

Make every vote count

Fair Vote Canada presentation on Proportional Representation

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[Note: Feel free to adapt this introduction to suit yourself. A personal story about why you are concerned about PR is a wonderful start.]

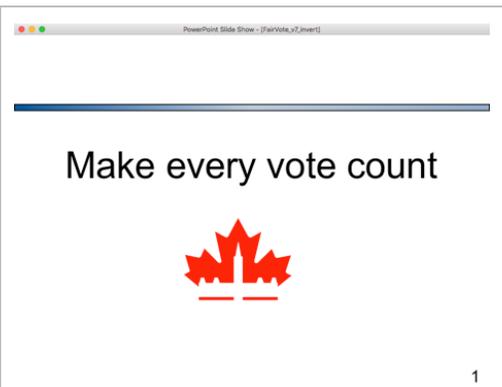
Hello! My name is _____ and I'm delighted to be here to discuss making every vote count.

[Click] I'm here on behalf of Fair Vote Canada, a national, non-profit, multi-partisan, grassroots organization that advocates for electing Parliament using proportional representation.

[Click] We advocate for proportional representation, also known as "PR", because our current electoral system no longer serves the needs of Canadians.

Our current system does not adequately reflect the wishes of voters, does not adequately represent voters, and discourages cooperation between parties.

In our current system, some votes count more than others and some votes don't count at all. Fortunately, there are electoral systems in which every vote does count!



[\[Click\]](#) The Liberals made a campaign promise before the October 2015 election to “make every vote count.” This is exactly the language that Fair Vote Canada has been using for years to advocate for proportional representation.

We believe that the only way the Liberals can live up to this promise is to implement some form of proportional representation.

What this is really about, however, is...

[\[Click\]](#) How do we elect the parliament that Canadians want?

There are many different ways to elect a parliament, with many different effects on our democracy.

I’d like to explore these with you.

[\[Click\]](#) The outline for the presentation is to:

- [\[Click\]](#) talk more about the criteria by which we might evaluate parliament
- [\[Click\]](#) look at the systems other countries are using
- [\[Click\]](#) explore how those systems work
- [\[Click\]](#) ask whether they deliver the kind of parliament Canadians want

We’ll close with a brief summary and a time for questions. Questions of clarification are also welcome as we go along.

[\[This slide is just an introduction. It goes really fast; don’t try to explain things here.\]](#)

[\[Click\]](#) We believe that parliament should provide six essential qualities or values: fairness, a reflection of Canada, equality for all voters, local representation, good governance, and accountability. Those words by themselves don’t mean all that much, so lets take a few minutes to explore them.

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Liberal Campaign Promise

- ▶ “... will make every vote count.”
 - ♦ “...2015 will be the last federal election conducted under the first-past-the-post voting system.”
 - ♦ “...will convene an all-party Parliamentary committee to review a wide variety of reforms, such as ranked ballots, proportional representation...”
 - ♦ “...within 18 months ... we will introduce legislation...”

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The real issue

How do we elect the parliament Canadians want?

4

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Outline

- ▶ What is the parliament Canadians want?
- ▶ Which electoral systems are other countries using?
- ▶ How do these electoral systems work?
- ▶ Do these systems deliver the parliament we want?
- ▶ Summary
- ▶ Where to find more information

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Parliament should provide...

Value	Definition
Fair Representation	
Reflection of Canada	
Voter Equality	
Local Representation	
Good Governance	
Accountability	

5

[Note: The first four paragraphs are all spent on the first line. Don't advance too quickly!]

[Click] Canada is a “representative democracy”. That means that we don’t vote on each issue like the ancient Athenians did. Instead, we elect representatives that can invest significant time and energy to researching the issues and making informed decisions.

But for representative democracy to work, they need to represent **us**.

That means that our interests need to be represented fairly in Parliament. Representative democracy doesn’t work if half of our MPs think like one-percenters. We need a couple of MPs that think like one-percenters and a whole bunch that think in other ways.

Every voter’s interests should be represented in Parliament in the same proportion that those interested are found in Canadian society. As a very crude measure of this, if 40% of voters thought their local Conservative best represented their interests, then we’d expect about 40% of Parliament to be Conservatives.

[Click] Parliament should reflect Canadians. We have different ages and genders, come from different ethnic communities, etc. To be really confident that our MPs are representing **us**, we need to see a Parliament that comes from these same communities.

We’re not saying that, say, all women or all young people or all aboriginals think the same – but it’s important to have those voices at the table to bring their unique perspectives and experience.

[Click] How many times have you heard “Oh, I didn’t vote; my vote doesn’t matter anyway”?

We need an electoral system that squashes that excuse; where almost every ballot, no matter how it’s marked, affects the outcome of the election in at least some small way.

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Parliament should provide...

Value	Definition
Fair Representation	Every voter's interests are represented in Parliament in the proportion that those interests are present in Canadian society
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Voter Equality	
Local Representation	
Good Governance	
Accountability	

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Reflection of Canada	Parliament reflects the way Canada looks: gender, age, ethnicity, religious and linguistic communities, etc.
Voter Equality	
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Voter Equality	Every ballot makes an equal difference to the final result
Local Representation	
Good Governance	
Accountability	

[Click] I want to pause here for just a moment to point out a fundamental concept for democracies is equality under the law.

Without these three qualities – that our interests are represented fairly, that the communities we identify with are represented fairly, and that we have equal influence – how can we claim to be equal under the law? Without these three qualities, we can't make that claim.

But that's not all we're looking for.

[Click] We all live in a particular geographical community. To represent us well, our MPs need to be intimately familiar with that community. They need to be from here.

[Click] One of the basic functions of government is to enact policies. But those policies should, in general, be supported by the majority of voters. Occasionally a government will need to make a hard decision that is unpopular. The system should be stable enough to survive that without forcing an election.

[Click] Finally, we need to be able to throw the bums out if they aren't doing a good job. In other words, they need to be accountable.

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Fair Representation	Every voter's interests are represented in Parliament in the proportion that those interests are present in Canadian society
Reflection of Canada	Parliament reflects the way Canada looks: gender, age, ethnicity, religious and linguistic communities, etc.
Voter Equality	Every ballot makes an equal difference to the final result
Local Representation	
Good Governance	
Accountability	

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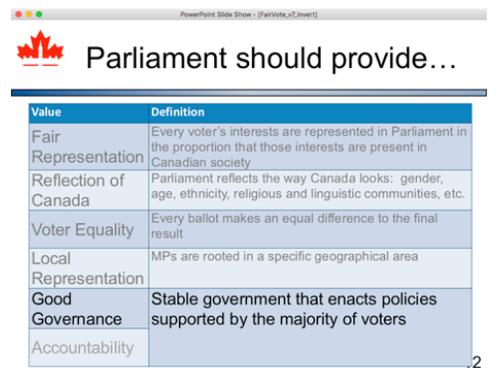


Parliament should provide...

