



Canadian  
**Parliamentary**  
review

***Maintaining Gender Norms  
Through Legislative Assembly  
Dress Codes***

*Volume 45, No. 3*



*In Memoriam*

*Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II  
Queen of Canada (1926-2022)*



The *Canadian Parliamentary Review* was founded in 1978 to inform Canadian legislators about activities of the federal, provincial and territorial branches of the Canadian Region of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and to promote the study of and interest in Canadian parliamentary institutions. Contributions from legislators, former members, staff and all other persons interested in the objectives of the Review are welcome.

The Review is published for the Canadian Region, CPA. Any opinions expressed are those of individual contributors and should not be attributed to any Branch of the Canadian Region.

**Editor**

Will Stos

**Layout**

Frank Piekielko

**Production Team**

Lalita Acharya	Bryony Livingston
Kim Dean	Vicky Luu
Yasuko Enosawa	Joanne McNair
Michelle Giese	Tiffany Ribeiro
Claudette Henry	Kate Sinnott
Karine Legault-Leblond	

**Editorial Board**

François Arsenault (Chair)  
Charles Robert (Deputy Chair)

Trevor Day	Stéphanie Haché	Heather Lank
Shannon Dean	Kim Hammond	Jeremy LeBlanc
Neil Ferguson	Till Hyde	Kate Ryan-Lloyd
	Linda Kolody	

**Subscriptions**

Four (4) issues in English or French  
*Canada* \$40.00 - *International* \$75.00  
Four (4) issues in English and French  
*Canada* \$75.00 - *International* \$125.00

Cheques should be made payable to:  
*Canadian Parliamentary Review*

**Contact**

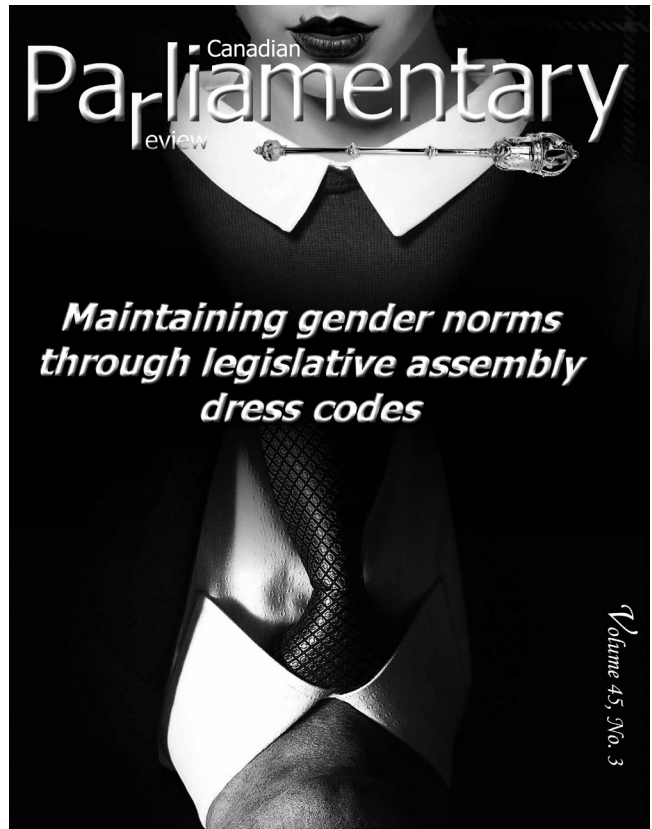
*Canadian Parliamentary Review*  
c/o Ontario Legislative Library  
Queen's Park  
Toronto, ON M7A 1A9

E-Mail: revparl@ola.org  
Web: <http://www.revparlcan.ca> (New)  
<http://www.revparl.ca>

Editor: (416) 325-0231  
Fax: (416) 325-3505  
E-Mail: wstos@ola.org

Legal Deposit:  
National Library of Canada  
ISSN 0229-2548

*Cette revue est aussi disponible en français*



**Jackets, Ties, and Comparable Attire: Maintaining Gender Norms Through Legislative Assembly Dress Codes**

*Kate Korte*.....2

**Established 50 Years Ago, Alberta Hansard is Basically Unchanged**

*Janet Schwegel*.....9

**Whose Interests Matter? Representational Priorities Among Members of Parliament in Communities with High Rates of COVID-19**

*Gabrielle Feldmann*.....13

**Women's Descriptive Representation in Canadian Politics: Impacts of Electoral Reform**

*Mark Johnson* ..... 24

**CPA Activities** .....33

**New and Notable Titles** .....40

**Legislative Reports** .....42

**Prince Edward Island's Famous Five**

*Sean McQuaid*.....72

# *Jackets, ties, and comparable attire: Maintaining gender norms through legislative assembly dress codes*

The existing literature on dress codes is mostly silent regarding legislative assemblies. Previous research has instead tended to focus on other institutions, such as schools or medical settings. To address this gap, this article provides an in-depth examination into the existing dress codes of Canadian parliaments and their practical applications. The author suggests that dress codes engrain gender norms around professional dress and maintain the standard for parliamentarians as a man in a suit jacket and tie. The jacket and tie aspect of dress codes is the most frequently enforced and long held. The expectations for women's attire and Indigenous, cultural, or traditional attire have been added on and are less frequently enforced. Such dress codes uphold a vision of a politician as a man in a suit and tie which conversely restricts the attire options for men and potentially those that are non-binary. Therefore, the author argues that dress codes present barriers to the full accommodation of gender and cultural diversity in legislative assemblies. \*The online version of this article has been adjusted to correct or clarify some information related to Indigenous attire in the territorial legislative assemblies.

**Kate Korte**

## **Introduction**

---

In March 2019, the dress code at the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia was brought to light by a group of women that contested the code's characterization of sleeveless shirts as unacceptable. They claimed they had a "Right to Bare Arms" – a catch phrase that would soon become a viral hashtag in Canadian politics. In the days following, the Legislative Assembly's dress code provisions were amended to better reflect modern expectations around professional attire. The "Right to Bare Arms" incident and the following changes to the dress code opened a broader conversation about dress codes in Canadian legislatures. Although the issue of dress codes may not have been of great importance when every parliamentarian was a man in a suit, the increasing diversity in provincial and territorial legislative

assemblies compels us to take a closer look at how dress codes might apply in present-day legislatures. Dress codes can be broadly defined as the codified rules and guidelines pertaining to appropriate attire in a given environment. These codes are separate but informed by unspoken norms and traditions. In Canada's provincial and territorial legislatures, dress codes typically suggest professional attire. The definition of professional attire is engendered. By convention or codified rule, most dress codes require that men must wear a suit jacket and a tie while women must wear comparable attire.

