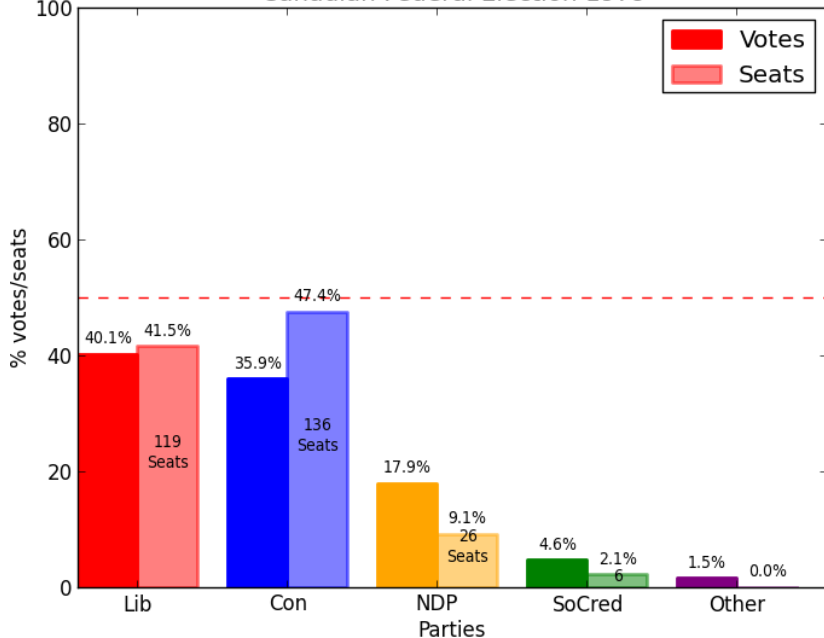
New Brunswick Provincial Election 1974



New Brunswick Provincial Election 2006



Canadian Federal Election 1979



What have we learned about FPTP?






- Usually winners get exaggerated seats, and losers get squished.
- Leads to vote splitting and strategic voting.
- Sometimes there is little to no opposition.
- Sometimes the party that wins the popular vote loses the election.

(And that's not the end of the story...)

CBC Election Dashboard

Liberal majority government

National Results

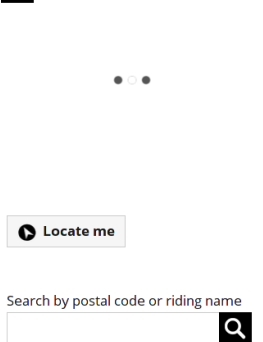

RIDING TOTALS		VOTE SHARE	
	ELECTED	VOTE TOTALS	% OF VOTE
	184	6,928,514	39.5%
	99	5,597,565	31.9%
	44	3,460,288	19.7%
	10	818,652	4.7%
	1	605,637	3.5%


TO COME: 0 RIDINGS
Popular vote does not determine the outcome of the election.

[Show all parties](#)

Discussion

Riding Results




[MY FAVOURITES](#) 

[RIDINGS TO WATCH](#)

[CANDIDATES TO WATCH](#)

[Locate me](#)

Search by postal code or riding name



TO COME: 0 RIDINGS

Popular vote does not determine the outcome of the election.

Show all parties

<http://www.cbc.ca/includes/federalection/dashboard/>

WHAT ELSE IS THERE?

Other Voting Systems

Proportional Systems: parties should get seats matching their share of the vote.

- Mixed-Member Proportional (MMP or MMPR)
- Single Transferable Vote (STV)

Non-proportional systems: There are many; here are two:

- Instant Runoff Voting (IRV, aka Alternative Vote)
- Parallel Voting (aka Mixed-Member Majoritarian, MMM)

MMPR in One Slide

Have riding seats in ridings like now. Each riding elects one politician. Local candidates are elected via FPTP.

Use extra *top-up seats* (aka list seats) to make overall seat totals proportional.

Pick the top-up seat members via some kind of list.

(There are many variations. This is one.)

IRV in One Slide

Have riding seats in ridings like now. Each riding elects one politician.

Use a *ranked ballot* to select candidates in order of preference.

Tally votes by dropping unpopular candidates and redistributing their votes until somebody has over 50% of the ballot.

Note: This is NOT proportional.

STV in One Slide

Have ridings, but each riding elects multiple politicians (as in Regional Council).

Use a *ranked ballot* to select candidates in order of preference.

Redistribute votes from unpopular candidates AND extra votes from winners until all seats are filled.

Note: This IS proportional. The more seats in the riding the fewer votes get wasted.

**WHO HAS MADE THE
SWITCH?**

Lesotho

Lesotho

Lesotho switched from FPTP to a Mixed-Member Proportional (MMPR) system in 1998. How did they do it?



About Lesotho

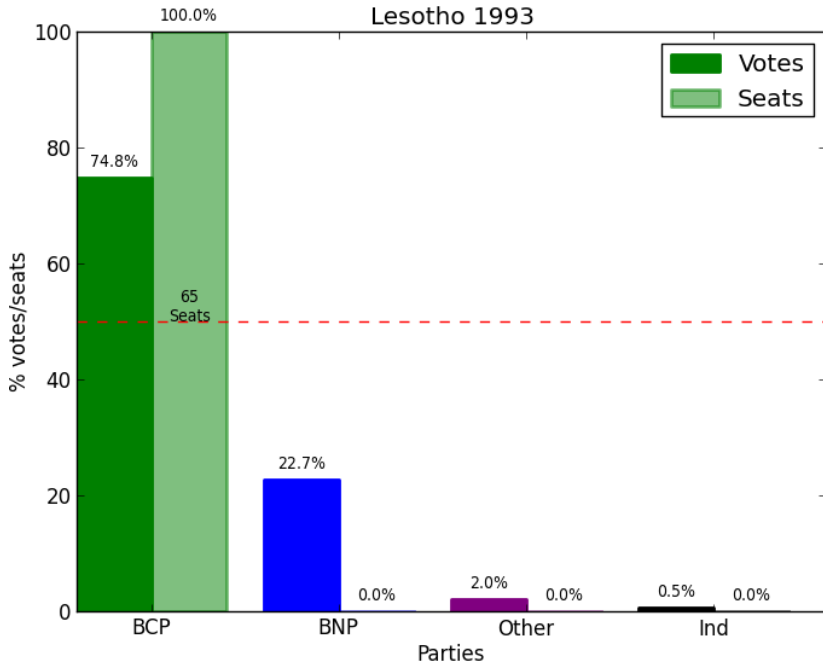
- Population: 2 million
- Independent from Britain since 1966
- Main parties:
 - Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD)
 - Basutoland Congress Party (BCP)
 - Basotho National Party (BNP)
 - All Basotho Convention (ABC)
 - Democratic Congress (DC)

Early History

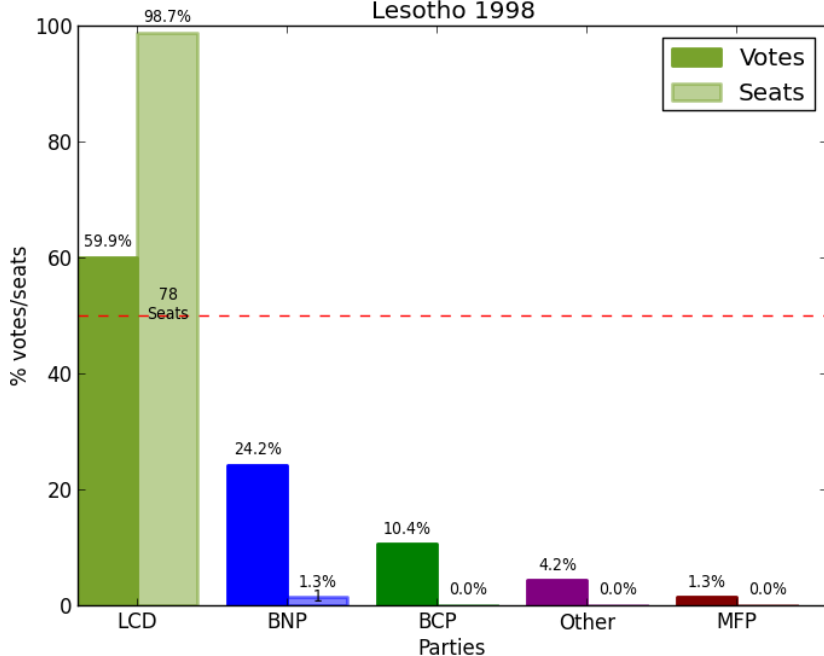
- **1966**: Lesotho gains independence from Great Britain.
- **1970**: First elections. Basotho National Party loses to Basutoland Congress Party, but declares state of emergency and imprisons BCP.
- **1985**: BNP supposedly holds elections, but other parties boycott. BNP wins all the seats!