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Fair Representation	Every voter's interests are represented in Parliament in the proportion that those interests are present in Canadian society
Reflection of Canada	Parliament reflects the way Canada looks: gender, age, ethnicity, religious and linguistic communities, etc.
Voter Equality	Every ballot makes an equal difference to the final result
Local Representation	MPs are rooted in a specific geographical area
Good Governance	
Accountability	

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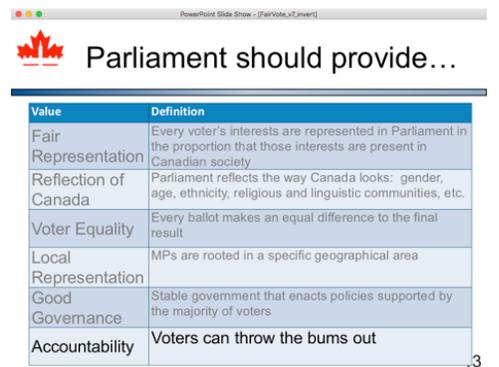


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Local Representation	MPs are rooted in a specific geographical area
Good Governance	Stable government that enacts policies supported by the majority of voters
Accountability	

.2

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Parliament should provide...

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Good Governance	Stable government that enacts policies supported by the majority of voters
Accountability	Voters can throw the bums out

.3

[If you have time, pause here for questions. Perhaps ask if there are other values that Parliament and our voting systems should have.]

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[Click] We're going to look at four different electoral systems. In each case, we'll ask how it stacks up against the criteria we just discussed – and fill in this chart to help us keep track.

So, what are those four electoral systems?

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Parliament should provide...

Value	Electoral Systems			
Fair Representation				
Reflection of Canada				
Voter Equality				
Local Representation				
Good Governance				
Accountability				

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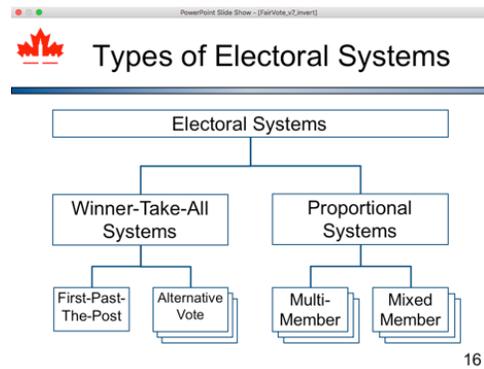
[Click] The first thing to know is that there are many different electoral systems. They break down into two main families, [Click] winner-take-all, and [Click] proportional systems.

In the winner-take-all family the most prominent system is known as [Click] first-past-the-post. It's what Canada uses now.

Another winner-take-all-system that has received attention recently is known as [Click] alternative vote. It's also known as instant run-off voting. There are many other winner-take-all systems, as indicated by these extra boxes.

In the proportional family of electoral systems, [Click] one group is multi-member systems and the other is [Click] mixed member systems.

Again, there are many variations on these systems. We'll look at one representative from each group.¹



¹ Background: The first family is Majoritarian systems (like we have now) that elect a single person for each riding and each election is completely independent of all the others. First-Past-The-Post or FPTP is what Canada uses now. A variation of that system, Alternative Vote, is often talked about as an improvement on FPTP. Fair Vote believes that any proportional system is far better than any majoritarian system, including the Alternative Vote.

The second family of voting systems is Proportional Systems. There are at least two clans within this family. We'll take a look at a representative member of each clan.

Alternative Vote is stacked in the graphic because there are a bunch of ways to count a ranked ballot. For example:

[Click] But first, which countries are already using these systems?

For this comparison, we're really interested in countries like Canada – similar in values, life style, and (of course) democracies. We're using the United Nation's Human Development index as a benchmark.

[Click] Let's look first at countries using a Winner-Take-All system.

On the UN's Human Development Index, there are three countries that use first-past-the-post. *[Click]* Canada, of course, the United States, and the United Kingdom. All three have close historical ties in the development of their democracies.

[Click] The only country on the list to use the Alternative Vote is Australia.

[Click] Finally, France uses a two-round system that we won't discuss.

[Click] On the other hand, here are all the countries on the UN list that use some form of proportional representation. Some of the prominent ones are New Zealand, Germany, and many other European countries.²

[We have received gasps of surprise at this last one. Be sure to stay here long enough for it to sink in!]

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Who is Using What?

Winner-Take-All Systems:

- ▶ First-Past-The-Post:
 - Canada
 - United States
 - United Kingdom
- ▶ Alternative Vote:
 - Australia
- ▶ Other:
 - France
- ▶ Multi-Member
 - Argentina
 - Belgium
 - Chile
 - Croatia
 - Cyprus
 - Czech Republic
 - Denmark
 - Estonia
 - Finland
 - Greece
 - Iceland
 - Ireland
- Israel
- Italy
- Kuwait
- Latvia
- Liechtenstein
- Luxembourg
- Malta
- Netherlands
- Norway
- Poland
- Portugal
- Slovakia
- Slovenia
- Spain

▶ Mixed Member

- Austria
- Germany
- Hungary
- Mexico
- New Zealand
- Scotland

▶ Other

- Andorra
- Japan
- South Korea

Looking at democracies scoring the highest on the UN's Human Development Index.

- Successively dropping the candidate with the fewest first-place votes (AV)
- Successively dropping the candidate with the most last-place votes
- Ranked pairs (a version of Condorcet)
- Borda count
- Approval voting
- Etc

However, these all elect a single person to represent the whole riding – and are thus not that different from FPTP. Almost everything in this list is better than AV, but not by much.

Similarly, Multi-Member and Mixed Member are stacked because there are also many variations on what we present here. It's worth stressing that there are many ways to do PR and that we can tailor a system to Canada.

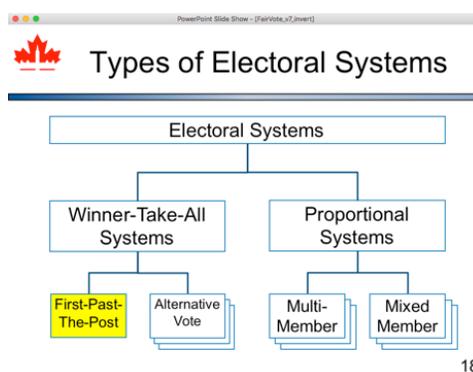
² How this list was created: Take the 50 countries ranked highest on the UN's Human Development Index (<http://www.idea.int/db/fieldview.cfm?field=154#tableTab1>). Remove non-democracies like Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar, Cuba. Cross-reference that with <http://www.idea.int/db/fieldview.cfm?field=154#tableTab1> to get the electoral system used.