This article compares existing dress codes for members of Canada's legislative assemblies and examines available Hansard references to dress codes to determine how such codes have been applied. Most existing literature on dress codes is silent regarding legislative assemblies and instead focuses on other institutions, such as schools or medical settings. My research fills a gap in the literature by providing an in-depth look into the existing dress codes and their practical applications. I suggest that dress codes engrain gender norms around professional dress and maintain the standard for parliamentarians as a man in a suit jacket and tie. The jacket and tie aspect of dress codes is the most frequently enforced and long held. The expectations for women's attire and Indigenous, cultural, or traditional attire have been added on

---

*Kate Korte was a 2021-2022 BC Legislative Intern. She is currently pursuing a law degree at the University of Victoria. Kate would like to extend her sincere thanks to the legislative librarians that assisted in researching this article and Legislative Intern Aidan Guerreiro for assistance with French translation.*



and are less frequently enforced. Such dress codes uphold a vision of a politician as a man in a suit and tie which conversely restricts the attire options for men and potentially those that are non-binary. Therefore, I argue that dress codes present barriers to the full accommodation of gender and cultural diversity in legislative assemblies.

## Methods

---

This article combines a comparative analysis of dress codes in Canada's provincial and territorial legislative assemblies with a content analysis of Hansard references to dress code from each legislative assembly. By conducting primary research into the various documents that relate to dress and Hansard references to dress code, I establish what provincial and territorial legislative assemblies deem to be as appropriate attire. My research includes two different types of documents: official orders, rules, or guidelines on dress and Hansard or media references to dress in the legislative assemblies. First, I looked for any codified dress codes in an assembly's Standing Orders, rules, or other documents, such as guidelines for members, that are intended to instruct members on what to wear in the House. I also asked legislative librarians in all provincial and territorial legislative assemblies which have legislative libraries for any documents related to attire. Legislatures varied in whether they had a codified document and, if one was present, what form that document took (rules or guidelines). They also varied on whether the dress code was explicitly gendered. Dress codes either indicated that men must wear a jacket and tie and women must wear comparable attire or broadly ask that members wear professional attire. In their application, dress codes have little variance.

Following my discussion of the codified rules around dress, I examined each assembly's Hansard for any mentions of the term 'dress code' to determine how dress codes are applied and enforced by Speakers. I removed any instances that were not related to the legislature, such as those that were part of debates about dress codes in schools or for police. I did not search other attire related terms, such as 'dress,' 'attire,' or specific clothing words like 'jacket' or 'tie' in Hansard to maintain my focus on the application of legislative dress codes. Most references are Points of Order raised in response to an alleged dress code infraction by a member, which allowed me to see how various Speakers have responded to such points. Legislative libraries also provided some additional Hansard references about dress that were not captured

by my search because they did not directly reference the dress code. These were cross-referenced with the Hansard search I completed. My research therefore includes both Hansard references to a "dress code" and other discussions of legislative attire retrieved from librarians. Legislative librarians also assisted in finding references to instances where members wore unconventional dress that was not transcribed by Hansard but was covered by the media. In total, my research examines 63 Hansard and media references to parliamentary dress codes. Most Hansard references were Points of Order raised by members about the dress codes or requests for guidance on the dress code. This is not an exhaustive list of dress code references but rather a sample of convenience. There may have been others missed by only searching for "dress code," and some legislatures' online Hansard records do not contain the entire historic Hansard. While my comparative analysis of dress code documents provides context, the 63 references provide a glimpse into how dress codes are applied.

## The Dress Code

---

Mr. Speaker, we are very mindful of and even reverential to the traditions which guide us — the dress code, our formal deference to the mace, our adherence to the rules. All are part of our democracy, not to be manipulated, mocked, or belittled.

-*MLA Harry Van Mulligan in the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, 2002.*

Most provincial and territorial legislative assemblies have some form of guidelines or rules for members' dress, apart from Ontario, Alberta, and Nova Scotia. These three legislative assemblies do not have codified dress rules or guidelines. Ontario does not maintain a dress code while Albertan Speakers have referenced *Beauchesne's Parliamentary Rules and Forms* to supplement their assemblies' lack of a dress code when ruling on Points of Order related to attire. A 2019 orientation document from the Legislative Assembly of Alberta states that Speakers maintain that men must wear jackets, dress pants, and ties. Nova Scotia also does not have codified rules related to dress but Speakers of the province's House of Assembly have referred to the House of Commons procedures in ruling on Points of Order, which largely mirror *Beauchesne*. Québec's Standing Orders maintain that "members must contribute to the maintenance of decorum." Their parliamentary procedures further advise members to wear "neat, appropriate clothing

such as business attire and avoid wearing clothes or accessories that could undermine decorum.” British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Nunavut, and the Northwest Territories all have written rules or Standing Orders related to dress. In Manitoba, the Clerk’s Office publishes an Outline of Procedure, which requests that “male MLAs wear a tie and jacket and that female MLAs wear a corresponding type of attire.” Likewise, in Yukon, Prince Edward Island, and Alberta, orientation documents advise men to wear a jacket and tie while women could wear comparable attire. Aside from Ontario, all legislative assemblies generally adopt the same expectations through either codified rules or those borrowed from the federal House of Commons procedures.

All legislative assemblies allow members to wear Indigenous, traditional, or cultural dress. In two of the three territorial legislative assemblies, Indigenous attire is mentioned first. For example, section 12(9) of the Rules of the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut states “every Member shall be attired in a traditional dress or in a manner appropriate to the dignity of the Assembly.” In contrast, Yukon’s Members’ Procedural Handbook notes: “When the Speaker is in the Chair, the accepted dress code requires that all male MLAs wear a jacket and tie, though a First Nations themed vest has often been worn in the place of a suit jacket.” Some provincial legislative assemblies have a clause in their rules that allow members to wear Indigenous, cultural, or traditional attire. Manitoba requires that members seek permission from the Speaker before wearing such attire. As the diversity in legislative assemblies increases, there will likely be more examples of members choosing to wear Indigenous, traditional, or cultural dress.

Aside from the codified rules in their respective legislative assemblies, Speakers also cite sections 229-230 of *Beauchesne* from the federal House of Commons, which was authored by a former Clerk of the House of Commons. It states that a jacket, tie, and shirt are required for men and a turtleneck is not permissible. These sections are cited by Speakers as a standard to be adhered to and may corroborate their rulings on Points of Order. Members also brought *Beauchesne* forward to argue their own dress-code-related points. MLA Laurie Blakeman, the Member for Edmonton-Centre in Alberta, challenged the Speaker’s ruling that invoked *Beauchesne* in 2006. Blakeman argued that these sections are instructive rather than prohibitive:

What *Beauchesne* does not lay out are additional garments that male members of this House

may choose to wear. For example, it doesn’t include a prohibition nor does it specifically ask that members be wearing a vest, which is quite a common garment that many gentlemen wear with a three-piece suit. It’s also silent on, perhaps, a scarf.

Speakers, including the Speaker responding to Blakeman, have not adopted her perspective. Instead, they have viewed *Beauchesne* as a source for the requirement that men must wear a jacket and tie and that professional business attire is required.

