Submitted by Norman Laverty, former Superintendent of Pensions of NB, Fredericton, NB (5 pages, 1486 words)

An Electing System that More Fairly Represents the Political Nuances of Canada, But Retains the Same Number, and Relative Size, of Ridings

## How It's Done:

## Selection by Provincial Ranking

## A. The Proposal

1) Maintain the present system of ridings. There is little public appetite:

- to increase costs of governance, or
- to make communication with one's member of parliament more difficult.

2) Use the same procedure and ballot form as now.
3) Award a SCORE to each candidate equal to their fraction of the total vote in the respective riding.
4) An independent candidate is deemed to be a party with one candidate.
5) Award a SEAT QUOTA to each party equal to the sum of the SCORES for its candidates in a province (or group of territories). Calculating the SEAT QUOTA by province respects the regional nuances brought to the political conjuncture by parties which have their strength in certain provinces.
6) Make a PROVINCIAL LIST of all the candidates ranked by their SCORES, from the highest to the lowest.
7) Descending the list, evaluate each candidate by applying the conditions described below to discern whether they are ELECTED. The candidate is not ELECTED:
a. if the riding seat has been awarded to someone higher in the PROVINCIAL LIST;
b. if the SCORE is less than $25 \%$ of the largest SCORE for the riding; or
c. if the RUNNING SEAT QUOTA is not greater than zero.
(The RUNNING SEAT QUOTA is a variable quantity, set initially to the SEAT QUOTA calculated in provision \#5.)
Otherwise the candidate is ELECTED.
If the candidate is ELECTED, the RUNNING SEAT QUOTA for the candidate's party is reduced by one, (before descending further on the PROVINCIAL LIST).
8) If the PROVINCIAL LIST is exhausted and any ridings do not have a candidate ELECTED, then the candidate with the most votes in the riding is declared ELECTED notwithstanding provision \#7.
9) Provide relevant information to the media and party representatives so that they can construct a view of the results for specific ridings

Sample media riding picture (Egmont, PEI 2015) background indicates a condition violation

| prov. | candidate | party | votes | votes as \% <br> raction <br> of total <br> votes | peat quota <br> remaining <br> remest <br> number of <br> votes | particulars <br> going down the <br> PROVINCIAL LIST |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 | Morrissey | Liberal | 10,521 | 0.49 | -0.67 | $100 \%$ | seat quota exhausted <br> at provincial rank 3 |
| 5 | Shea | Conservative | 6,185 | 0.29 | 0.77 | $59 \%$ | winning |
| 7 | Dikieson | NDP | 4,097 | 0.19 | 0.65 | $39 \%$ | not winning |
| 16 | Ling | Green | 559 | 0.03 | 0.24 | $5 \%$ | $\%$ not more than $25 \%$ |
|  |  | total | 21,362 |  |  |  |  |

In proposing an election system, whatever system it may be, the problems of communicating with the public should be considered.

Additional provisions should be enacted to deal with ties, resignations or deaths, change of party status, etcetera.

Changing the election procedure is not the whole solution for dealing with the increases of political nuances in Canada. All legislation should be submitted to an appropriate committee for review before, or at Third Reading, unless there is unanimous consent to forego such review.

Each member (not a party leader) should choose a given number of committees (e.g. 5 committees) on which they serve in order to represent the interests of their riding, or to make the best use of their knowledge and skills.

Each committee should make its own rules at the beginning of a session to avoid filibustering or overly rapid review. Such rules should be approved by $2 / 3$ or more of the members of the committee.