There are lots of other countries that use FPTP, but they aren't high on the UN's Human Development Index – in other words most of us would not choose to live in those countries unless we had family or something there.

The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: (1) a long and healthy life, (2) being knowledgeable and (3) have a decent standard of living.

(<http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index>)

[Click] So, let's dig into our first electoral system – first-past-the-post.



[Click] FPTP is the system that Canada has used since 1867. It's a simple system – in each riding the candidate with the most votes wins and becomes the MP for that riding.

That simplicity, however, produces many ill effects. It's important that we take a few moments to understand them.

Canada uses FPTP now
In each riding, the candidate with the most votes wins

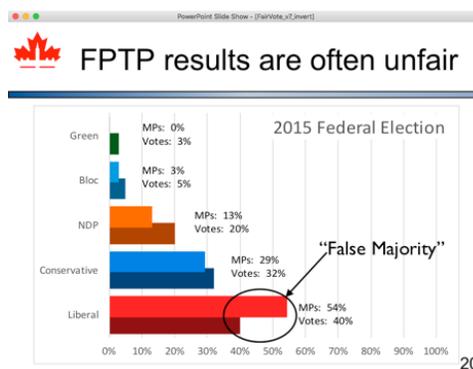
[Click] This chart shows the results of the 2015 Federal election. The bottom set of bars shows that the Liberals earned about 40% of the popular vote but received 54% of the seats in Parliament.

Those extra seats came at the expense of the Conservatives, New Democrats, Bloc, and Green candidates – who all received fewer seats than their share of the popular vote would indicate.

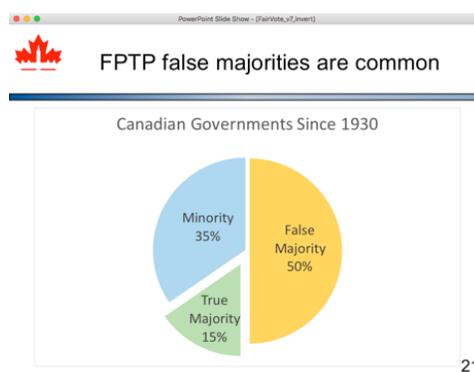
To make matters worse, the first-past-the-post system turned that 40% minority of the votes into a majority of the seats in Parliament. That is, the Liberals received 100% of the power in Parliament with less than 40% of the votes.

When this happens, it's called a "False Majority". [Click]

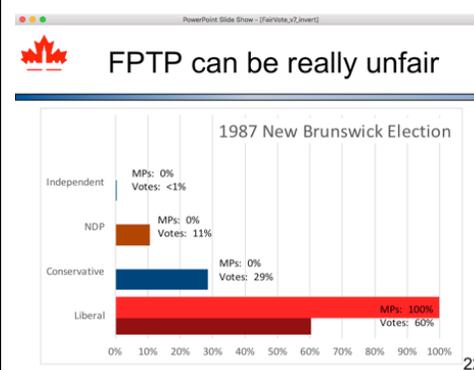
By the way, that's almost exactly what happened in the previous election except that the Conservatives received 100% of the power with just under 40% of the votes.



[Click] We could hope that false majorities would be rare – but they are not. Since 1930, half of our governments have been false majorities. Of the 26 elections since 1930, only 4 of them have resulted in a true majority government.



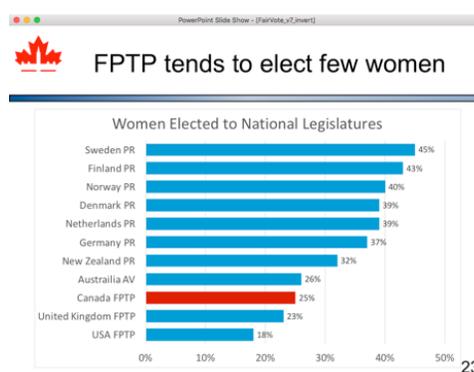
[Click] First-past-the-post can be really unfair, too. Consider the 1987 New Brunswick election. The Liberals earned a legitimate majority government with about 60% of the vote. But first-past-the-post gave them every single seat in the legislature. Not a single opposition MLA was elected.



Stop and think for a moment on the effect that has on democracy. Who holds the government to account? Who represents the 40% of voters who did not want a Liberal government?

What we've seen in the last three slides is that first-past-the-post often exaggerates the winning party, giving them more than their fair share of the seats.

[Click] Let's shift now to the other way of looking at diversity: does Parliament approximately match the diversity of Canadians in gender, ethnicity, orientation, religion, or any other measure one might reasonably propose?



One of our most basic identities is gender. This slide compares the percentage of women elected to national legislatures in eleven different countries.³ We see that those countries using some form of proportional representation elect more women than those using a single-winner system like first-past-the-post.

First-past-the-post fails to fairly reflect our diversity.

³ This data is from page 9 of Fair Vote Canada's publication "A Case for Support – A Case for Democracy", published Nov. 2014. The 2015 election barely changed these numbers. Canada got up to 26% women in Parliament.

[Click] Another criteria we had for Parliament dealt with local representation. One of the strengths of first-past-the-post is that MPs are local.

But one of the weaknesses is that each riding has only one MP – which may not see the issues the same way that you do. In fact, after the 2015 Federal election, only 49% of Canadian voters were represented by an MP from the party they voted for.

This implies that just over half of the voters could have stayed home without affecting the outcome at all. No wonder so many actually do stay home.

In proportional systems most voters have a representative from the same party they voted for.

[Click] We should expect good governance from Parliament, meaning that they make long-lasting decisions supported by most but with enough stability that they can also make the occasional tough call.

First-past-the-post is often said to yield stable governments because it tends to produce majority governments.

But the data suggests otherwise. Canada has had 22 elections since WW II. [Click] That's more than many proportional representation countries, including Ireland, Germany, and Switzerland. It's even more elections than Italy, a sort-of PR country that is often accused of being unstable.