Most assemblies have not changed their dress codes substantively. However, BC presents an interesting example as dress code changes were prompted by the aforementioned “Right to Bare Arms” incident. Then Speaker, Darryl Plecas, requested that then-Acting Clerk, Kate Ryan-Lloyd, review the dress code and make recommendations for its modernization. In May 2019, Ryan-Lloyd consulted with members and clerks from other parliamentary jurisdictions, authored a public report on the dress code, and made nine recommendations. The report reflected on the gendered nature of dress guidelines and advised that “members should be entrusted to exercise good judgement.” Although the report lists examples of appropriate attire for men and women, it also affirms that dress codes should prescribe gender-neutral expectations of business attire. In his correspondence with members, Speaker Plecas noted that individuals who do not conform to the gender binary may dress “pursuant to the guidelines above (contemporary business attire), where they deem appropriate.” This is the only example I found of a legislative assembly document that provides guidance for non-binary members. In requesting that the Legislative Assembly of BC moves towards a “non-gender specific” dress code, Ryan-Lloyd admits that this may lead to a situation, as in Ontario, where members may choose whether to wear a tie. In the three years since this report was published, the practice of wearing a jacket and tie and generally prescribing to gendered expectations of business attire has remained unchanged in BC.

### Applying The Dress Code

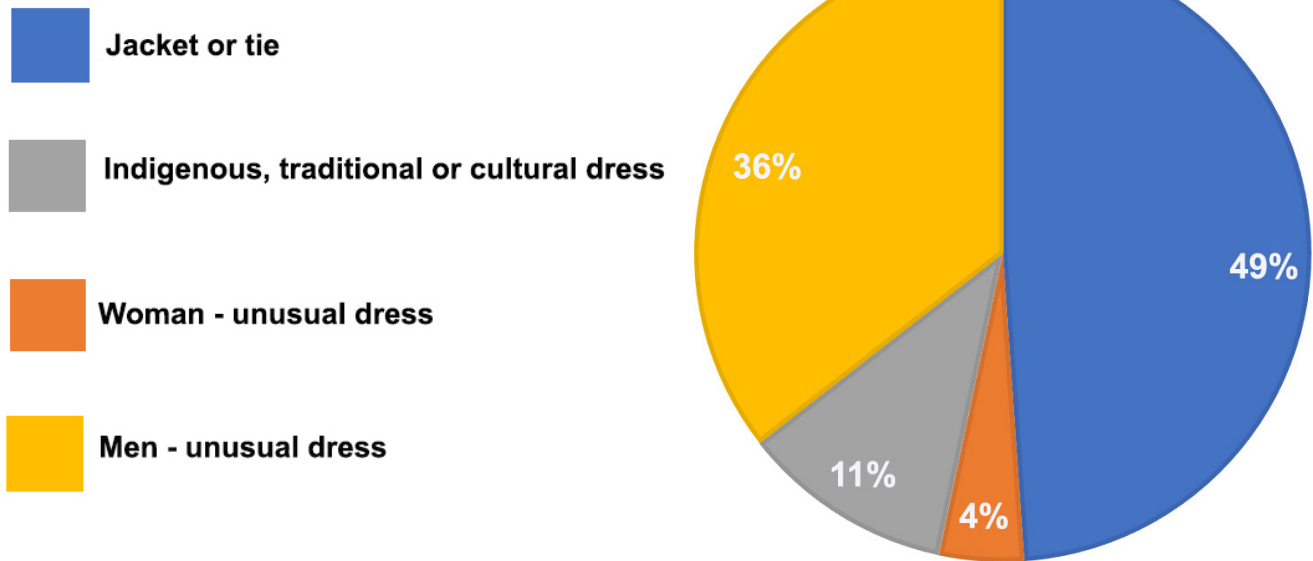
---

It’s a matter, I think, of tradition within the House, and each one of us is accountable for our own dress and our own method of conducting ourselves in this chamber.

- Speaker Ed Smith, BC Legislative Assembly, 1977



## CLOTHING MENTIONED IN HANSARD



**Figure 1 – Hansard references to dress code categorized by clothing type. Twenty-two references to jacket or tie, two to unconventional women’s dress, 16 to men’s unconventional dress, and five to Indigenous, traditional, or cultural dress.**

Regardless of whether a dress code is explicitly gendered, Hansard references suggest that Speakers have been reluctant to permit members to not wear jackets or ties when responding to Points of Order. Ontario is the exception as members can choose to not wear a tie. My research looks at 63 Hansard references pertaining to dress across all of the provincial and territorial legislatures in Canada, with the exclusion of Nunavut as no dress code references were found. These references illuminate the ways in which a dress code has been applied by a Speaker and establish the existing precedent in provincial and territorial legislatures for dress. Of the 63 references, only 5 were found from prior to 1970 (1949, 1959, 1960, 1963, 1969), while the remainder are from 1970 onwards. Some of these references were from Journals, which predated Hansard. I have referred to all references as Hansard references for simplicity and because the majority of references were located in Hansard. With time, the number of references to the dress codes have increased slightly – 16 references are from 1980 to 2000 while 26 references are from after 2000. However, this data is impacted by the lack of archival and digitally accessible or available records of proceedings (either Journals or Hansard) in many legislative assemblies. Therefore, it is difficult to draw any further conclusions from the references’ time frame beyond indicating that there may be a slight increase since 1970. Seventeen of the 63

references were general statements or guidance about the dress code. These have been omitted from further analysis as they reiterate the dress codes already explained above or indicate that Speakers will send a memo about those codes to members. The remaining 45 references all mention the clothes that a member is wearing during proceedings.

I have grouped these 45 references in broad categories based off the type of clothing mentioned. These categories include references to men on the wearing of jackets or ties (22), Indigenous, traditional, or cultural dress (5), and unconventional or casual dress (18). The actual item of clothing is not mentioned in four references. The five references to Indigenous, traditional, or cultural dress were either regarding Indigenous or Scottish clothing. I used the category of unconventional dress as a catch-all category for a variety of clothing that pushed the bounds of the dress code, including sports jerseys, rodeo attire, a scout uniform, bare feet, shorts, slogans or political pins, and hats. There were no more than one reference for each of these types of attire, except for two references to hats and jerseys, so categorizing them proved difficult. The commonality across all reference types was that most references pertained to men’s attire.

Of the 45 mentions considered, only two pertained

to a women’s dress. Although this could be partially explained by the disproportionate number of men elected to the legislature, the ratio is still too stark for this to be the sole explanatory factor. This ratio is equivalent to 4.4 per cent of references to women’s dress, which is much lower than the percentage of women that have held office in provincial and territorial legislative assemblies since 1970. The remaining 43 references were all to men’s clothing; most of which were specifically about whether a male member was wearing a jacket or tie (22). The two references to women were both due to casual dress, one when a woman wore shorts and another where a woman wore a hoodie.

Of the references to jackets and ties, Speakers have reinforced the jacket and tie rule, with few exceptions. In an early example from 1969, Manitoba Speaker Ben Hanuschak defined the standard for appropriate attire as a jacket and tie for men.

There is a custom in the House of Commons... that the standard be such that it be neither anti nor post fashion trends but that it be what is commonly accepted by all as being appropriate...in the present generation and era

I interpret this to call for the wearing of a jacket and tie by the men.