- 1986: Military coup. Military takes over.
- 1991: Military allows democracy.
- 1993: FPTP election won by the BCP.
- 1994: King Letsie III deposes the government via a military coup, but the BCP regains power after negotiations.
- 1998: FPTP election won by the LCD. Elections are judged to be “free and fair”

Lesotho 1993



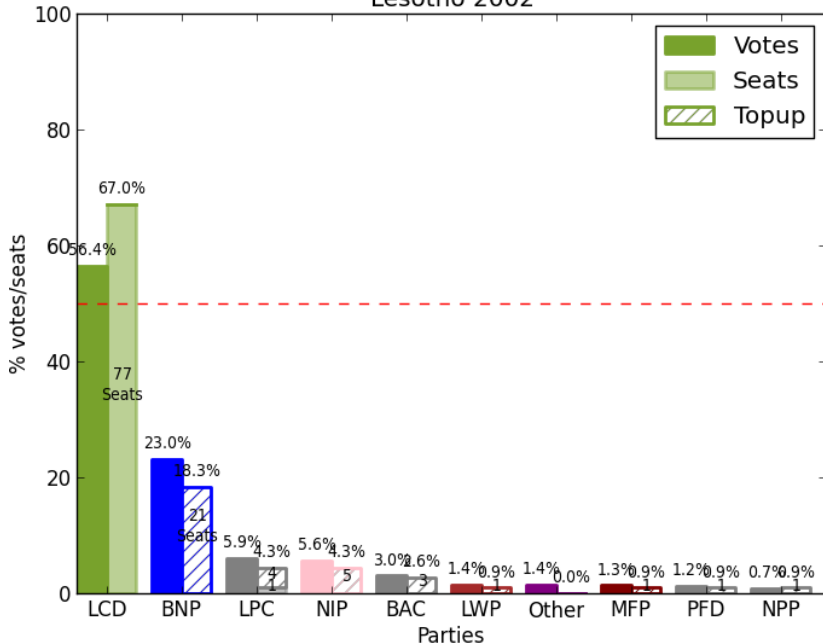
Lesotho 1998



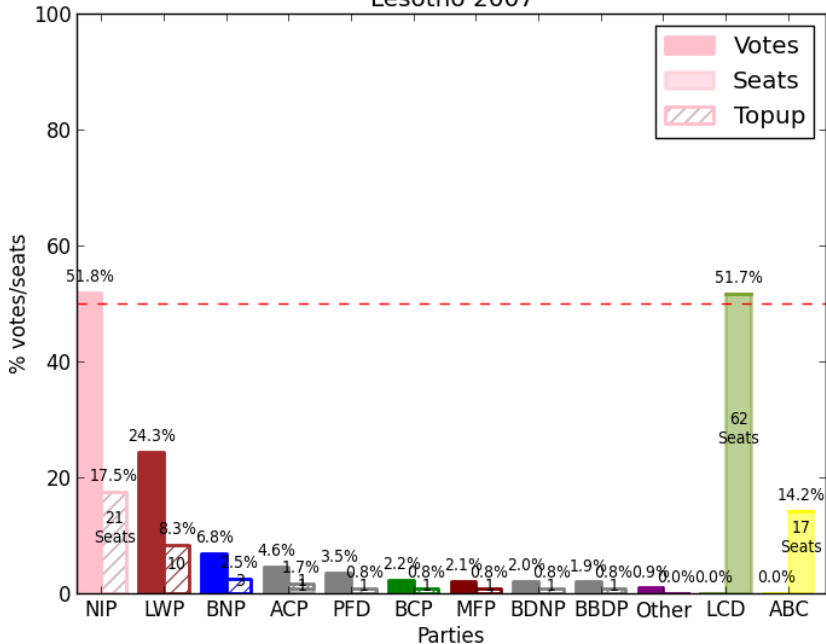
Life Under Democracy?

- **1998:** The opposition organizes mass protests against the election. Troops come in from Botswana and South Africa. People die.
- **1998:** The Southern African Development Community puts together an Interim Political Authority, which convenes representatives from 12 political parties to decide on a new electoral system.
- **1998:** The IPA chooses an MMPR system with 80 riding seats, 40 top-up seats.

Lesotho 2002



Lesotho 2007

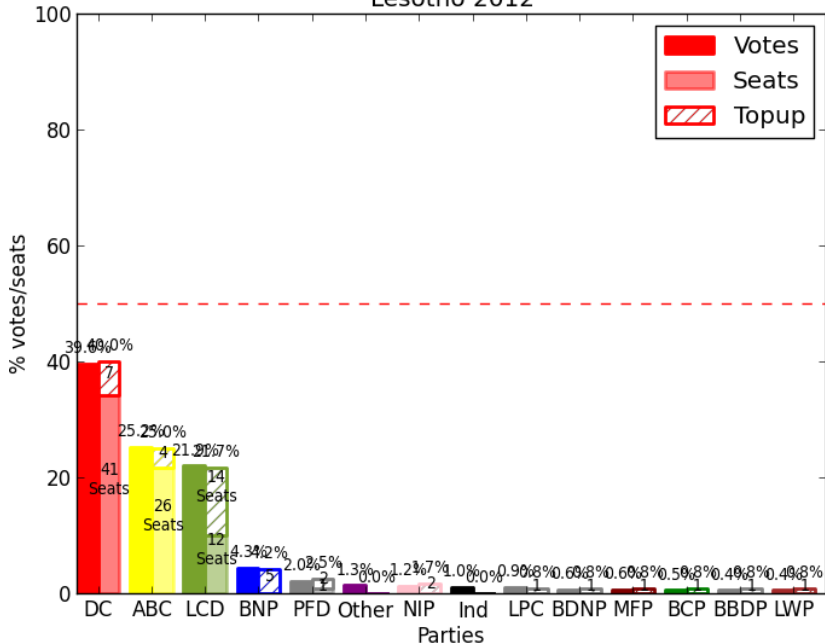


Proportional Representation

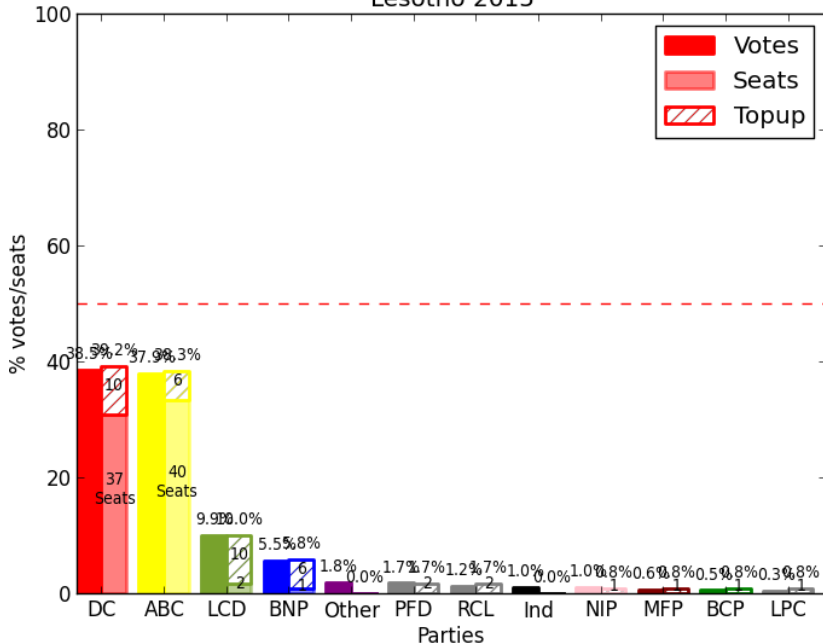
- 2002: First MMPR election. LCD wins big, but gets no top-up seats.
- 2007: Shenanigans! LCD uses an MMPR trick to increase its share of top-up seats. Its rival ABC follows suit.
- System is reformed to close the MMPR trick.

- **2012:** New party Democratic Congress (DC) wins 41+7/120 (40.0%) of the seats on 39.6% of the party vote.
- **2014:** Another attempted coup. The prime minister flees the country.
- **2015:** More elections. Democratic Congress and LCD form coalition.

Lesotho 2012



Lesotho 2015



How Lesotho Won PR

- Hold crazy FPTP elections that look stolen even though they might not be.
- Suffer civil unrest.
- Convene all-party committee to come up with a fairer system.
- Experience shenanigans.
- Fix the problems with the system.

Scottish Municipal Elections

Scotland

Scottish municipal politics switched from FPTP to STV in 2007. How did they do it?



Licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0 via Wikipedia -

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Scotland_within_the_United_Kingdom.svg

Scottish Devolution

- **1995** The *Scottish Constitutional Convention* (consisting of political parties, excluding Conservatives and SNP) proposes a form of MMPR called the Additional Member System for the new parliament.
- **1997**: UK Labour government holds referendum on creating a Scottish Parliament. It passes with 74.3% of the vote.