## B. Comparisons

In general this proposal can be expected to give a result comparable to a mixed Proportional/First Past the Postelection system, but without need to increase the size of the present ridings or the number of members of parliament. The actual results in 2015 would have been the following:
for British Columbia

| election system | Liberal | NDP | Conservative | Green |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| First Past the Post | 17 | 14 | 10 | 1 |
| 100\% Proportional | 15 | 11 | 13 | 3 |
| 50\% Proportional/50\% First Past the Post | 16 | 12.5 | 11.5 | 2 |
| this proposal | 16 | 11 | 13 | 2 |

for Ontario

| election system | Liberal | NDP | Conservative | Green | residual |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| First Past the Post | 80 | 8 | 33 | 0 | - |
| $100 \%$ Proportional | 54 | 20 | 42 | 3 | 2 |
| $50 \%$ Proportional/ $50 \%$ First Past the Post | 67 | 14 | 37.5 | 1.5 | 1 |
| this proposal | 58 | 21 | 42 | 0 | - |

Of course these results are somewhat misleading because under a different system more people will vote their heart, and less voters will feel they have to vote strategically while trying to guess the final result.

## Preferential Ballot

A Preferential Ballot is often compared to how political parties choose their leaders at a convention. However, there is an important functional and mathematical difference. In a general election, the voting does not happen at one geographical location. The votes are cast at a number of different polls. To compile the results, it is not just simple addition of votes for each candidate. Each poll has to report the number for each permutation of preferences. Instead of reporting 5 numbers for 5 candidates, it is necessary to report $120(5 \times 4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 1)$ numbers for 120 permutations of preferences. Even if the choice is limited to 3 choices, the number of permutations is still 60 ( $5 \times 4 \times 3$ ). In a riding such as Vancouver East, where there were 8 candidates in 2015, the number of permutations of preferences would be $40,320(8 \times 7 \times 6 \times 5 \times 4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 1)$.

When all the numbers of the different polls are summed for all the permutations, then begins the process of eliminating the candidate with the lowest number of first choices and discerning the second choice on the relevant ballots from the various sums of permutations. This process continues mutatis mutandis until one of the candidates has $50 \%$ or greater.

Although it is true that the ballot can be computerized with a paper copy back-up (as in New Brunswick elections), and then write a program to determine the winner, how does the media make all this
transparent? How does it make it possible for the ordinary citizen to see how the result was obtained, especially in ridings where there may be as many as 40,320 sums of different ranked preferences?

Run-off elections (Europe) and 13 day delays (Australia) are not acceptable solutions.

## Single Transferable Vote (STV)

Although the proposal of this brief is similar in some aspects to Single Transferable Vote, many of the concerns about transparency expressed above about Preferential Ballot also apply to STV.

## C. Conclusion

The three main advantages of this proposal are the following:

## 1. it more fairly accommodates the political nuances of Canada than First Past the Post; but also

2. it is able to do that without changing any ridings or the voting procedure; and
3. point 2 means that this proposal is probably the easiest and the least risky to implement before the next election.

## D. The Mandate

In the 19th century, there were a series of rebellions in different regions of Canada. Family compacts were replaced by responsible government based on a two party system. First Past the Post may have been then an adequate voting system for such a two party system, (although Stephen Leacock's account of a Canadian election in his 1912 book, Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town, may make you wonder at that assessment.)

Since then, however, Canadian society has become so complex, that two parties cannot represent all the political nuances that need to be expressed. The First Past the Post voting system can no longer express the interests of the greater part of Canadians. It cannot even respect a simple majority opinion among all Canadians.

So during the last election the now governing party undertook to assure the citizens of Canada that that general election was the last one in which First Past the Post would be used. The now governing party was not the only party to support such a change. There is a general desire among the Canadian electorate that the electoral system be changed before the next general election.

Talk of referenda, electronic voting, compulsory voting, etcetera are only diversions that keep us from the real task. (The Brexit referendum in the U. K. shows the danger of politicians hiding behind a referendum.) The parliamentary committee should

## propose to the parliament within the present mandate an amendment to the electoral law to replace First Past the Post.

Thank you for your dedication to this matter.
I am available to advise on:
a) doing spreadsheets to test real election data, or
b) drafting the intent of this proposal.

## Summary of Recommendations

1) Adopt the above proposal in A.
2) Keep the governing party's promise to replace First Past the Post before the next federal general election (cf. D. Mandate).