This rule continues to be enforced. In 1982 in Newfoundland, a member raised a Point of Order that another member was wearing a sweater. The Speaker agreed that this was against the dress code. The member in question responded that he received the sweater as a birthday gift the day prior and retired from the chamber to remove the sweater. In 1980, the Speaker in BC responded to a Point of Order about jackets and ties by reminding members that a jacket, tie, and shirt were required. The Speaker said they would not enforce it in this instance but would in the future. Another example from New Brunswick in 1981 features a member wearing a tie without a suit. It’s unclear exactly what the member was wearing from the Hansard reference. The Speaker also did not have a clear comment on whether this attire fit the dress code beyond commenting that “I am of the opinion that it does not look very good.” Although the jacket and tie rule has seen mixed enforcement, it has rarely been challenged. There are, however, examples of Speakers making exceptions to this rule due to hot temperatures. One of the earliest references to the dress code was in Manitoba

**Next Page: Mary Ellen Smith, the first woman to be elected to BC’s Assembly in 1918, was the subject of much discussion and debate in newspapers over whether she and other women should be permitted to wear hats in the Assembly. Below: Smith with the 15th Parliament, First Session.**

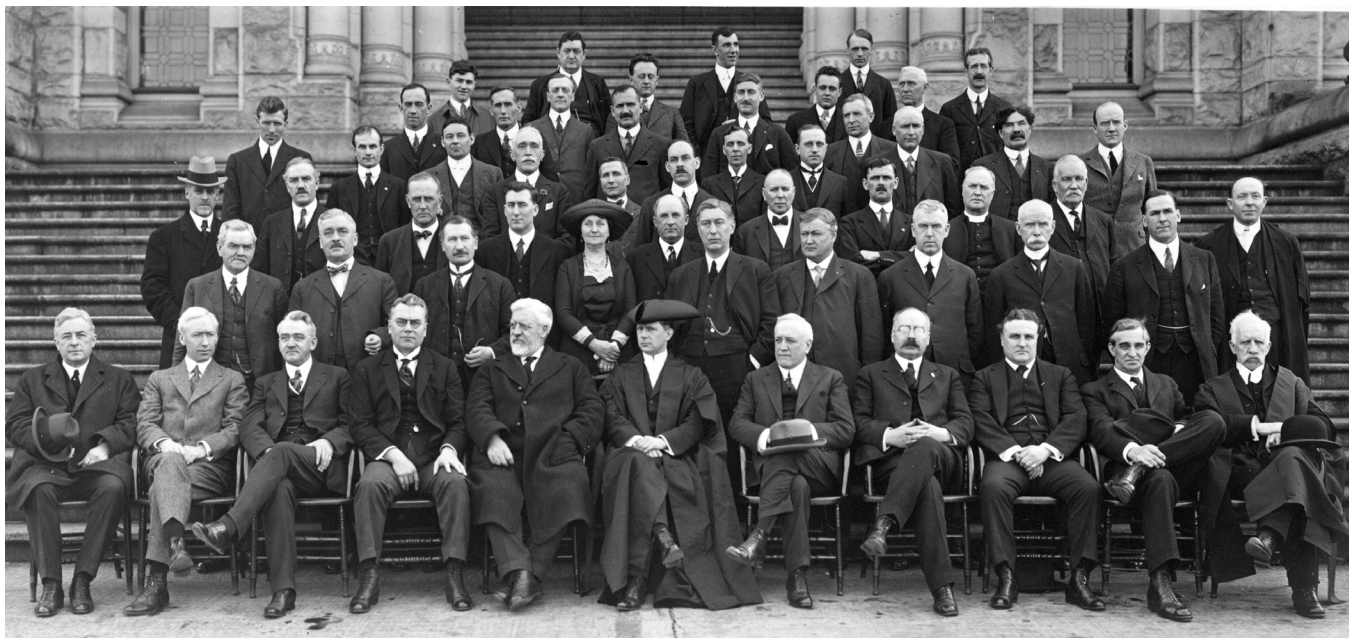


Image F-09779 courtesy of the Royal BC Museum



in 1959. Members requested to remove their jackets and ties in committees amid hot temperatures and remarked that “it might expedite business.” Later, in 1994, a Nova Scotia member asked if the House of Assembly might revisit the jacket and tie rule given that they were sitting in July with no air conditioning. In another reference from Nova Scotia in 2015, the Speaker maintained that jackets and ties must be worn even in warm temperatures. The Speaker said, “I’ve also noted that some other members are donning some extremely casual attire as of late...I realize that the weather is starting to get a bit warm, but we’re all in this together.” Overall, precedent has affirmed that men must wear jackets and ties with some exceptions for hot weather.

Some Hansard references reflected the view that fashion is inherently feminine. For instance, then Alberta Speaker Ken Kowalski asked members to stop sending in notes about women member’s attire in 2006. He said he received notes about whether a particular women member was wearing a bra. He finished his comments by advising members that he is “not going to touch any of this” and to talk to their mothers about what to wear. In a 1971 reference from Newfoundland, then Premier Joey Smallwood returned from an international trip wearing a new silk suit. Media articles said he had shopped in a “lady-like fashion” while on his trip and the opposition mocked him for being overly fashionable, saying that he belonged at the “Academy Awards.” In Alberta in 1994, a member raised a Point of Order about another member’s brightly coloured suit. Although the bright suits were not an infraction against the dress code, the member wearing the suit commented that “my wife didn’t pick out my clothing.” The view that fashion is the realm of mothers, ladies, or wives is based in gendered assumptions. Historically, members have

continually made the link between fashion and women. By making this connection, gendered norms are informally perpetuated throughout parliamentary institutions. The belief that fashion is a women’s business may also be part of the reason why the men’s dress code has been unchanged. Men may be reluctant to bring up changes related to clothing if they view fashion as an inherently feminine interest.



Image B-01563 courtesy of the Royal BC Museum

There were no references to Indigenous or cultural clothing as infractions to the dress code, although the Speaker in the Northwest Territories left the question open in one instance where a MLA was wearing a Mickey Mouse tie with a Dene vest. Another MLA brought forward a Point of Order, indicating that the tie was offensive to the high significance of the vest. The member responded that the tie was meant for children that may be watching the Hansard broadcast. The Speaker was unsure of how to proceed, given that the wearing of a tie was required for men but the tie was deemed offensive to the Dene vest. Ultimately, there was no resolution and proceedings continued. The blend of Indigenous attire and the jacket/tie requirement presents an interesting case for the dress code requirements, which suggest that members may exclusively wear either Indigenous attire or business attire, leaving little guidance for members wearing both. The example of the Dene vest reveals how the standard of a jacket and tie for men may present further difficulties for embracing diversity in parliaments.