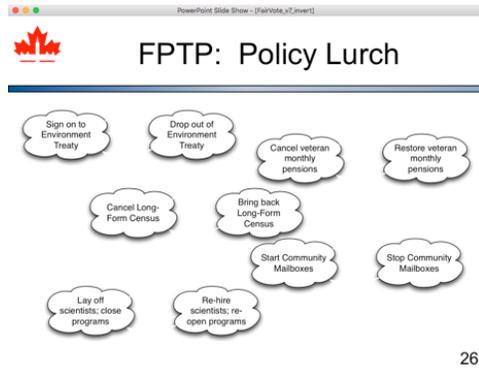
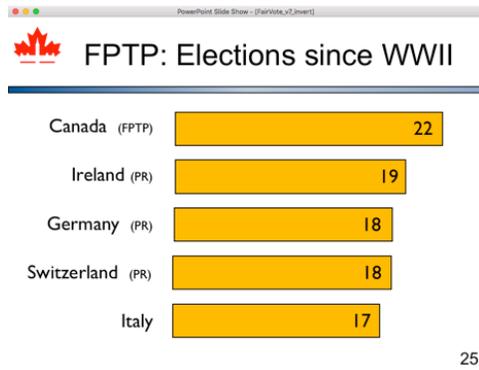
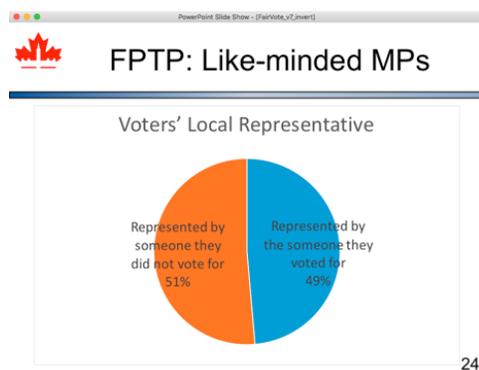
[Click] What about long-lasting policies supported by most Canadians? Our last couple of governments have illustrated Canada's problem with "policy lurch".

A government with a false majority forces through a policy that lacks widespread support, only to have it undone by a future government of a different stripe.

Such policy lurch makes it difficult for businesses, public institutions, and families to plan for the future.

Research has shown that countries with proportional representation have more collaboration among parties that results in longer-lasting policies.

For a Canadian example, consider the minority government of Lester B. Pearson. Cross-party



cooperation resulted in the health care system as we now know it, our flag, and the Canada Pension Plan.

[Click] So, let’s sum up first-past-the-post against the criteria we outlined earlier.

[Click] First-past-the-post scores poorly in fairly representing our diversity of ideas *[Click]* and reflecting our many identities as men and women, young and old, old Canadians and new Canadians, etc. Due to false majorities and the dynamics of winner-take-all, the resulting Parliament doesn’t think like Canada as a whole and doesn’t look like Canada as a whole.

[Click] Our current system gives a lot of electoral power to some people and none to others – depending on where you live and how you think relative to your neighbours.

[Click] Our current system does well in representing each voter with a local MP.

[Click] But First-Past-The-Post produces Parliaments that do not collaborate well. We end up suffering from “policy lurch” as one government undoes the work of the previous government. And Canada has more elections than most countries with proportional representation.

[Click] Finally, our current system is accountable – getting elected once doesn’t guarantee a seat for life. We’ll find that all of the systems we look at have this property.

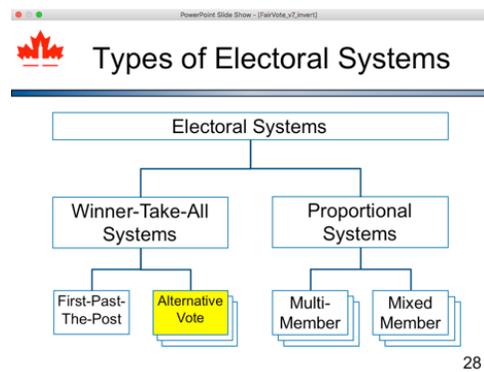
[Click] Let’s turn now to another winner-take-all-system, Alternative Vote. This system is also known as “Preferential Ballot”, and “Instant Runoff Voting” or IRV.

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Parliament should provide...

Value	FPTP	Electoral Systems		
		AV	Multi-Mbr	MMP
Fair Representation	👎			
Reflection of Canada	👎			
Voter Equality	👎			
Local Representation	👍			
Good Governance	👎			
Accountability	👍			

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[\[Click\]](#) Alternative Vote uses a ranked ballot, which is different from what we're used to. Many other electoral systems also use a ranked ballot.

[\[Click\]](#) A ranked ballot simply means that voters can say who their second, third, and fourth choices are – in addition to their first choice.

[\[Click\]](#) These choices are taken into account when the ballots are counted. The general idea of Alternative Vote is to count the ballots using the top-ranked remaining candidate on each ballot. If a candidate gets 50%+1, he or she wins. Otherwise, drop the least popular candidate, redistribute those ballots, and count again.

Let's look at an example.

[\[Click\]](#) In this election, the conservative candidate received 38% of the first-place votes, the NDP candidate received 29% of the first place votes, and so on for the other candidates.

The Independent candidate is least popular and is dropped. [\[Click\]](#) The 2% of the ballots that listed the Independent candidate first are redistributed to their second place candidate. Let's suppose that half of them go to the Greens and half to the Conservatives.

[\[Click\]](#) We now pretend that first round never happened. At this point we pretend that 39% ranked the Conservative candidate first, even though we know that some of them really ranked them second.

Once again, we drop the least popular candidate, in this case the Green. Their votes are redistributed.

[\[Click\]](#) We're now left with 40% for the Conservative candidate, 29% for the NDP, and 31% for the Liberal candidate. [\[Click\]](#) Once again, we drop the least popular candidate and redistribute their votes, giving the Liberal candidate the win (in this example).

Alternative Vote

- ▶ Uses a ranked ballot
- ▶ When counted, the candidate with the least votes is dropped and those ballots redistributed to the next ranked candidate. Repeat until someone has 50%+1.

Rank one or more candidates in your order of preference

Rank	Candidate
1	Carrie Cohn (Conservative)
2	Gary Gronau (Green)
3	Izzy Imlay (Independent)
4	Lily Lavery (Liberal)
5	Norman Nabers (New Democrat)

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Alternative Vote Counting

Con 38% NDP 29% Lib 26% Grn 5% Ind 2%

Con 39% NDP 29% Lib 26% Grn 6%

Con 40% NDP 29% Lib 31%

Con 48% NDP 29% Lib 52%

The final result shows the Liberal candidate (Lib) winning with 52% of the votes.

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[\[Click\]](#) Alternative Vote has been used in Australia and a number of municipalities. In those jurisdictions it has usually elected the same candidate that would have won under first-past-the-post.

In those cases where it does elect someone different – like in our example, it tends to favour centrist candidates.

Because it generally elects the same candidate as first-past-the-post, it's subject to the same results: unfair representation, limited diversity, and many voters without a like-minded representative.

On our chart, it has the same ratings as first-past-the-post.

We've reviewed two different members of the winner-take-all family of electoral systems.

Now let's shift to the proportional representation family. This is the family of electoral systems that many other countries are using, as we saw earlier, and that Fair Vote believes Canada should use as well.

We'll start with a representative of the multi-member riding systems.