Municipal Reform

- **2003**: Labour forms a coalition with Liberal Democrats. As a condition, LibDems demand PR for municipal elections.
- **2004**: *Local Governance (Scotland) Act* act is passed, which legislates STV.
- **2007**: First STV elections.

How Scotland Won PR

- Long devolution campaign and adoption of PR for new parliament (not switching from FPTP).
- Coalition in which junior partner demands PR in exchange for cooperation.

New Zealand

New Zealand

New Zealand switched from FPTP to a MMPR system in 1993. How did they do it?

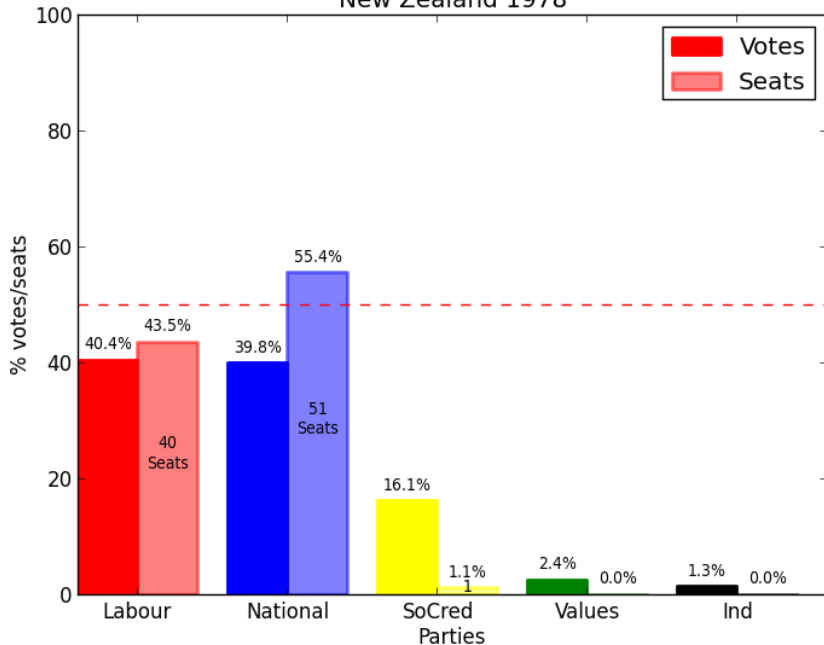


Background

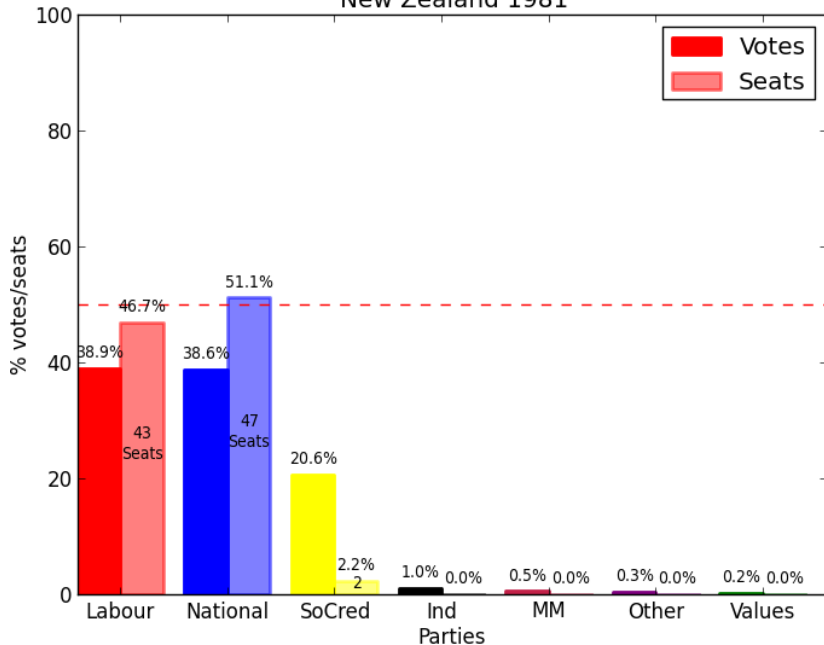
New Zealand holds national elections every three years. Main Parties:

- Labour: large centre-left party.
- National: large centre-right party.
- New Zealand First: centrist anti-immigration party.
- United Future: leftish party formed from the ashes of the United party and Future New Zealand (2002 on)
- Green: environmentalism.
- Maori: Indigenous rights.
- ACT: classical-liberal right-wing party.

New Zealand 1978



New Zealand 1981



Timeline

- 1978,1981: Wrong-way winners.
- 1985: The Labour government implements a *Royal Commission on the Electoral System*, which recommends MMPR.
- 1987: Labour promises a referendum on MMPR but doesn't implement it.
- 1990: Labour (accidentally?) promises a referendum. National promises a (non-binding) referendum.

Referendums

Voters were asked whether to change the electoral system and what alternative to choose.

If voters chose to change the system, there would be a second referendum the following year.

1992 Referendum Question, Part A

Part A: Choose one Proposal

Retain FPP

I vote to retain the present
First Past the Post System

15.28%

Change System

I vote for a change to
the electoral system

81.72%

1992 Referendum Question, Part B

Part B: Choose one Option

Preferential Voting (aka IRV)	6.04%
Mixed-Member Proportional	64.95%
Supplementary Member	5.12%
Single Transferable Vote	16.00%
(Invalid)	7.89%

1992 Referendum Comments

- Having two questions meant voters could indicate that support for eliminating FPTP was much stronger than any consensus on the replacement.
- The New Zealand government sent out information to all households about the different voting systems for Part B.
- There was a 50% double threshold (50% + 1 vote, 50% ridings)

1993 Referendum Question

Choose one Proposal

First Past the Post (FPP)

I vote to retain the present

First Past the Post System

as provided by the Electoral Act 1956

46.14%

Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)

I vote for the proposed Mixed

Member Proportional system as

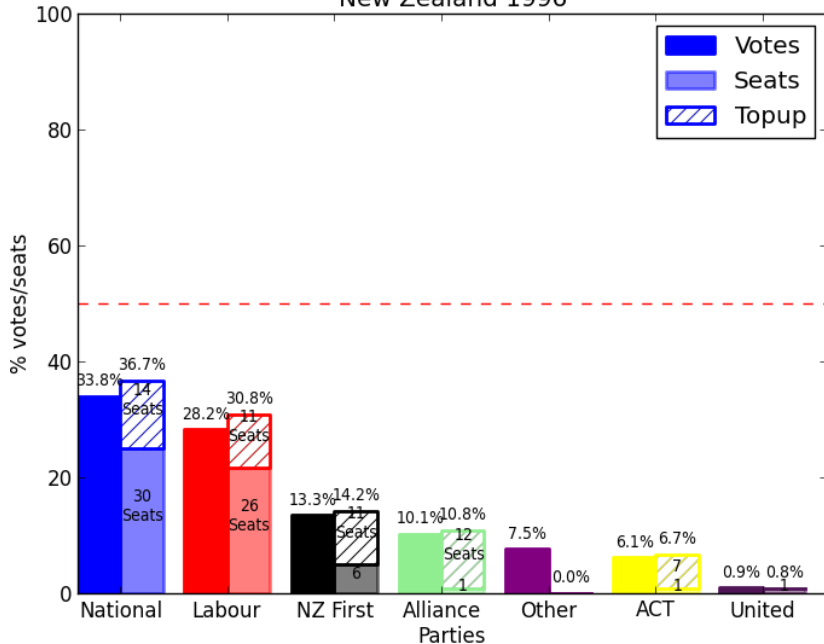
provided by the Electoral Act 1993

53.86%

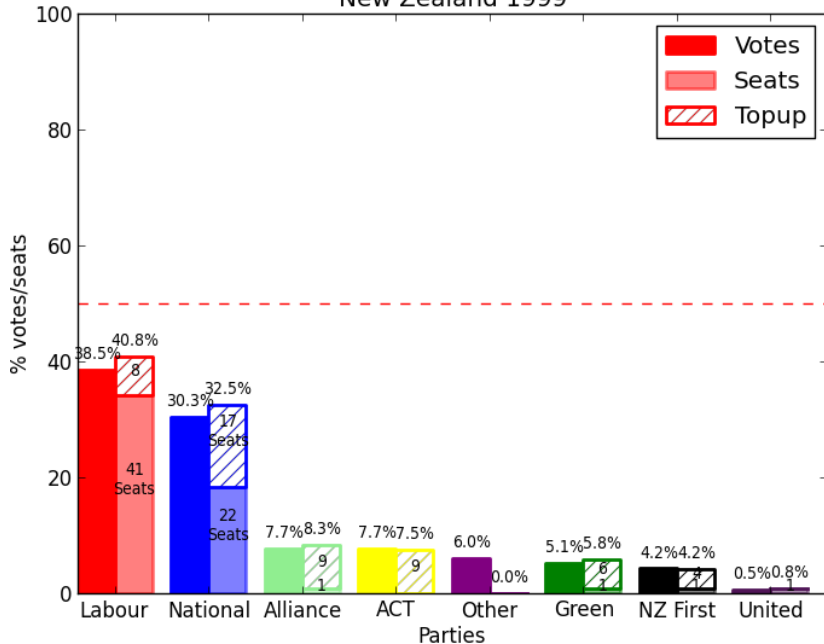
First MMPR elections

- **1996**: National gets a plurality, and unexpectedly partners with New Zealand First (who campaigned against them!)
- **1999**: Labour wins 38.7% of the vote, forms government with Alliance and Greens.
- **2002**: Labour wins 41.2% of the vote, forms government with United Future. Main issue: fight with Greens over GMOs.
- **2005**: Labour wins (41.1%), forms coalition with Progressive, with **supply and confidence** from NZ First, United Future.