### Analysis

In the text of dress codes, there is a notable emphasis on men’s attire. The jacket and tie requirement is the most long held standard on dress in Canadian parliaments. The rules for women were added and seem to appear as an afterthought. For instance, a

guide for parliamentarians in the Legislative Assembly of Prince Edward Island states “members must be attired in standard business dress, i.e. a jacket and tie for male members and the equivalent level of formality for female members.” None of the dress codes in provincial or territorial legislative assemblies specify items that women can or cannot wear – they are either expected to wear professional attire or wear something that could be considered comparable to a men’s jacket and tie. In this way, dress codes are reminders that women were additive to parliaments, not intrinsic. The Hansard references show that the jacket and tie rule is also the most enforced rule related to dress. The dress codes continue to affirm that the standard for professional attire is a man in a jacket and tie.

Although all legislative assemblies are accepting of Indigenous, cultural, or traditional attire, how this acceptance is articulated in the dress codes may lead to confusion in the future. If mentioned, Indigenous, cultural, or traditional attire is often in a separate clause. This does not recognize that Indigenous, cultural, or traditional attire may be formal or business attire in a non-Eurocentric view. The example cited above of the member wearing a Dene vest with a Mickey Mouse tie illustrates this dilemma. The member was wearing a tie that was deemed by the Speaker to be too informal to be worn with a Dene vest in the legislative assembly but removing it would be in violation of the dress code that required ties. Attire that is considered formal attire in other cultures, such as saris or kurta, is acceptable under the clause for Indigenous, traditional, or cultural attire in legislative assemblies. Instead of being

included as an appropriate example of business attire, Indigenous, traditional, or cultural attire is treated as separate. This literal difference has little impact on the practical application of the rules as both business attire and Indigenous, traditional, or cultural attire are acceptable. The way the rules are crafted, however, maintains a Eurocentric view of business attire. In the future, this may be a point of friction in legislative assemblies and dress codes may change as part of the ongoing cultural shift in legislative assemblies to further adapt to diversity and move beyond colonial and Eurocentric ideas.

Dress codes also present barriers for gender diversity by mandating or suggesting that a man must wear a jacket and tie. The jacket and tie requirement serves to exclude members on the basis of gender by restricting the attire options available to those who identify as a man. In most legislative assemblies, men cannot wear attire that women members are permitted to wear. For instance, a man could not wear an uncollared shirt or turtleneck as it would not accommodate a tie. He could not wear a skirt, although exceptions have been made for traditional dress such as kilts. This restricts the options for attire available to men and those who are gender non-conforming, while also pinning acceptable women’s fashion to the standard of men in jackets and ties. Women are told to dress comparably to men while men’s fashion remains restricted to a jacket and a tie – this imbalance reflects a tension between gendered dress codes and maintaining the traditions that were primarily instituted when most politicians were men.



# *Established 50 years ago, Alberta Hansard is basically unchanged*

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Alberta Hansard, a milestone achieved in March 2022, the office looked back to a time before the official record of Assembly proceedings existed in Alberta and reflected on early processes as well as how work has evolved over the years. It became evident that the story of Hansard's establishment, executed by J. Peter Swann and his small team, was worth telling. Much has changed, but the basic practices established then remain 50 years later. This article provides a timeline of the establishment of Alberta's Hansard, based on Swann's archived records and his report, *A Report Relating to the Publication of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*.

**Janet Schwegel**

Alberta was one of the last provinces to produce an official report. As early as 1919 the matter was raised in the Assembly as one of "pressing importance and necessity," to which the Premier replied that "as the cost would be considerable, and but comparatively few would require the report when published ... there was no necessity for [the] Legislative Assembly to have a *Hansard*."

Long before an official *Hansard* was created, Library staff at the Legislature clipped newspaper articles into a collection called Scrapbook Hansard. That collection covers issues of the day from 1906 to 1971 in throne speeches, budget addresses, various bills, and legislative discussions.

In 1965 the Legislative Assembly asked the government to install sound recording equipment in the Chamber, and the Clerk was directed to produce verbatim reports of speeches made by each Member during the throne speech, budget debates, and for other proceedings as directed by the Assembly. Transcripts of other speeches and statements were also provided to Members on request. The first copy of a transcript was free to MLAs and to members of the press gallery. After that, each additional copy cost five cents per page.

By 1971 transcripts were being produced for much of the proceedings, particularly Oral Question Period. But these transcripts weren't a proper *Hansard*. They weren't comprehensive, they weren't timely, and they weren't published for the public. A memo from the Assistant Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta outlines transcription services at the time. It mentions transcription difficulties of the past year and suggests that the three or four stenographers operate on a "response to requests" basis rather than anticipate requests, that "automatic" production of transcripts be limited and "at the direction of the House." The memo notes that "the situation is just a little out of hand at the moment with large volumes of material being produced unnecessarily."

A 1971 editorial in the *Calgary Herald* ambivalently described transcripts as "often turgid and never bestselling" but also "of inestimable value to all those who would examine, either contemporaneously or in hindsight, the process of government." Establishing a *Hansard* in Alberta was a plank in the platform of political parties and a dream for the local media. In 1971 William F. Gold, Associate Editor of the *Calgary Herald*, noted that from 1957 to 1962

words from the floor were recorded by neither note nor tape on an official basis. On contentious issues there was endless disagreement about who said what. Calls of misquote were frequent. On reflective balance both sides were right, and wrong, about half the time. The only people who really suffered were members of the public, constantly tugged by conflicting assertions and without access to any definitive record.

---

*Janet Schwegel is Director of Parliamentary Programs at the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.*



Actor Dan Moser dressed up as Thomas Curson Hansard.

Gold went on to say:

It is essential to the intelligent citizen that there be in some areas a bedrock of trust, something in which faith may be reposed. In provincial affairs an accessible, printed Hansard can fill this need ... The fact is that Alberta is too big, and too important in all its fiscal and human workings, to continue much longer without an adequate Hansard. To me, adequate means printed.

(At that time the term "Hansard" was sometimes used to refer to the tapes of the proceedings.)

In November 1971 a government news release announced a study into improving and expanding publication of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. At the time, the projected completion date for setting up a *Hansard* office was Friday, October 13, 1972.

The government commissioned Mr. J. Peter Swann. In his notes Swann indicates that he was

to prepare a report for the Government of Alberta on "all matters relating to the possible improvement and expansion of publication of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly." At the present time, the proceedings are recorded on magnetic tape, and selected debates only are transcribed; the Government does not publish a "*Hansard*".

When Swann started on his research project, Alberta, with a population of 1.6 million people, was one of two provinces without a *Hansard*, the other being P.E.I., which had a population under 150,000. Swann started his research by contacting other jurisdictions. Many times he encountered "incredulity ... that there could even exist a Parliament without a full published report."



**Current Hansard staff on the occasion of the 50th anniversary event: (Left to right) David Letersky, Janice Connor, Amanda LeBlanc, Janet Schwegel, Charisse Steward.**

Correspondence with Dr. J.B. Poole of the House of Commons Library in December 1971 notes that the House of Commons was “moving slowly but surely towards the use of computer terminals as the primary transcribers tool, using text editing, formatting, and indexing programmes to produce a useful end product.” At the same time, Stenographic Machines Inc. was also working on “programmes to interpret machine shorthand and reconstruct a natural language text with 98% accuracy.” Swann comments that “assuming a reasonable degree of efficiency, [computerized stenography] would seem to be the logical way to convert the spoken word to the printed page.”

