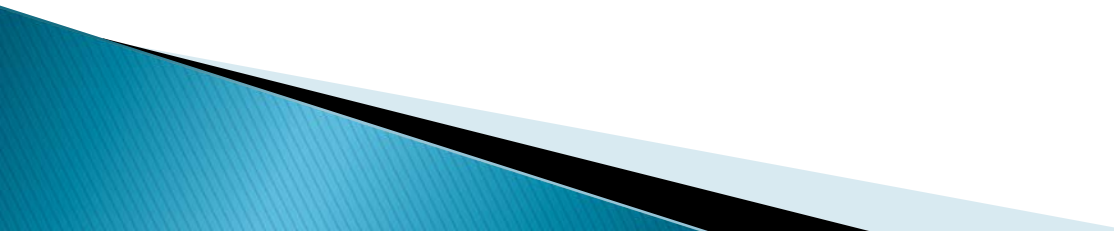


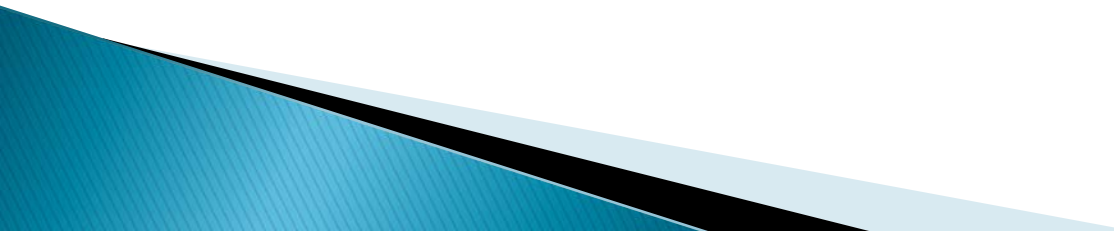
Paths to (and from) Parliament

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Present state of Parliament

- ▶ No golden age of Parliament – but we are close to the stone age at the moment
 - ▶ Parliament is dysfunctional
 - ▶ Many good people are elected but they are frustrated
 - ▶ It is hard to attract good women and men to serve
- 

Institutional disincentives

- Power is too concentrated
 - Too many members run for office by running against the office
 - Party discipline trumps individual initiative
 - A lack of resources and time hampers scrutiny
 - Rules discourage career paths
 - So perhaps the question should be...
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Why would anyone want to follow this path?



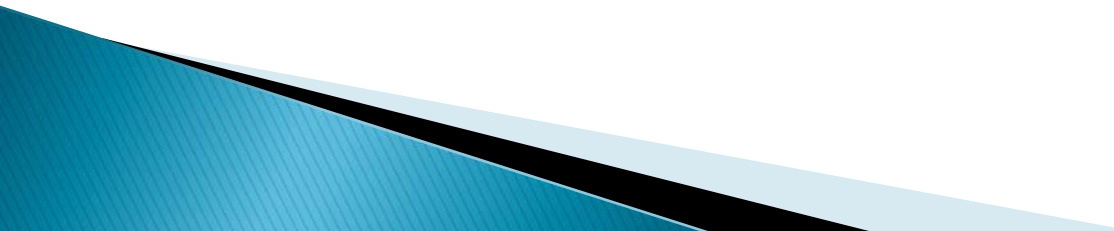
Are there many paths?

- ▶ No “best” path to Commons
- ▶ Few follow local, provincial, federal path
- ▶ Local is the most common
 - No real gender difference
- ▶ Provincial rules create some disincentive for running nationally – one must be committed to move

Who leaves for Ottawa?

- ▶ Municipally it is a mix
 - Reward for past service
 - Movement up a career ladder
- ▶ Provincially
 - Individuals with bad timing (Ontario 1984, 1990)
 - Individuals with frustrated ambition
 - Individuals who lost power