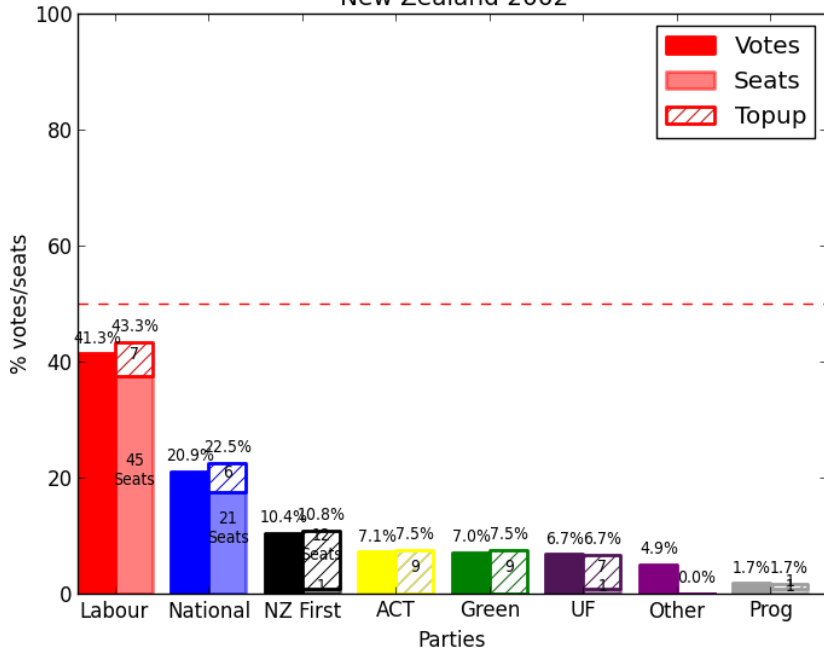
New Zealand 1996



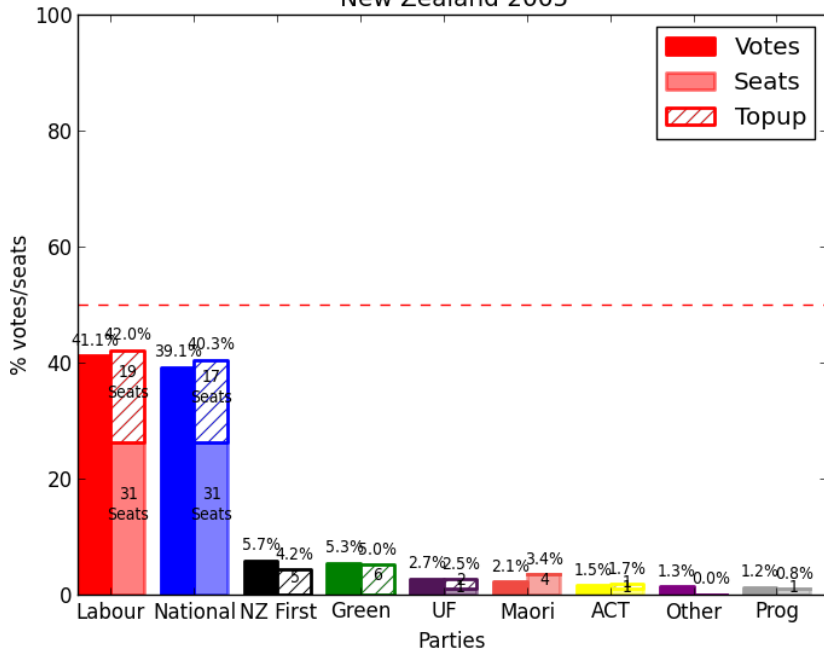
New Zealand 1999



New Zealand 2002



New Zealand 2005



More elections

- **2008**: National wins 44.9% of the vote, governs as minority with supply and confidence from ACT, United Future, Maori parties. National promises to “reevaluate” MMPR via referendum.

Reform, Revisited

- **2008**: National promises a referendum to revisit (and possibly abolish) MMPR.
- **2011**: Referendum! Voters choose to keep MMPR with 57.7% of the (valid) vote.
- **2012**: MMPR is reviewed and some amendments are made to prevent tiny parties from getting extra list seats.

2011 Referendum Question, Part A

Should New Zealand Keep the Mixed Member Proportional voting system?

Yes - keep MMP I vote to keep the MMP System	56.17%
No - change system I vote to change to another system	41.06%
(Invalid)	2.77%

2011 Referendum Question, Part B

If New Zealand were to change to another voting system, which voting system would you choose?

First Past the Post	31.19%
Preferential Voting (aka IRV)	8.34%
Single Transferable Vote	11.19%
Supplementary Member	16.14%
(Invalid)	33.14%

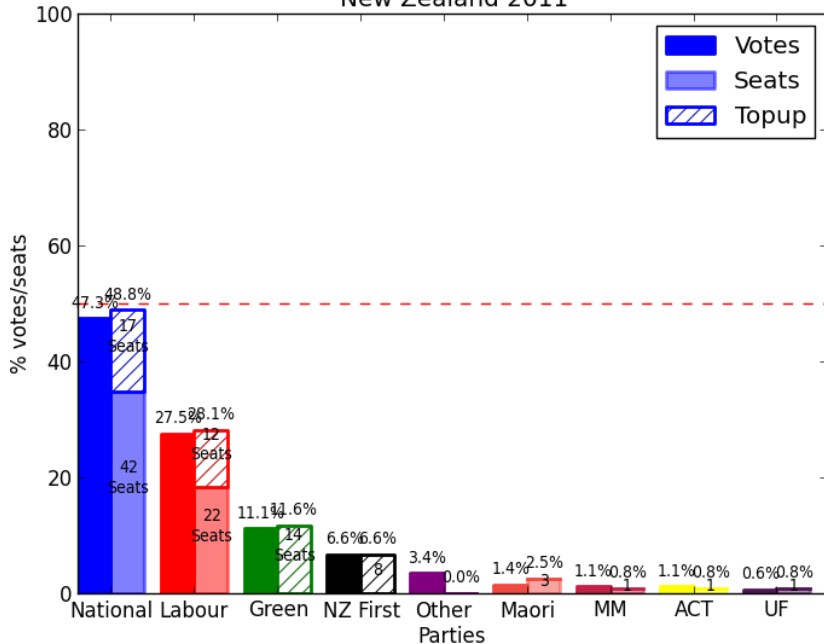
2011 Referendum Comments

- The number of invalid ballots for Part B was enormous.
- Support for MMP appears to have grown since the 1993 election.
- Support for FPTP is still significant: over 30%?