While Swann was originally to have *Alberta Hansard* in production in October, in the first week of February 1972 he was asked to set up an office to produce a daily *Hansard* for the spring session, opening March 2. That gave him three weeks to get the office running.

Although he was keen on computer shorthand, he settled on a process based on a technique developed at Queen’s University for the House of Commons in Ottawa, which involved

the initial typing of the transcript “into” a computer, so that the raw text is stored in machine-readable form. The computer may then be used subsequently to correct and modify the text, and to manipulate it into whatever output form may be required, or into a form acceptable to some other device, such as a phototypesetter.

That’s essentially the process still used to produce *Alberta Hansard* 50 years later.

Swann set up an agreement to connect computer terminals in the *Hansard* office to the Government of Alberta Data Centre. The terminals, which normally required nine months for delivery, arrived in



Edmonton within two weeks. Government of Alberta Temporary Staff Services recruited dictatypists as *Hansard* transcribers. By Monday morning of the week the Legislature opened, four had been recruited, three of whom had never set foot in the Legislature Building.

The staff also consisted of a secretary-receptionist, an indexer-researcher, and a sub-editor. Swann thought that he and one sub-editor could handle the proofreading responsibilities. Later he recognized the understaffing error and decided that three people were needed for the work. "The job is one for which one needs a particular knack, or feel. It is not enough to have a good command of the English language, and yet too rigid views on what constitutes proper prose style may lead to the cardinal sin of overediting." Once three people were sub-editing, the main problem was "the lack of conformity among sub-editors, and the need to establish standards of style was very apparent. Many hours were wasted when one editor would re-review and re-correct work that had already been reviewed and corrected by another."

#### As for the tone of the publication

it was established as an unwritten precept that the *Alberta Hansard* should be a document designed for the reader, rather than a cold and perhaps cruel mirror for whose words it contains. An editorial style was adopted which, it was hoped, would permit the reader to understand the sequence of events which the publication reported, through the use of the descriptive editorial captions and headings reflecting orders of business and subjects under discussion.

The new publication was advertised in seven daily major newspapers. Although many people weren't aware of the existence of the *Alberta Hansard*, interest was higher than expected. By December 1972 the office distributed 950 copies of every *Hansard* produced and had about 700 subscribers.

When the first session was finished, Swann concluded that

the Spring Session proved to be a very difficult experience for all those involved with the *Alberta Hansard* ... A completely novel system, put into service with hopelessly inadequate preparation and some serious underestimation of the human effort required under these circumstances, on several occasions almost collapsed into total chaos. It did, however, prove its value and its workability during the last week of the session, when three consecutive issues, including two

which involved both afternoon and evening sittings, were in Members' hands on the following sitting day. This performance would have been kept up until the end of the sitting, had our staff not been hit, like everyone else, by the 'flu bug then prevalent in Edmonton; the fact that we could not maintain this turnaround without all our experienced staff demonstrated quite dramatically our vulnerability to sickness and other causes of absenteeism. [I'm sure we can sympathize.]

By fall, though, all but three issues were published within 24 hours.

Swann reported that "my choice of procedures to be used in the preparation of the *Alberta Hansard* has been vindicated, by the demonstration of its ability to produce an overnight *Hansard* during the fall session, by the impending availability of the computerized Stenograph machine, and by the comparison of our manpower requirements and those of Maurice Chazotte's in B.C." That said, the production of *Alberta Hansard* was costly and the print quality was poor due to the low quality of the artwork provided to the Queen's Printer. In December 1972 the Speaker "decided to dispense with my services as Editor of the *Alberta Hansard* for the Spring Session."

When summing up his *Hansard* project for the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Swann articulated what was needed for more ideal production conditions and processes. He admitted that there were problems associated with the implementation of "pioneering new techniques in the production of a *Hansard*" and that "phototypesetting, and therefore a good quality product, will be possible in the spring, and new input terminals, unfortunately not available until May, will make the transcribers task more pleasant, efficient, and economical."

Even if the possibilities that Swann noted did not come to fruition within the short time period of his study, his efforts realized a few key practices that remain today. Fifty years later *Alberta Hansard* uses the same basic production model of inputting text into a computer, then using that computer and software programs to edit and typeset documents. Further, *Alberta Hansard* still uses editorial captions and headings to guide the reader, and the tone of the publication is consistent.

Mechanics aside, the story of how *Alberta Hansard* got its start and how it continues to operate emphasizes the importance of a persevering staff. To quote Swann, "much of the efficiency of a *Hansard* group comes from the morale of the staff."

# *Whose Interests Matter? Representational Priorities among Members of Parliament in communities with high rates of COVID-19*

Through interviews with Members of Parliament (MPs) and an analysis of Statements by Members, this research paper examines the representational priorities and influences of Members of Parliament during the COVID-19 pandemic. It identifies four main representational priorities: the economy and businesses, people with service needs, vulnerable and marginalized populations, and health and long-term care. Through these four priority issues and constituencies, it demonstrates that MPs' representational priorities are varied, and are influenced by riding characteristics, descriptive characteristics, and MPs' previous experiences and priorities. It finds that representational priorities are largely resilient to the pandemic, but that the pandemic has led to the emergence of new priority constituencies for MPs.

**Gabrielle Feldmann**

## **Introduction**

---

It is well-established that political representation requires balancing competing interests.<sup>1</sup> However, this trade-off is often conceptualized as balancing homogenous local and national interests. The more nuanced reality of competing interests and constituencies at all levels is often obscured, despite significant implications for democracy. If local constituencies are given one representative at the national level, *which* interests within the local community are prioritized?

The COVID-19 pandemic provides a unique vantage point from which to examine this question. It has overwhelmingly dominated public life since early 2020, and has affected all communities across Canada.

This focusing event can be used to examine which interests and constituencies political representatives prioritize when faced with the same broad challenge; this is especially interesting when considering the pandemic's unequal impacts across neighbourhoods and sociodemographic lines. The same groups who have borne disproportionate health, economic, and social impacts of the pandemic have been underrepresented in Parliament<sup>2</sup>, raising questions about how these groups' interests have been prioritized during the pandemic.

The body of literature on Members of Parliament's (MPs) representational activities indicates variation and agency across MPs based on riding context and descriptive characteristics<sup>3</sup>, highlighting the potential for representational prioritization. Political representation literature demonstrates that representatives prioritize certain interests and constituencies.

In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, this research seeks to understand both the representational priorities of MPs and the factors influencing those priorities by employing interviews with MPs and analysis of Member's Statements (SO31s) to do so. Given the disproportionate impact of COVID-19 on racialized people in Canada, particular attention is paid to racialization as a descriptive characteristic.