The core idea of the Multi-Member systems is combining several ridings into one but electing the same number of MPs. Thus one riding will have multiple members of parliament representing it.

[\[Click\]](#) Let's take Waterloo Region as an example. The Region is made up of five ridings that would be combined into a single riding.

[\[Click\]](#) In the 2015 election, these five ridings elected four Liberals and a Conservative. The question is, [\[Click\]](#) how would we elect five MPs if we could do it as a group rather than each one individually, as in first-past-the-post.

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Alternative Vote Results

- ▶ Usually gives same winner as FPTP
- ▶ Unfair results
- ▶ Limited diversity
- ▶ Many voters without a like-minded representative

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PowerPoint Slide Show - [FairVote_v7_invert]

Parliament should provide...

Value	Electoral Systems			
	FPTP	AV	Multi-Mbr	MMP
Fair Representation	👎	👎		
Reflection of Canada	👎	👎		
Voter Equality	👎	👎		
Local Representation	👍	👍		
Good Governance	👎	👎		
Accountability	👍	👍		

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PowerPoint Slide Show - [FairVote_v7_invert]

Types of Electoral Systems

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graph TD
    ES[Electoral Systems] --> WTA[Winner-Take-All Systems]
    ES --> P[Proportional Systems]
    WTA --> FPTP[First-Past-The-Post]
    WTA --> AV[Alternative Vote]
    P --> MM[Multi-Member]
    P --> M[Mixed Member]
  
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PowerPoint Slide Show - [FairVote_v7_invert]

Multi-Member Systems

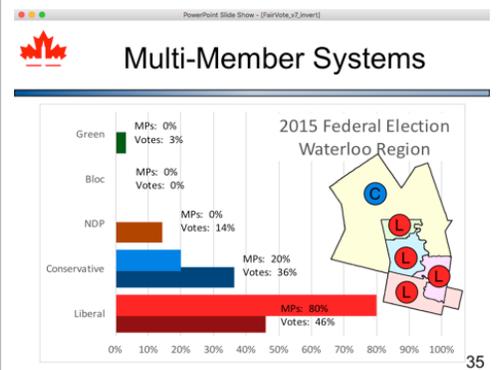
- ▶ Combine several ridings into one
- ▶ Elect the same total number of MPs
- ▶ Example: Waterloo Region (Waterloo, Kitchener Centre, Kitchener-South Hespeler, Kitchener-Conestoga, Cambridge)

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[\[Click\]](#) We commented earlier how unfair first-past-the-post was on the national scale with the Liberals gaining 54% of the seats with less than 40% of the vote.

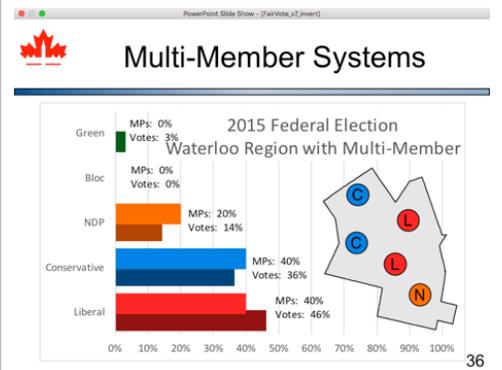
In Waterloo Region it was much worse. The Liberals gained 80% of the seats with only 46% of the vote.

This came, of course, at the expense of the Conservatives, NDP, and Greens.



[\[Click\]](#) We would be much closer to proportional if we had elected 2 Conservatives, 2 Liberals, and an NDP. It's not perfectly proportional, but it's much closer.

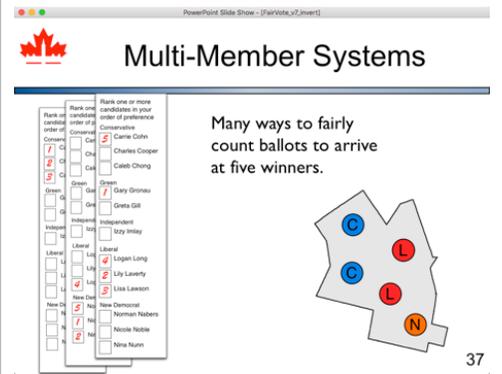
The question is, how do we count our votes to arrive at this more-or-less proportional result?



[\[Click\]](#) Once again, we're going to use a ranked ballot. This time it will have more candidates on it because we're electing five MPs and there will be more people running – likely several for each party.

[\[Click\]](#) There are many ways to fairly count these ballots to arrive at five winners⁴.

The counting is more complex than for first-past-the-post, but that is Elections Canada's problem and doesn't affect the voter. Voters can rank as many or as few of the candidates as they want.



⁴ If asked, here are some of the ways to count the ballots:

- Borda count: Assign each candidate one point for a first-place preference, two points for a second-place preference, etc. Add up all the points for each candidate. The five candidates with the lowest totals win.
- Alternative Vote (option 1): Just like AV, but stop when there are five remaining candidates. That is, count all the ballots. Drop the candidate with the fewest first-place preferences. Repeat the process until five candidates remain.
- Alternative Vote (option 2): Count all the ballots. Drop the candidate with the most #5 preferences or blank preferences. Repeat the process until five candidates remain.
- STV (Single Transferrable Vote): Observe that it takes 20%+1 to elect a candidate. Count the ballots. Anyone who meets that threshold wins. If someone has more than the threshold, transfer the excess votes to 2nd choice candidates. Repeat until there are no winners. Then eliminate the candidate with the least support and transfer to next-choice candidates. Repeat until there are five winners.

[Click] Coming back to our checklist, multi-member systems do very well.

[Click] Because multi-member electoral systems are much more proportional, they do a much better job at fairly representing Canadians' diverse ideas [Click] and reflecting Canadian communities.

[Click] Because we select multiple MPs for each riding, most votes actually count and have equal weight.

[Click] Multi-member systems preserve the local MP, although the ridings are somewhat larger. You can think of a riding as having a team of MPs – and likely someone on that team thinks similarly to you.

[Click] We saw earlier that countries with proportional representation have more stable governments. They also tend to cooperate across party lines more, resulting in longer-lasting policies that have more widespread support.

[Click] Finally, in this system all MPs face the voters and are thus accountable.

Now let's turn our attention to the last of the four families of electoral systems: Mixed Member Proportional.

Once again, there are several variations within this family; we'll just look at one to get the basic idea.

Mixed Member Proportional system borrows ideas from our current first-past-the-post approach and from multi-member systems. [Click] It does this by having single-member ridings within a multi-member region.