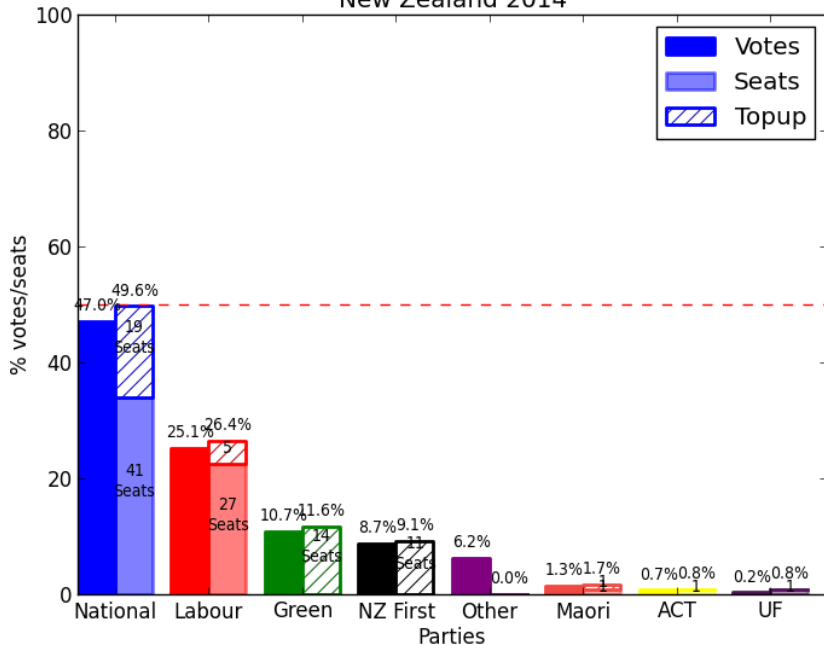
Recent Elections

- **2011**: National wins 47.3% of the vote, governs as minority with supply and confidence from ACT, United Future, Maori.
- **2014**: National wins 47.0% of the vote, 60/121 seats, governs as minority with supply and confidence from ACT, United Future, Maori.

New Zealand 2011



New Zealand 2014



How New Zealand Won PR

- Two wrong-way winners that made Labour (and NZ voters) mad.
- Government report followed by foot-dragging, followed by election promises.
- Two successful referendums.
- Wacky coalitions, then three Labour victories in a row, followed by promises to re-evaluate the system.
- Another referendum which supports MMPR.
- The system is improved.

THE CANADIAN STORY

Trivia Interlude

What has the closest Canada has come to winning proportional representation at any level of government?

Surprise!

- **1920**: Manitoba Liberal party introduces STV for Winnipeg seats (and IRV for rural seats in 1924).
- **1924**: Alberta Progressive party introduces STV for Calgary and Edmonton (and IRV everywhere else).
- **1916-1928**: 18 municipalities introduce STV for municipal elections.

No Surprise!

- 1959 Alberta Social Credit party institutes FPTP everywhere.
- 1956 Manitoba redistributes ridings and eliminates STV.

No Surprise!

- 1959 Alberta Social Credit party institutes FPTP everywhere.
- 1956 Manitoba redistributes ridings and eliminates STV.

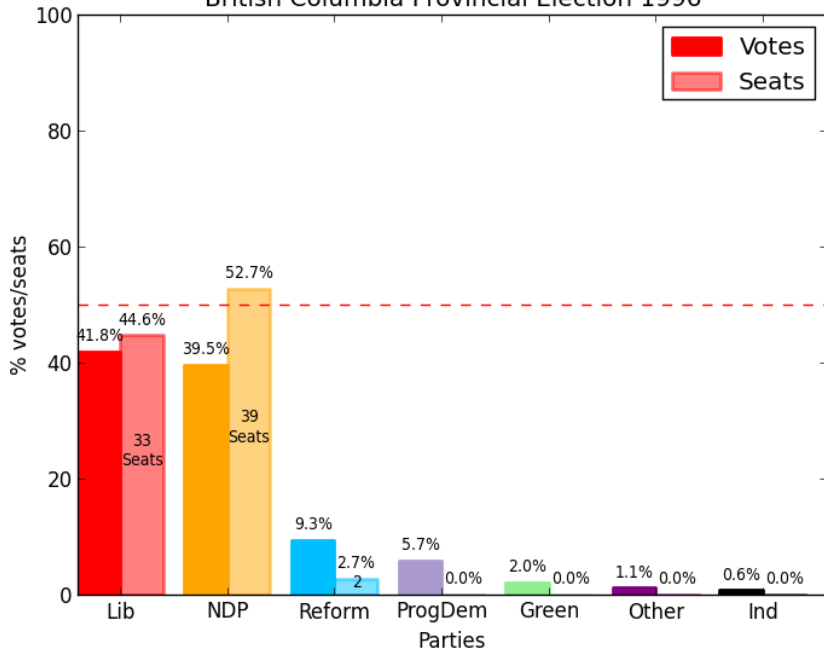
Official reasons: STV and IRV are too difficult to tally, Winnipeg was underrepresented...

Unofficial reasons: Hmmmm...

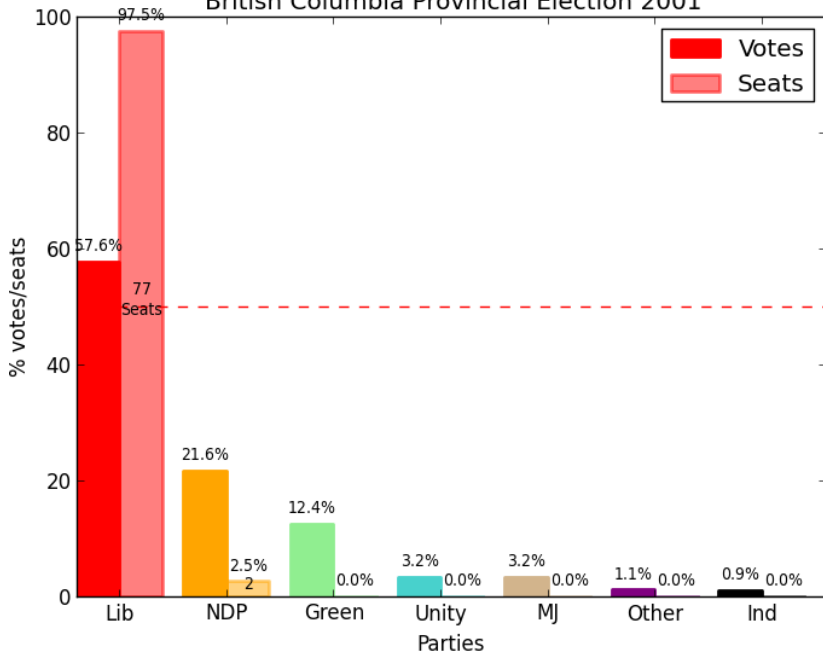
(Also see: British Columbia 1951-1953)

British Columbia

British Columbia Provincial Election 1996



British Columbia Provincial Election 2001



British Columbia Timeline

- **1996**: Wrong-way winner. Liberals lose.
- **2001**: Liberals under Gordon Campbell get lopsided majority, promise electoral reform.
- **2002**: Gordon Gibson of Fraser Institute recommends a **citizens assembly** and referendum.
- **March 2004**: *Electoral Reform Referendum Act* demands 60% supermajority.
- **Dec 2004**: Citizens Assembly recommends STV.

2005 BC Referendum

Should British Columbia change to the BC-STV electoral system, as recommended by the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform?

Option	% Vote	Num Ridings
Yes	57.7%	77
No	43.3	2

Referendum

- Campbell and the Liberals “officially neutral”. The NDP was split (despite having endorsed PR officially). The Green leader Adrienne Carr made statements opposing STV (!)
- Second referendum was promised for 2009, with new electoral boundaries filled in, and funding offered to pro- and anti- groups.

2009 BC Referendum Question

Which electoral system should British Columbia use to elect members to the provincial Legislative Assembly?

Option	% Vote	Ridings
The existing electoral system (First-Past-the-Post)	60.9%	77
The single transferable vote electoral system (BC-STV) proposed by the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform?	39.1%	8

Summary

Initiative	Change System	No Change
BC 2005	57.7	42.3
PEI 2005	36.4	63.6
ON 2007	36.9	63.1
BC 2009	39.1	60.9

Also, attempts in Quebec (ended 2007) and New Brunswick (ended 2006).

Each of these losses hurt the movement. The BC 2009 loss was crippling.

From Conservative Platform

*The Liberals and NDP would make these democratic changes to our democratic system and impose them on Canadians without consultation because when Canadians are asked – as they have been in Ontario, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island – they've **chosen the status quo.***

(emphasis mine)

LESSONS

Lesson: Wacky Elections

Lopsided results and wrong-way majorities motivate electoral reform. (NZ, BC, Lesotho)

Phony majorities and vote-splitting is “business as usual.”

Lesson: Inertia

Moving from FPTP to anything else is really hard.

Once electoral reform has started it can keep going:

- Voting system improvements (NZ, Lesotho)
- Reversions to FPTP (Canada)

Rejected electoral reform attempts cause setbacks.

Lesson: FPTP Corrupts

Governments that win majorities under FPTP have little incentive to change the system unless they get ripped off or can be held accountable.

Governments can sabotage electoral reform:

- “Official” neutrality.
- Supermajority requirements.
- Dragging feet until it is too late.

Lesson: Rocky Beginnings

Expect the first few elections under PR to be rocky.

People will be grumpy with weird outcomes.

Politics will still be dirty.

Lesson: Life Under PR

Democracy means parties you don't like will win power.

PR can make it harder to “kick the rascals out”.

Coalition agreements add post-election drama and can be unexpected (NZ 1996).