---

*Gabrielle Feldmann is a Master of Public Policy student at Simon Fraser University. She was a member of the Parliamentary Internship Programme in 2020-2021.*

Four major representational priorities were identified through this analysis: the economy, service needs, vulnerable and marginalized groups, and health. However, significant diversity in MPs' priorities exists. By exploring the four priority areas, this research will highlight the factors that appear to shape representational priorities. This research aims to deepen the concept of political representation in Canada by explicitly introducing the concept of representational priorities to allow for greater exploration of how various interests are represented in Canadian politics.

## Theory

---

Beginning with Pitkin's dichotomy between descriptive and substantive representation and the trustee-delegate model<sup>4</sup>, political representation literature has focused primarily on the task of translating public preferences into legislation. Yet, legislative-focused conceptions of representation do not necessarily reflect the Canadian context, where party discipline severely constrains MPs' ability to respond to local constituent preferences. This has led to broader definitions of representation in Canada; Koop, Bastedo, and Blidook's Representational Connections Framework (RCF), distinguishes four types of representational connections: policy connections, service connections, symbolic connections, and party connections.<sup>5</sup> Notably, this framework also identifies factors shaping MPs' representational styles: their personal goals and backgrounds, constituency (riding) contexts, and experiential learning as an MP.<sup>6</sup>

The RCF is useful in expanding the definition of representation, and is central to informing the methodology of this research. It makes clear that there is significant variation in MPs' representational activities and that MPs have agency in deciding their representational styles; these underlying assumptions suggest that MPs have agency to prioritize chosen constituencies. Though the RCF remains focused on *how* MPs represent constituents, it provides useful foundations for exploring *which* interests are represented.

The question of which interests are represented can be further explored through Rehfeld's expanded trustee-delegate model, which identifies three dimensions of representation: a representative's aims (who they seek to benefit), sources of judgement (how they determine their preferred constituency's interests), and responsiveness (to local riding sanctions).<sup>7</sup> Separating these dimensions is helpful because it highlights the

underlying question of *who* representatives are seeking to benefit, *who* they listen to, and *who* they answer to. Rehfeld provides a useful framework to consider how representatives might go about prioritization of specific interests and issues.

Importantly, the heterogeneity of interests at both the local and national levels cannot be ignored. There is evidence that the powerful win in representatives' prioritizations; in the U.S., low-income constituents have less influence over politics<sup>8</sup>, while organized interest groups can sway representatives to deviate from constituent interests.<sup>9</sup> Unsurprisingly, this dynamic is observed along racial lines; Harden notes that "the wealthy and whites get their policy views represented more than do the poor and minorities".<sup>10</sup>

In the context of international literature, it is worth examining how MPs prioritize constituent communities, particularly those who structurally hold less power. This is especially relevant considering the COVID-19 pandemic's disproportionate impact on marginalized communities; questions of whether these communities' interests are being adequately represented have significant ramifications for their immediate well-being and for the broader dynamics of political representation.

Within this context, the literature suggests that both descriptive representation and riding characteristics may have an impact in determining whether marginalized communities' – particularly racialized communities – interests are represented. Racialized MPs have been shown to actively champion the interests of racialized groups, and these constituencies' interests are generally supported by MPs who have a significant racialized population within their riding.<sup>11</sup> Yet, some literature suggests that substantive policy representation is not impacted by racialized representatives<sup>12</sup>, though descriptive representation may still matter in symbolic<sup>13</sup> and service<sup>14</sup> contexts.

Based on the existing literature, variations in MPs' representational priorities can be expected. It is also clear that racialized and otherwise marginalized constituencies are often de-prioritized by representatives, but that descriptive and riding characteristics may influence whether these constituencies' interests are championed. Given the trends in the literature and the lack of research on representational priorities in Canada, this work will begin to fill an important gap by uncovering the representational priorities of MPs during the pandemic.



## Methodology

### *MP Case Selection*

This research uses the COVID-19 pandemic as a focusing event to examine how MPs' representational priorities vary within a similar context. Given this scope, focus is on MPs who represent cities that have consistently experienced high COVID-19 cases at the time of writing.

Since Canada does not have a uniform mechanism of reporting COVID-19 data, case selection requires a degree of extrapolation. The focus of this research was on cities in Ontario, Quebec, and Alberta, the provinces with the highest total case counts throughout the pandemic and the highest rates of COVID-19 throughout much of the pandemic.<sup>15 16</sup> Twenty-four MPs from the six cities of Montreal, Toronto, Peel, Hamilton, Calgary, and Edmonton were used as a sample for this research. These cities were the sites of significant local epidemics within the provinces, providing the clearest cases of communities where the pandemic has been a focusing event since March 2020 until the time of writing.

MPs selected from these cities represent the three major national political parties. The sample of MPs was restricted to private members because it was not feasible to gather data on Ministers through the chosen methodology. While the exclusion of MPs from certain provinces and rural regions of the country limits this research, the selected MPs represent sufficient diversity across parties, descriptive and riding characteristics, to identify differences in representational priorities.

It is widely recognized that the pandemic disproportionately impacted certain neighbourhoods, notably those with higher proportions of low-income, racialized, and frontline worker residents.<sup>17</sup> To capture this variation, two groups of MPs were selected within these cities; 'Target' MPs, who represent neighbourhoods with high case counts and high proportions of racialized residents, and 'Control' MPs, who represent neighbourhoods with relatively lower case counts and lower proportions of racialized residents. These groupings often divide along income lines; Target ridings are reliably lower-income than Control ridings. MPs representing split ridings, which included both neighbourhoods that were highly impacted and those relatively minimally-impacted, were included in the Target group in order to examine how they represented their most vulnerable constituents. These MPs represent less homogenous constituencies and interests, and must prioritize between them. Ridings within cities were selected based on a combination of local public health data, published demographic information, and news reports highlighting the disproportionate impact of COVID-19 in certain communities.

To the degree possible, MPs represent a diversity of descriptive characteristics. Nine MPs are women, a slightly higher proportion of women than the broader population of MPs. However, gender is not a focus of this study. Twelve MPs are racialized, which is significantly higher than the proportion of racialized MPs in the current parliament. This reflects the ridings selected, as racialized MPs more often represent racialized communities that are hard-hit by

**Table 1: Distribution of MPs in SO31 Analysis by Party, Race, and Target Group**

	Control			Target			Total
	Racialized	White	Total	Racialized	White	Total	
CPC		2	2	4	2	6	8
LIB	1	3	4	6	3	9	13
NDP		1	1	1	1	2	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>24</b>

the pandemic. Descriptive variations were difficult to achieve in all cases; since racialized MPs are more likely to represent ridings with higher proportions of racialized constituents, only one racialized MP is included in the sample of control MPs. A breakdown of MPs by party, target grouping, and race are provided in Table 1.

## Data Collection and Analysis

### *Statements by Members*

SO31s provide a useful window into MPs' representational priorities. They can be made by all private members on "virtually any matter of international, national, provincial or local concern".<sup>18</sup> Since SO31s can only be one minute long, and only 15 MPs can deliver SO31s each sitting day, MPs must prioritize a constituency or issue to raise.