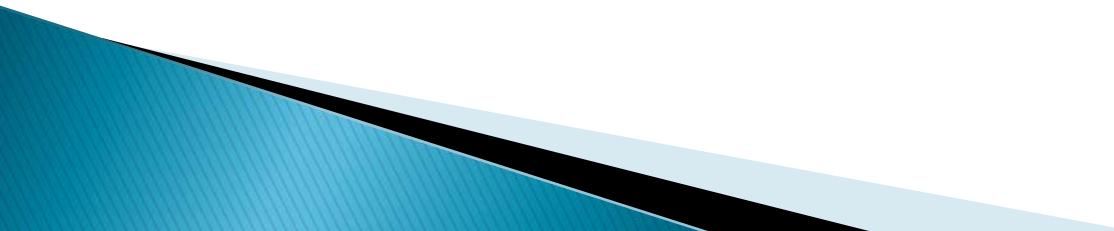
Path to Senate

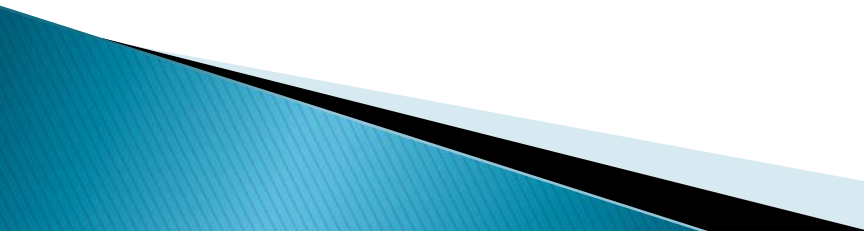
- ▶ Interestingly enough does not necessarily go through House of Commons
 - Fewer former MPs serve in Senate now than in previous Parliaments – from almost 50% in 20th Parliament (1945) to 23% in 40th (present)
 - ▶ More representative than House both in terms of gender and ethnicity
 - ▶ Senate is now a vehicle for representation and reward for past party (not elected service)
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Paths away from Senate

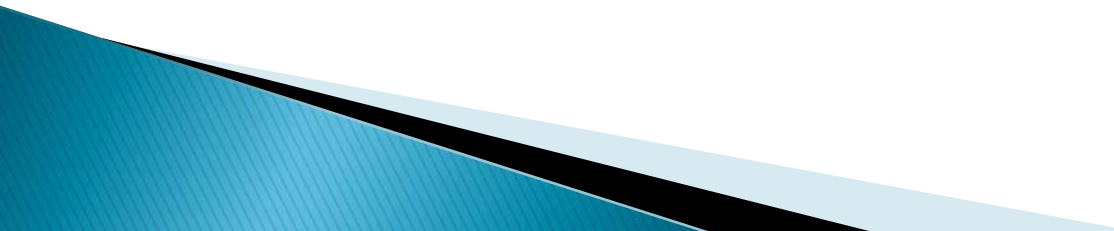
- ▶ For the first time this is a question that we can/should think about
- ▶ Implications from Prime Minister's proposed changes?
 - Should Senator's be allowed to hold outside appointments?
 - Will Senator's be jumping back into private or non-profit sector after eight years?
 - Will Senate pensions need to be dramatically increased?
 - Will some good appointees now say no?

Paths across the Commons

- ▶ Party loyalty is decreasing at rates not witnessed in modern Parliaments
 - ▶ In the first “loose fish” Parliament of 1867, 17 members switched partisan allegiances
 - ▶ In the 37th Parliament, 27 members switched, not including the merger – largest number of floor crossings since Union government of First World War
 - ▶ Why is this interesting?
- 

- ▶ Crossing crosses party lines – NDP and Reform/Alliance were joining Liberals, Liberals joining Conservatives
 - ▶ Some were switching levels and parties at the same time (Ujjal Dosanjh, Bob Rae)
 - ▶ Floor Crossers are no longer being punished for switching in mid term – suggesting that voter's loyalty is no longer a concern
 - ▶ Suggests that paths to parliament may have entered an era of free agency
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Paths away from Commons

- ▶ More MP's are leaving Commons but not leaving elected life
 - ▶ Path from Parliament increasingly leading to provincial and municipal office
 - ▶ Three by-elections called to fill mayoral aspirants
 - ▶ Why are members “downsizing?”
 - ▶ More policy influence and rejection of present house norms
- 

What can be done to stop the paths from Parliament

- ▶ Make political careers more attractive
- ▶ Have more candidates run for an office **they** hold in honour
- ▶ Provide members more opportunity to satisfy policy ambition
- ▶ Decrease party discipline and importance of leader over all else
- ▶ Return to “club” like atmosphere of Commons
 - Not in the WASP sense
 - But a shared sense of civic duty and common role all MPs play

Then maybe path looks like