FPTP defenders make some arguments that are worth considering (and others that are ridiculous).

Lesson: Referendums

New Zealand has demonstrated that clear multi-part referendums can work well.

The New Zealand referenda clearly distinguished between evaluating FPTP and choosing a different system.

WHAT COMES NEXT?

Municipal Ranked Ballots

The Ontario government will allow (not force) municipalities to use ranked ballots for elections.

“Ranked ballots” are not a voting system, but can be used to implement voting systems:

- Proportional: Single-Transferable Vote (STV)
- Non-proportional: Instant Runoff/Alternative Vote (IRV or AV), Borda Counts...

What to do?

Should we advocate the use of ranked ballots in the region of Waterloo? For mayors? City councillors? Regional councillors?

Should we reject ranked ballots if they will not be used to implement proportional systems?

What happens if we reject electoral change again?

Federal Liberal Promises

From: Liberal platform document *Real Change: A Plan for a New Middle Class*, p. 28

We will make every vote count.

We are committed to ensuring that 2015 will be the last federal election conducted under the first-past-the-post voting system.

We will convene an all-party Parliamentary committee to review a wide variety of reforms, such as ranked ballots, proportional representation, mandatory voting, and online voting.

This committee will deliver its recommendations to Parliament. Within 18 months of forming government, we will introduce legislation to enact electoral reform.

Uh oh

The Liberals are *not* promising to implement proportional representation.

They are promising a multi-party committee which can recommend whatever it wants.

More uh oh

- Electoral catastrophe? No.
- Trudeau supports PR? Not during his leadership campaign.
- Liberals benefit from PR? Not necessarily. IRV is better for big-tent centrist parties.
- Liberals ripped off by FPTP? Not more than usual.
- Government won phony majority? Yes.
- Official opposition advocating for PR? No.

What can we do?

We cannot *force* the Liberals to adopt PR. But maybe we can...

- Keep pressure on all parties in parliament.

What can we do?

We cannot *force* the Liberals to adopt PR. But maybe we can...

- Keep pressure on all parties in parliament.
- Criticize attempts by the government to sabotage the process.

What can we do?

We cannot *force* the Liberals to adopt PR. But maybe we can...

- Keep pressure on all parties in parliament.
- Criticize attempts by the government to sabotage the process.
- Broaden support and awareness of electoral reform.

What can we do?

We cannot *force* the Liberals to adopt PR. But maybe we can...

- Keep pressure on all parties in parliament.
- Criticize attempts by the government to sabotage the process.
- Broaden support and awareness of electoral reform.
- Take advantage of municipal electoral reform.

What can we do?

We cannot *force* the Liberals to adopt PR. But maybe we can...

- Keep pressure on all parties in parliament.
- Criticize attempts by the government to sabotage the process.
- Broaden support and awareness of electoral reform.
- Take advantage of municipal electoral reform.
- Keep proportional representation multipartisan.

What can we do?

We cannot *force* the Liberals to adopt PR. But maybe we can...

- Keep pressure on all parties in parliament.
- Criticize attempts by the government to sabotage the process.
- Broaden support and awareness of electoral reform.
- Take advantage of municipal electoral reform.
- Keep proportional representation multipartisan.
- Stop fighting among ourselves!

How? (You already
know how)

Learn

Can you explain FPTP and PR to others?

Are you comfortable with the tradeoffs yourself?

What things do you want from democracy?

Get Involved

Fair Vote Canada is holding a meeting on:
Monday Nov 9, 7pm, Heather Hotel: Working
with MPs.

You can join the leadnow.ca campaign.

You can make other local activities (discussions,
learning circles, public events) happen as well.



Fair Vote Canada, CC-BY <http://www.fairvotewrc.ca/election-simulation-at-kultrun/>

Keep Up the Pressure

Let your MP know you are vigilant.

In-person meetings are most effective, followed by snail mail, email, and then signing petitions.

Positive signs

Awareness of the term “First-Past-the-Post” is rising.

Some big players (eg leadnow.ca) are taking up this cause.

The kids are all right.

The Conservatives mentioned electoral reform in their platform.

THE END

FEEDBACK

Thank You!

To all of you for attending.

To those who offered publicity help.

To everybody who put up with me obsessing about this talk for a month and a half.

To people who helped with setup and takedown.

To The Working Centre for hosting the space.

**QUESTIONS?
CLARIFICATIONS?
PITCHFORKS?**

License

This slideshow is released under a Creative Commons Attribution Sharealike 4.0 license.

If the screenshots I grabbed are not eligible for CC-BY-SA licensing, then they should be omitted from derivative works.

REFERENCES

References: FPTP I

- [1] New Democratic Party of Canada. *Top 10 reasons to vote NDP this election*. <http://www.ndp.ca/top-ten-reasons-to-vote-ndp>. [Published 2015-10-05; accessed 2015-11-05]. 2015.
- [2] Bruce Cheadle. *Trudeau scores stunning Liberal majority*. <http://www.therecord.com/news-story/5966616-trudeau-scores-stunning-liberal-majority/>. [Published 2015-10-20 in Waterloo Record; accessed 2015-11-05]. 2015.

References: FPTP II

- [3] Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. *Canada Election Live Results CBC*. <http://www.cbc.ca/includes/federalection/dashboard/>. [Accessed 2015-10-30]. 2015.
- [4] Mark Gollum. *Trudeau pledges 'real change' as Liberals leap ahead to majority government*. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-election-2015-voting-results-polls-1.3278537>. [Published 2015-10-19; accessed 2015-11-05]. 2015.
- [5] Official Agent for the Liberal Party of Canada. *What's at stake on June 28th*. 2004.

References: FPTP III

- [6] Official Agent for Raj Saini. *In Kitchener Centre, only Raj SAINI can stop Stephen Harper*. 2015.
- [7] Matthew Søberg Shugart. “Inherent and Contingent Factors in Reform Initiation in Plurality Systems”. In: *To Keep or Change First Past the Post?* Ed. by André Blais. [Good overview of factors leading to FPTP change.] Oxford University Press, 2008. ISBN: 978-0-19-953939-0.
- [8] *Liberals unseat Conservatives*.
<http://www.thestar.com/news/2015/10/20/liberals-unseat-conservatives.html>.
[Published 2015-10-20 in Toronto Star; accessed 2015-11-05]. 2015.

References: Lesotho I

- [9] British Broadcasting Corporation, ed. *Lesotho profile - Timeline*. [Good overview of Lesotho history]. 2015-03-19. URL: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13729501> (visited on 2015-11-08).
- [10] *Independent Political Authority Act 1998 (Act No 16 of 1998)*. [Legislation defining the committee that chose the MMPR system for Lesotho]. 1998. URL: <http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/91512/106155/F-1174495062/LS091512.pdf> (visited on 2015-11-08).

References: Lesotho II

- [11] Matthew S. Shugart. “MMP in Lesotho, 2012”. In: *Fruits and Votes* (2012-07-05). [Description of move to a one-vote system]. URL: <https://fruitsandvotes.wordpress.com/2012/07/05/mmp-in-lesotho-2012/> (visited on 2015-11-08).
- [12] Matthew S. Shugart. “MMP manipulated in Lesotho?” In: *Fruits and Votes* (2007-02-23). [Description of 1998 shenanigans]. URL: <https://fruitsandvotes.wordpress.com/2007/02/23/mmp-manipulated-in-lesotho/> (visited on 2015-11-08).

References: Lesotho III

- [13] Roger Southall and Roddy Fox. “Lesotho’s general election of 1998: rigged or de rigeur?” In: *the Journal of Modern African Studies* (1999). [Overview of 1998 election, and arguments that the election was free and fair.], pp. 669–696. URL: http://www.researchgate.net/publication/29806772_Lesotho%27s_general_election_of_1998_rigged_or_de_rigeur.

References: Lesotho IV

- [14] *The MMP Electoral System Faces Political Challenges in Lesotho*. [Explanation of 1998 shenanigans.] ACE Electoral Knowledge Network. URL: <http://aceproject.org/today/feature-articles/the-mmp-electoral-system-faces-political-challenges-in-lesotho> (visited on 2015-11-08).
- [15] Wikipedia. *Lesotho* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Lesotho&oldid=688741951>. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.

References: Lesotho V

- [16] Wikipedia. *Locator_map_of_Lesotho_in_Africa.svg*
— *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*.
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:
Locator_map_of_Lesotho_in_Africa.svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Locator_map_of_Lesotho_in_Africa.svg).
[Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.