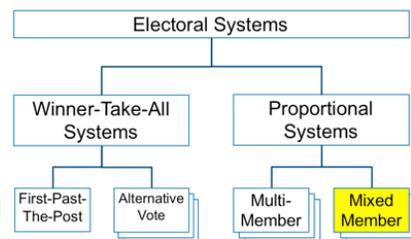
[Click] To understand what that means, let's look at Southern Ontario as an example. [Click] In particular, we'll look at a region with 15 ridings.

Parliament should provide...

Value	Electoral Systems			
	FPTP	AV	Multi-Mbr	MMP
Fair Representation	👎	👎	👍	
Reflection of Canada	👎	👎	👍	
Voter Equality	👎	👎	👍	
Local Representation	👍	👍	👍	
Good Governance	👎	👎	👍	
Accountability	👍	👍	👍	

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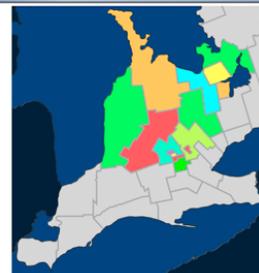
Types of Electoral Systems



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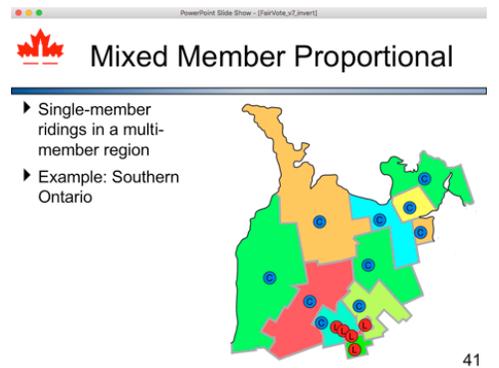
Mixed Member Proportional

- ▶ Single-member ridings in a multi-member region
- ▶ Example: Southern Ontario

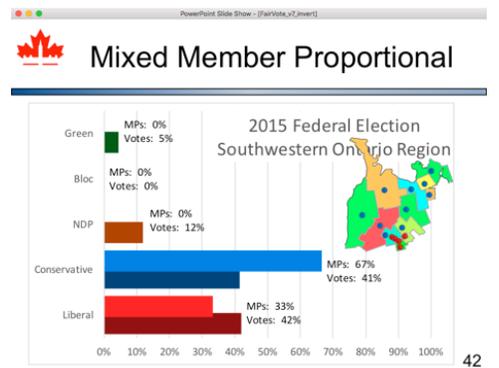


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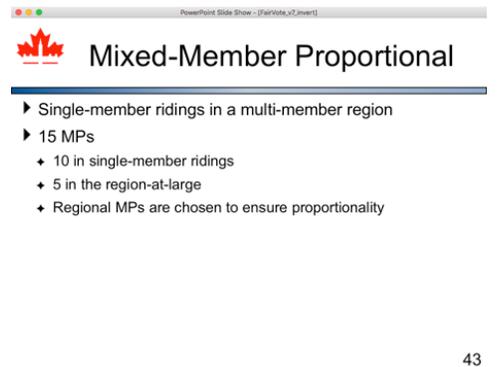
[Click] We know how things went in these 15 ridings in the 2015 Federal Election: 5 went to Liberal candidates, 10 to Conservative candidates, and none to any of the other parties.



[Click] This makes the local results much more skewed than the nation as a whole. Within this region Liberals earned 42% of the votes – just a hair more than the Conservatives – and yet the Conservatives received twice as many seats in Parliament.



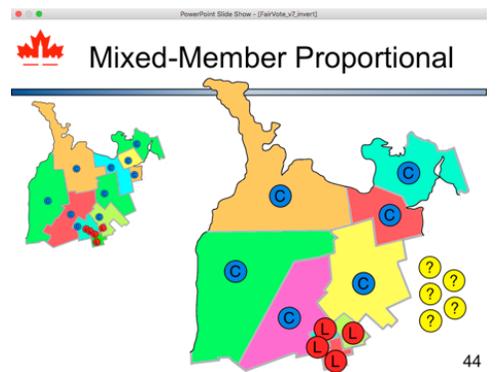
[Click] Mixed Member Proportional addresses this by continuing to have 15 MPs, but 10 of them would be in single-member ridings and 5 of them would be for the region at large. The Regional MPs are chosen to ensure overall proportionality with the popular vote.



[Click] This means that each riding becomes half again as large. Here's how the region might be redistributed from 15 ridings into 10 ridings.

[Click] We could guess that these 10 ridings would have elected six Conservative MPs and four Liberal MPs in the last election. Each of those would have been elected using first-past-the-post, our current system.

[Click] The question is, how do we elect the remaining five MPs?

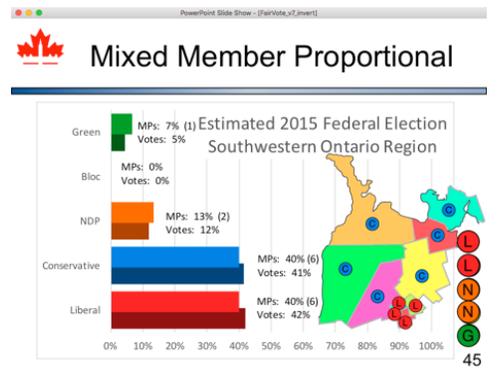


[Click] If we were to allocate the 15 seats proportionally, we'd give 6 to the Liberals and 6 to the Conservatives. The NDP would have 2 and the Greens 1.

[Click] Here's how we think the riding seats would have been allocated; but how about the five regional seats?

[Click] Recall that they are chosen to maintain the overall proportionality between MPs and the popular vote.

[Click] Because the Conservatives received 6 riding seats, they don't get any regional seats. They already have their fair share. The Liberals and NDP, however, each receive two regional seats while the Greens receive 1.



[Click] That's the goal – but how do we achieve it?

Everyone has two votes.

[Click] The first vote is for the MP to represent your riding. That vote would be just like now -- you vote for one person; whoever receives the most votes in your riding becomes your MP.

[Click] The second vote is for the regional MPs. There are many options for this one; we'll review three.

[Click] In the first two options you indicate which party you would like to form the government. The regional candidates could be chosen from the remaining candidates who received the most votes.

[Click] Or members of each party could rank their candidates during the nomination process. Then choose the regional candidates from those lists.

[Click] The third option requires a more complex ballot.

[Click] With the third option, everyone has the ability to vote directly for their regional MPs, perhaps using a ranked ballot.

Some systems allow a candidate to run for both a riding seat and a regional seat (although they would only fill one, of course). Other systems force the candidates to choose which kind of seat they are running for⁵.

⁵ Background:

[Click] Coming back to our checklist,

[Click] MMP does very well in fairly representing our many ideas and [Click] reflecting our identities. Being a proportional system, that is built right in.