References: Scotland I

- [17] David Denver and Hugh Bochel. “A Quiet Revolution: STV and the Scottish Council Elections of 2007”. In: *Scottish Affairs* 61 (1 2007). [Analysis of the first STV elections], pp. 1–17. ISSN: 0966-0356. URL: http://www.researchgate.net/publication/265526194_A_Quiet_Revolution_STV_and_the_Scottish_Council_Elections_of_2007.
- [18] Scottish Government. “Annex A Scotland’s Constitutional Journey”. In: (2013-11-26). URL: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2013/11/9348/16> (visited on 2015-11-08).

References: Scotland II

- [19] Learning and Teaching Scotland. In: *Modern Studies*. 2008, pp. 8, 12. URL: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/DevolvedDecisionMaking2008_tcm4-467445.doc (visited on 2015-11-08).
- [20] Wikipedia. *Local Governance (Scotland) Act 2004* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. [How municipal elections got STV]. 2015. URL: [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Local_Governance_\(Scotland\)_Act_2004&oldid=688741951](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Local_Governance_(Scotland)_Act_2004&oldid=688741951) (visited on 2015-11-04).

References: Scotland III

- [21] Wikipedia.
Map_of_Scotland_within_the_United_Kingdom.svg
— *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Scotland_within_the_United_Kingdom.svg.
[Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.
- [22] Wikipedia. *Scottish Constitutional Convention* —
Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. [Timeline of
Scottish change, and process of choosing MMPR].
2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Scottish_Constitutional_Convention&oldid=688741951 (visited on
2015-11-04).

References: Scotland IV

- [23] Wikipedia. *Scottish Devolution Referendum, 1997* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. [How Scotland got its own parliament]. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Scottish_Devolution_Referendum,1987&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).

References: New Zealand I

- [24] Wikipedia. *Electoral reform in New Zealand* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. [Information about 1992, 1993 referendums.] 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Electoral_reform_in_New_Zealand&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).
- [25] Wikipedia. *File:New_Zealand_location_map.svg* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:New_Zealand_location_map.svg. 2015. (Visited on 2015-11-04).

References: New Zealand II

- [26] Wikipedia. *New Zealand voting system referendum, 2011* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Zealand_voting_system_referendum,_2011&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).
- [27] Elections New Zealand. "From FPP to MMP". In: *Elections New Zealand* (). [Concise overview of early reform history.] URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130208082909/http://www.elections.org.nz/voting/mmp/history-mmp.html> (visited on 2015-11-10).

References: British Columbia I

- [28] R. Kenneth Carty, André Blais, and Patrick Fournier. “When Citizens Choose to Reform SMP: The British Columbia Citizens Assembly on Electoral Reform”. In: *To Keep or Change First Past the Post?* Ed. by André Blais. Oxford University Press, 2008. ISBN: 978-0-19-953939-0.
- [29] Louis Massicotte. “Electoral Reform in Canada”. In: *To Keep or Change First Past the Post?* Ed. by André Blais. [Early Canadian reform; overview of recent efforts.] Oxford University Press, 2008. ISBN: 978-0-19-953939-0.

References: British Columbia II

- [30] Wikipedia. *British Columbia electoral reform referendum, 2005* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=British_Columbia_electoral_reform_referendum,_2005&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).
- [31] Wikipedia. *British Columbia electoral reform referendum, 2009* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=British_Columbia_electoral_reform_referendum,_2009&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).

References: British Columbia III

- [32] Wikipedia. *Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform (British Columbia)* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Citizens%27_Assembly_on_Electoral_Reform_%28British_Columbia%29&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).

References: (Rest of) Canada I

- [33] Andre Barnes and James R. Robertson. “Electoral Reform Initiatives in Canada”. In: (2009-08-18). [Useful for info about New Brunswick, Quebec.] URL: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/LOP/ResearchPublications/prb0417-e.htm> (visited on 2015-11-10).
- [34] Conservative Party of Canada. *Protect Our Economy: Our Conservative Plan to Protect the Economy*. [No longer online]. 2015. URL: <http://www.conservative.ca/media/plan/conservative-platform-en.pdf> (visited on 2015-10-18).

References: (Rest of) Canada II

- [35] Fair Vote Canada. *On December 3, 2014, just ten months ago...* [Pie chart graphic]. URL: <https://www.facebook.com/fairvotewrc/posts/10156180744960346> (visited on 2015-11-11).
- [36] Law Commission of Canada. *Voting Counts: Electoral Reform for Canada*. Minister of Public Works and Services (?), 2004. ISBN: 0-622-36426-0. URL: <http://www.publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/J31-61-2004E.pdf> (visited on 2015-11-11).

References: (Rest of) Canada III

- [37] Liberal Party of Canada. *Real Change: A Plan for a New Middle Class*. 2015. URL: <https://www.liberal.ca/files/2015/10/New-plan-for-a-strong-middle-class.pdf>.
- [38] Parliament of Canada. *Vote No. 291*. [Dec 2014 vote on MMPR]. URL: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Parl=41&Ses=2&FltrParl=41&FltrSes=2&Vote=291> (visited on 2015-11-11).

References: (Rest of) Canada IV

- [39] Supreme Court of Canada. *Brian Gibb, et al. v. Attorney General of Quebec, et al.* [Summary of case]. URL: <http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/case-dossier/info/sum-som-eng.aspx?cas=34521> (visited on 2015-11-11).
- [40] Supreme Court of Canada. *Brian Gibb, et al. v. Attorney General of Quebec, et al. (Docket)*. [Judgement of case]. URL: <http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/case-dossier/info/dock-regi-eng.aspx?cas=34521> (visited on 2015-11-11).

References: (Rest of) Canada V

- [41] “Radical Centrist”. “AV in Canada”. In: *On Procedure and Politics* (2011-04-27). [Early history.] URL: <http://thoughtundermined.com/2011/04/27/av-in-canada/> (visited on 2015-11-10).
- [42] NO MMP Committee. *No MMP*. 2007.
- [43] Le Directeur Général des Élections du Québec. *Reform of the Voting Systems*. [Links to description of proposed voting system (in French)]. 2015. URL: <http://www.electionsquebec.qc.ca/english/provincial/media/reform-of-the-voting-system.php> (visited on 2015-11-11).

References: (Rest of) Canada VI

- [44] Lawrence Leduc, Heather Bastedo, and Catherine Baquero. *The Quiet Referendum: Why Electoral Reform Failed in Ontario*. [Excellent analysis of 2007 media coverage]. 2008. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140417030917/http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2008/LeDuc.pdf> (visited on 2015-11-11).
- [29] Louis Massicotte. "Electoral Reform in Canada". In: *To Keep or Change First Past the Post?* Ed. by André Blais. [Early Canadian reform; overview of recent efforts.] Oxford University Press, 2008. ISBN: 978-0-19-953939-0.

References: (Rest of) Canada VII

- [45] Jeune Barreau de Montréal. “Résumé SOQUIJ de la semaine: Le lieu de résidence n’est pas un motif analogue à ceux énumérés à l’article 15 de la Charte canadienne”. In: *BlogueduCRL.com* (2011-09-30). [In French. Describes the reasoning behind the Charter challenge decision]. URL: <http://www.blogueducrl.com/2011/09/le-lieu-de-residence-nest-pas-un-motif.html> (visited on 2015-11-11).

References: (Rest of) Canada VIII

- [46] L'Association pour la Revendication des Droits Démocratiques. *HomePage*. [In French. Description of the Charter challenge.] 2011. URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110903110116/http://www.ardd.qc.ca/> (visited on 2015-11-11).

References: (Rest of) Canada IX

- [47] The Ontario Citizens' Assembly Secretariat. *Democracy at work: The Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform*. Queen's Publisher for Ontario, 2007. URL: <http://www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca/assets/Democracy%20at%20Work%20-%20The%20Ontario%20Citizens%27%20Assembly%20on%20Electoral%20Reform.pdf> (visited on 2015-11-10).

References: (Rest of) Canada X

- [48] Wikipedia. *Manitoba general election, 1953* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. [End of STV in Manitoba]. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Manitoba_general_election,_1953&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).
- [49] Wikipedia. *Manitoba general election, 1958* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. [End of STV in Manitoba]. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Manitoba_general_election,_1958&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).

References: (Rest of) Canada XI

- [50] Wikipedia. *Prince Edward Island electoral reform referendum, 2005* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL:
https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Prince_Edward_Island_electoral_reform_referendum,_2005&oldid=688741951
(visited on 2015-11-04).

References: Election Tallies I

- [51] African Elections Database, ed. *Elections in Lesotho*. [Tallies for early elections]. 2012-06-08.
URL:
<http://africanelections.tripod.com/ls.html>
(visited on 2015-11-08).
- [52] Wikipedia. *Alberta general election, 1979* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Canadian_federal_election,_2015&oldid=688741951.
[Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.

References: Election Tallies II

- [53] Wikipedia. *British Columbia general election, 1996* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=British_Columbia_general_election,_1996&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).
- [54] Wikipedia. *British Columbia general election, 2001* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=British_Columbia_general_election,_2001&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).