[Click] Proportionality also means that it does well on voter equality.

[Click] It maintains having a local riding MP for each voter, but also has the regional MPs for those times when a voter really wants a like-minded representative to carry their concerns to Parliament.

[Click] MMP has given stable governments in other countries and it fosters cross-party cooperation which yields longer-lasting policies.

[Click] Many versions of MMP have every MP compete for their seats, meaning that it is accountable.

[Click] To summarize,

[Click] Our current system often gives results that are very different from the popular vote. Less than 40% of Canadian voters voted for the Liberals in the 2015 election or the Conservatives in the 2011 election. Yet in both cases they received a majority in parliament and 100% of the power.

[Click] By over-representing some voices, other voices are necessarily diminished, limiting the diversity that research shows is important for good decision-making.⁶

[Click] The Alternative Vote has been promoted as a remedy with the flawed reasoning that a manufactured consensus is good enough. But in practise, it gives the same results as first-past-the-post without solving any of its problems.

[Click] Finally, in winner-take-all systems the votes for losing candidates are ignored and have no influence on

PowerPoint Slide Show - [FairVote_v7_invert]

Parliament should provide...

Value	Electoral Systems			
	FPTP	AV	Multi-Mbr	MMP
Fair Representation	👎	👎	👍	👍
Reflection of Canada	👎	👎	👍	👍
Voter Equality	👎	👎	👍	👍
Local Representation	👍	👍	👍	👍
Good Governance	👎	👎	👍	👍
Accountability	👍	👍	👍	👍

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-
- PowerPoint Slide Show - [FairVote_v7_invert]
- ### Summary
- ▶ FPTP results are often very different from the popular vote
 - ▶ FPTP systems limit diversity
 - ▶ AV (Alternative Vote) doesn't solve FPTP problems
 - ▶ In winner-take-all systems, many votes do not count
- 49

- Some candidates appear on both the local riding ballot and the regional ballot. This is a choice that could be made differently (ie: each candidate only appears on one ballot). This design would choose the candidates for region that have the most votes and are not already been elected in a specific riding.
- The regional ballot could be ranked (implied by the wording of this one) or just “mark your preferred candidate”.
- Stress, again, that there are many different ways to do this. We need an expert commission to carefully consider what would be best in the Canadian context.

⁶ Lots of business-oriented research shows that a group of diverse-thinking people make better decisions than a more homogenous group. See, for example, <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-diversity-makes-us-smarter/>

the direction of the country. That is, many votes simply don't count.

[Click] In contrast, there are many proportional representation systems that address these problems. Features from one PR system can often be combined with features from another to adjust the size of the ridings or increase the proportionality or change the difficulty for small parties to be elected, for example. We can tailor a PR system to suit Canada's unique situation.

[Click] Whichever PR system we choose, it will be better than our current first-past-the-post system.

[Click] It will be better because it will fairly represent the voters' ideas, in proportion to the popular vote.

[Click] The PR system we choose will elect a more diverse group of candidates that better represent the diversity of Canadians and yield better decisions.

[Click] Whichever proportional system we choose will give most voters a like-minded representative to carry their concerns to Ottawa.

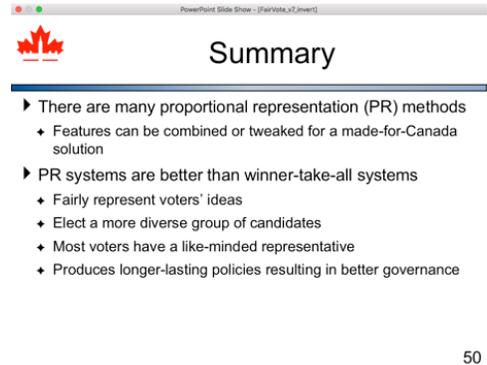
[Click] A proportional system will foster cross-party cooperation that leads to lasting policies and better governance.

We believe that parliament can and should enact a proportional representation system for Canada's next election.

[Click] We believe that parliament can and should make every vote count.

[Click] What are your questions?

[Perhaps show this slide as soon as questions have started. The actual slide has links; not sure why they're not showing here.]



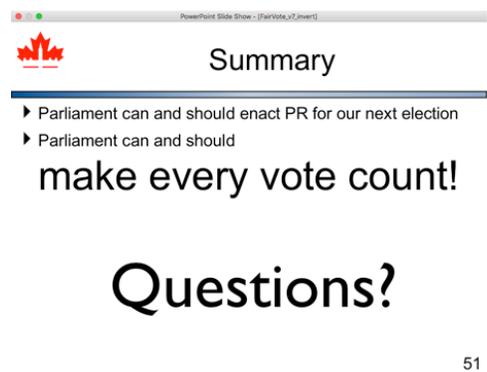
PowerPoint Slide Show - [FairVote_v7_invert]



Summary

- ▶ There are many proportional representation (PR) methods
 - ◆ Features can be combined or tweaked for a made-for-Canada solution
- ▶ PR systems are better than winner-take-all systems
 - ◆ Fairly represent voters' ideas
 - ◆ Elect a more diverse group of candidates
 - ◆ Most voters have a like-minded representative
 - ◆ Produces longer-lasting policies resulting in better governance

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PowerPoint Slide Show - [FairVote_v7_invert]



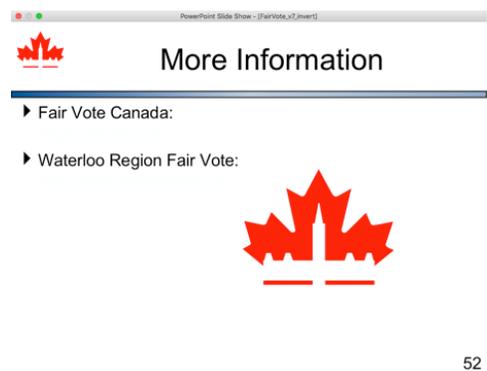
Summary

- ▶ Parliament can and should enact PR for our next election
- ▶ Parliament can and should

make every vote count!

Questions?

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PowerPoint Slide Show - [FairVote_v7_invert]



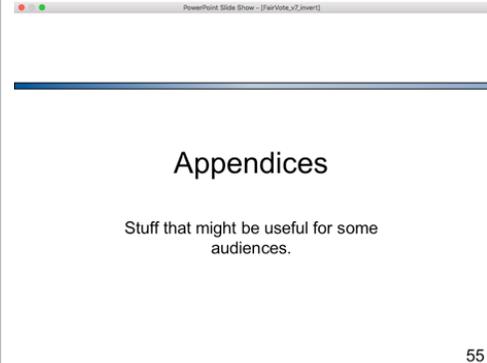
More Information

- ▶ Fair Vote Canada:
- ▶ Waterloo Region Fair Vote:



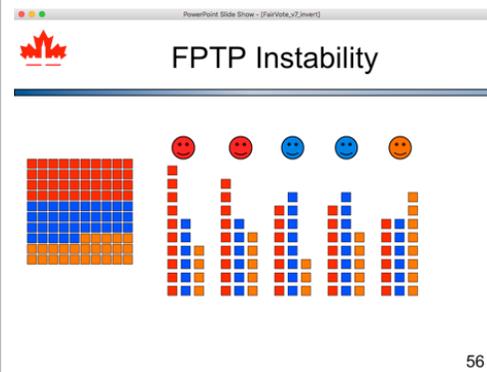
52

The slides that follow might be useful for more technical audiences or to answer some questions.

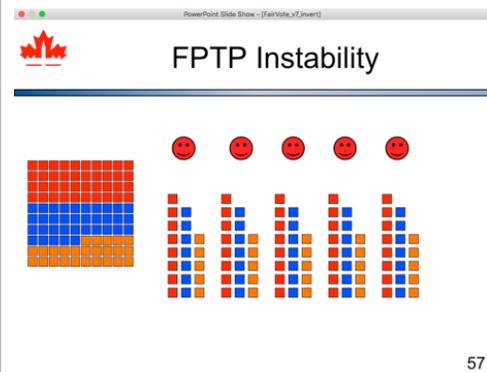


This group of three slides illustrate how arbitrary FPTP can be. It assumes the same election – 100 voters distributed between three parties – and shows how the outcome depends completely on how those voters are distributed between the ridings.

In this slide the voters are distributed more-or-less randomly between the ridings and the election comes out basically as it should – two Liberals, two Conservatives, and a New Democrat. That’s close to proportional.

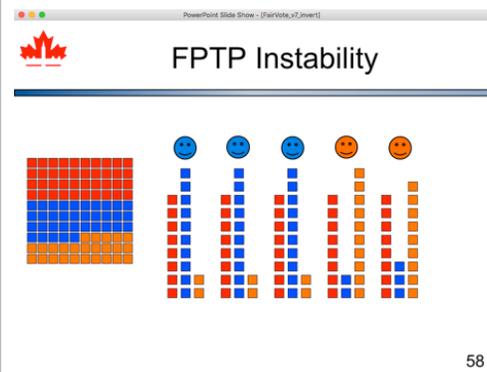


But if the voters are distributed perfectly evenly across the five ridings, the result is a Liberal sweep!



But if it’s only the Liberals that are evenly distributed, they can get completely shut out – in spite of having the most votes!

I (Byron, the author) think this instability makes FPTP completely unsuitable as an election mechanism. By “instability” I mean that the results depend on completely arbitrary factors like how the voters are distributed around the country.



This is another version of an Alternative Vote election. This time the voters' 2nd place preferences are also listed. For example, 38% list the Conservative as their first choice. The little numbers underneath mean that 3% list the NDP as their second choice and 35% list Liberal as their 2nd choice. Similarly for the other parties.

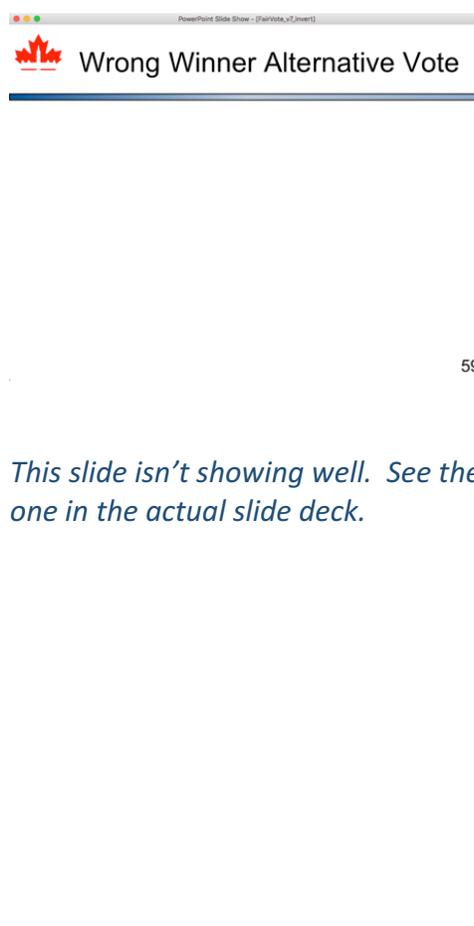
Pause for a good while on the second click that shows the box in the lower right corner. It shows that 90% of the people list the Liberals as their first or second choice. That is far higher than any of the other parties. If we're looking for a consensus candidate – which is what AV is supposed to do – the Liberal candidate should be it.

But, as the vote counting unfolds, we see that the Liberals are dropped out before either the NDP or the Conservative with the result that one of them (we're not sure which because we didn't record third place votes) wins.

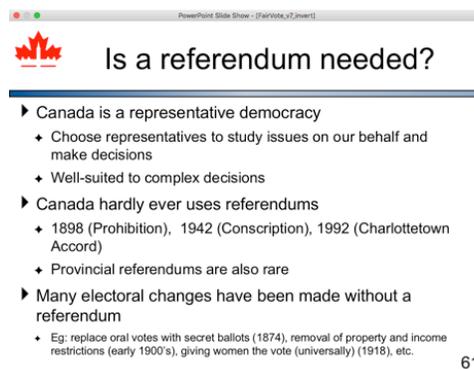
But it should have been the Liberal!

That said, in general AV favours the centrist candidate – which is why many Conservatives and New Democrats have been vocal in the media against AV and accused the Liberals of wanting to bring it in.

If someone wants to talk about holding a referendum...



The screenshot shows a PowerPoint slide with a red maple leaf logo in the top left corner. The title is "Wrong Winner Alternative Vote". The slide number "59" is in the bottom right corner. The main content area is mostly blank, with a blue italicized note at the bottom: "This slide isn't showing well. See the one in the actual slide deck."



The screenshot shows a PowerPoint slide with a red maple leaf logo in the top left corner. The title is "Is a referendum needed?". The slide number "61" is in the bottom right corner. The main content area contains a bulleted list:

- ▶ Canada is a representative democracy
 - ◆ Choose representatives to study issues on our behalf and make decisions
 - ◆ Well-suited to complex decisions
- ▶ Canada hardly ever uses referendums
 - ◆ 1898 (Prohibition), 1942 (Conscription), 1992 (Charlottetown Accord)
 - ◆ Provincial referendums are also rare
- ▶ Many electoral changes have been made without a referendum
 - ◆ Eg: replace oral votes with secret ballots (1874), removal of property and income restrictions (early 1900's), giving women the vote (universally) (1918), etc.