References: Election Tallies III

- [55] Wikipedia. *Canadian federal election, 1979* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Canadian_federal_election,_1979&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.
- [56] Wikipedia. *Canadian federal election, 2008* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Canadian_federal_election,_2008&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.

References: Election Tallies IV

- [57] Wikipedia. *Canadian federal election, 2011* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Canadian_federal_election,_2011&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.
- [58] Wikipedia. *Canadian federal election, 2015* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Canadian_federal_election,_2015&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.

References: Election Tallies V

- [59] Wikipedia. *Lesotho general election, 1970* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Lesotho_general_election,1970&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.
- [60] Wikipedia. *Lesotho general election, 1993* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Lesotho_general_election,1993&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.

References: Election Tallies VI

- [61] Wikipedia. *Lesotho general election, 1998* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Lesotho_general_election,1998&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.
- [62] Wikipedia. *Lesotho general election, 2002* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Lesotho_general_election,2002&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.

References: Election Tallies VII

- [63] Wikipedia. *Lesotho general election, 2007* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Lesotho_general_election,2007&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.
- [64] Wikipedia. *Lesotho general election, 2012* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Lesotho_general_election,2012&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.

References: Election Tallies VIII

- [65] Wikipedia. *Lesotho general election, 2015* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Lesotho_general_election,2015&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.
- [66] Wikipedia. *New Brunswick general election, 1974* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Brunswick_general_election,_1974&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.

References: Election Tallies IX

- [67] Wikipedia. *New Brunswick general election, 1987* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*.
https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Brunswick_general_election,_1987&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04].
2015.
- [68] Wikipedia. *New Brunswick general election, 2006* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*.
https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Brunswick_general_election,_2006&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04].
2015.

References: Election Tallies X

- [69] Wikipedia. *New Zealand general election, 1978* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Zealand_general_election,_1978&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).
- [70] Wikipedia. *New Zealand general election, 1981* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Zealand_general_election,_1981&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).

References: Election Tallies XI

- [71] Wikipedia. *New Zealand general election, 1996* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Zealand_general_election,_1996&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).
- [72] Wikipedia. *New Zealand general election, 1999* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Zealand_general_election,_1999&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).

References: Election Tallies XII

- [73] Wikipedia. *New Zealand general election, 2002* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Zealand_general_election,_2002&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).
- [74] Wikipedia. *New Zealand general election, 2005* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Zealand_general_election,_2005&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).

References: Election Tallies XIII

- [75] Wikipedia. *New Zealand general election, 2008* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Zealand_general_election,_2008&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).
- [76] Wikipedia. *New Zealand general election, 2011* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Zealand_general_election,_2011&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).

References: Election Tallies XIV

- [77] Wikipedia. *New Zealand general election, 2014* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. 2015. URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=New_Zealand_general_election,_2014&oldid=688741951 (visited on 2015-11-04).
- [78] Wikipedia. *PEI Elections 2*. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:PEI_elections2.gif. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.
- [79] Wikipedia. *Quebec general election, 1998* — *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Quebec_general_election,_1998&oldid=688741951. [Accessed 2015-11-04]. 2015.

EXTRA SLIDES

Other Provinces

2005: Prince Edward Island

- **2003:** Government appoints one-person commission (Norman H Carruthers) to conduct consultations and study electoral reform.
- **2005:** PEI holds plebiscite on MMPR system (with usual supermajority).
- 36.4% vote in favour, passing in 2/27 ridings.

PEI Comments

- Referendum was not held during an election. It had fewer polling stations. Turnout was low.
- Neither the Liberals nor Conservatives supported the change.

2006: New Brunswick

- **2003:** Commission on Legislative Democracy established by Conservative Bernard Lord.
- **2005:** Commission recommends MMPR system and referendum.
- **2006:** Conservatives lose election (in wrong-way winner!), and Liberals drop the recommendation.

Quebec

- **2003**: Estates General on Reform of Democratic Commissions recommends regional MMPR.
- **2004**: Draft bill proposed to Quebec assembly.
- **2006**: Appointed Citizens Committee rejects bill as written, but recommends a different form of MMPR.
- **2007**: Chief Electoral Officer releases report recommending a switch.
- And then...?

2007: Ontario

- 2004: Liberals announce Citizens' Assembly and referendum
- 2007: Citizens' Assembly recommends MMPR.
- 2007: Ontario holds referendum with usual supermajority thresholds.
- 36.9% vote for MMPR, passing in 5/107 ridings.

Ontario Comments

- Liberals: Officially neutral. PC: against. NDP: supposedly in favour.
- Media coverage was overwhelmingly negative.
- Government education campaign: terrible.

Canada

2004: Law Commission of Canada

- 2004: Law Commission of Canada drafts a report recommending MMPR.
- 2005: NDP forces Liberals to establish a Committee to review electoral reform. They reject a Citizens Assembly process. They set up procedures to report by Feb 2006.
- 2006: Liberal government falls and is replaced by Conservatives.
- And then...?

2008-2012: Charter Challenge

The Association for the Advancement of Democratic Rights took the Quebec government to court over FPTP, citing Charter:

- Section 3: All citizens have the right to vote, but not all votes are counted.
- Section 15: FPTP discriminates against women, minorities, and supporters of fringe parties.

In 2009 a Quebec judge ruled against the case. In 2012 their appeal to the Supreme Court was dismissed.

Sidenote: IRV in BC

1951: British Columbia introduces (non-proportional) IRV to keep the CCF from benefiting from vote splitting.

1953: British Columbia Social Credit party abolishes IRV in favour of FPTP.

What do you want from democracy?

- To help elect people you like?
- To prevent people you dislike from getting power?
- To give governments strong mandates?
- To have strong local representation?
- To introduce new ideas and innovation?
- To let governments make unpopular but necessary decisions?
- To kick the rascals out?

Dec 3 2014 vote

That, in the opinion of the House: (a) the next federal election should be the last conducted under the current first-past-the-post electoral system which has repeatedly delivered a majority of seats to parties supported by a minority of voters, or under any other winner-take-all electoral system; and (b) a form of mixed-member proportional representation would be the best electoral system for Canada.

On December 3, 2014, MPs voted on an Opposition Motion for Mixed Member Proportional Representation



YES



NO



Conservative



NDP



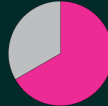
Liberal



Bloc



Green



Independents &
Forces et Démocratie

Elect MPs who support proportional representation.
MAKE ALL OUR VOTES COUNT! www.fairvote.ca



No MMP

NO MMP

NO to Party lists. NO to Party deals. NO to MMP.

On October 10, 2007, as part of the next Provincial election, Ontarians will be asked if they want to replace our current electoral system with a "Mixed Member Proportional" (MMP) form of voting.

To achieve proportionality, the proposed MMP system **shifts power from local voters and ridings to party headquarters at Queen's Park.**

Do you want...

17 fewer local ridings, covering more territory, with less contact with your local representative?

39 politicians chosen by other politicians ... not you?

Closed door party deal-making, for weeks after elections, to decide who governs the Province?

Tax dollars paying for 22 more politicians and their staff at Queen's Park?

A confusing ballot and vote counting system?

A weaker, indecisive Ontario?

Fringe parties holding the balance of power with 2 or 3 seats?

On October 10th

*Vote to keep
our present voting
system!*

No MMP - back

NO MMP

NO to Party lists, NO to Party deals, NO to MMP.

MMP Myths and Facts

Proponents of the "Mixed Member Proportional" voting system claim that, if it is approved in the **October 10th Referendum**, MMP will cure most, if not all of Ontario's political ills. Here are the realities:

MMP will not produce higher voter turnout.

Declining voter turnout levels are a global problem and affect both MMP countries and First Past the Post (FPTP) countries equally. New Zealand switched from FPTP to MMP in 1996 and is now posting their lowest voter turnouts in history.

MMP will not increase diversity in the Legislature.

MMP can increase diversity *only* if parties choose to appoint women and minority candidates to their party lists. Otherwise, the effort to achieve a diverse Legislature is the same as under the current system. In fact, the number of women in the Scottish National Parliament actually went down in their last MMP election.

MMP will not bring harmony to the Legislature.

MMP will open the possibilities for more back-scratching and backroom deals between political parties to decide who has power. MMP will do nothing to improve the bickering and partisan rhetoric in the legislatures that we see in minority governments these days.

Our current voting system is not out of step with the rest of the world.

Canada and each of its Provinces, the United States, the United Kingdom and India, which together represent 45% of the world's population living in democracies, use systems similar to our own.

Join a growing number of people
across Ontario opposed to MMP.

Send a cheque (payable to
NO MMP Committee) to:
29 Glenside Avenue, Toronto M4L 2T5.

Help organize your part of Ontario.