SO31s of 24 MPs from the three national parties were analysed from March 2020 to May 2021. A conventional approach to content analysis was used, in

**Table 2: SO31 Coding Themes**

Equity	Recognition	Partisan Agenda
Gender	Community Organizations	Health
Human Rights	Frontline Workers	Economic/Business
Racism	Individual	Equity/Social
	Economic/Business	Justice
	Cultural Celebration	

which codes were derived from the data and categories were developed and refined during data analysis. The aim of this analysis was to describe the issues and constituencies discussed by MPs without the existence of previous theory; this approach to content analysis was most appropriate because it relies on the data to define categories, rather than imposing preconceived theoretical categories that may not capture the breadth of themes.<sup>19</sup>

SO31s were coded into three themes and a variety of sub-themes, enumerated in Table 2. 'Equity'-related statements recognize structural or systemic problems faced by equity-seeking groups, and are unlinked to an MPs' partisan affiliation and represent a symbolic connection to an equity-seeking group. Likewise,

statements within the 'Recognition' theme indicate a symbolic connection; instead of focusing on equity, these statements recognize those within an MPs' own riding or a broader constituency. SO31s falling under the 'Partisan Agenda' category may cover the same subjects as those in the first two categories (such as racism, businesses, or frontline workers), but rather than forming a symbolic connection, their primary angle is partisan.

### *Interviews*

Interviews were conducted in Spring 2021 during the third wave of the pandemic, using a semi-structured format. A total of six MPs were interviewed: three Liberals from the Greater Toronto Area, two Conservatives from Calgary, and one New Democrat from Hamilton<sup>20</sup>. MPs were offered anonymity during these interviews to allow them to speak freely about their experiences. Questions were designed to identify the issues and constituencies prioritized by the MP throughout the pandemic, their representational activities, and how their personal experiences with the pandemic had shaped their priorities.

The interviews were analysed using a combination of conventional and directed content analysis. Similar to SO31s, coding themes about MPs' priorities were developed through transcript analysis. Inspiration was taken from Koop, Bastedo, and Blidook's RCF, and several categories reflect those in the RCF; however, the data from interviews and SO31s provided a somewhat different set of influencing factors.

### *Limitations*

A small sample size was necessary to conduct this research within the constraints of the Parliamentary Internship Programme, and as a result, this research cannot fully represent all MPs' representational priorities. The exclusion of rural MPs was necessary to meaningfully compare amongst MPs in Canada's epicentres, however it does limit the generalizability of the findings.

Additionally, while the pandemic provides a unique context through which to examine MPs' representational priorities, it does create several constraints. Restricted House of Commons operations in Spring 2020 limits the sample of SO31s early in the pandemic, and priorities described in this research represent a snapshot in time during a crisis. Because of these limitations, further research on representational priorities will help to fully develop the literature on this subject in Canada.

**Table 3: Incidence of SO31 Theme**

<b>Equity</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>Recognition</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>Partisan Agenda</b>	<b>53</b>
Gender	7	Community Organizations	23	Health	10
Human Rights	9	Frontline Workers	2	Economic/Business	19
Racism	14	Individual	26	Equity/Social	18
		Economic/Business	8	Justice	6
		Cultural Celebration	12		
<b>Grand Total</b>					<b>154</b>

## Findings

MPs demonstrated a broad range of representational priorities even within the context of the pandemic. Four common themes are detailed in this section; their incidence in SO31s is illustrated in Table 3. Across all interviews, MPs noted that the pandemic exacerbated pre-existing challenges in their ridings. Likewise, MPs' priority issues and constituencies largely remained the same; shifts in representational activities addressed the changing needs and issues of existing priority constituents. In rare cases, it appears that catalyst events can create new priority constituencies for MPs, though the resiliency of these priorities is unclear.

### **Economic and Business Constituents**

The economy was a key priority for MPs during the pandemic, with businesses prioritized more than individual constituents. This was observed across representational activities; MPs spoke about businesses symbolically and in partisan critiques in SO31s; in interviews, they described spending significant time providing services to businesses and advocating for policy on their behalf.

#### *Prioritization of Businesses*

Businesses were a pre-existing constituency for some MPs, while for others, this constituency emerged during the pandemic. When asked about the impacts of the pandemic, those with pre-existing connections

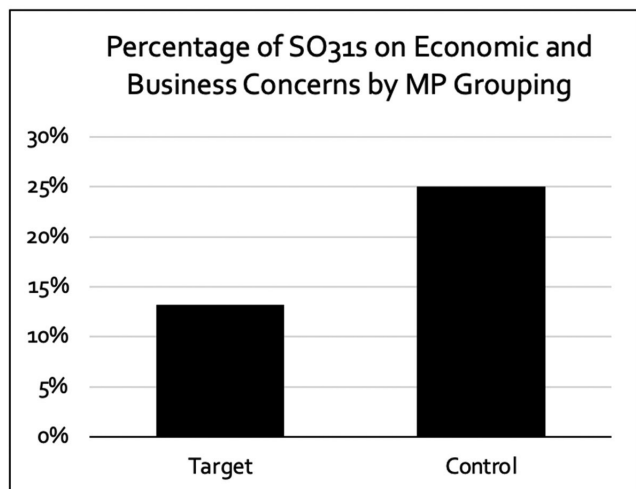
focused primarily on the impacts to the local economy and business community, emphasizing these as an indicator of their communities' well-being. Given that they already viewed businesses as a key constituency, these MPs sought to represent them through all types of representational activities during the pandemic, often engaging in proactive outreach to understand how they could support businesses.

For other MPs, businesses were a newly-important constituency during the pandemic. Those MPs who hadn't indicated pre-existing connections to businesses highlighted the influx of demands for support from businesses during the pandemic and shifted resources in their offices to prioritize businesses. New connections with business constituents were also policy-oriented; MPs also noted that business owners "were calling every day to try to advocate for their businesses in the support that they wanted to see roll out of the government", and these MPs also advocated for businesses at the policy level.

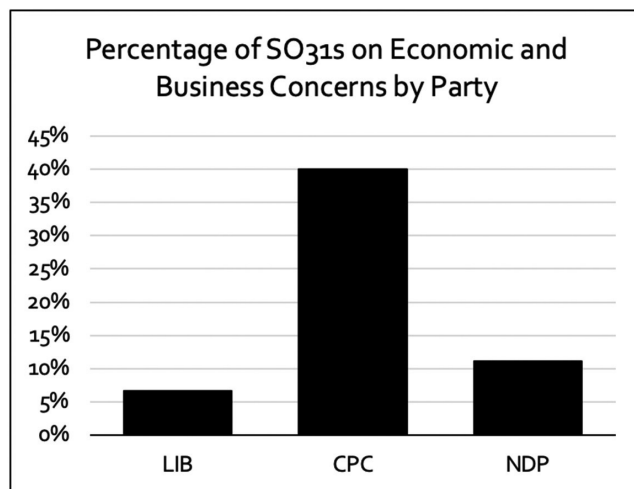
MPs with pre-existing connections emphasized businesses as a greater overall element of their pandemic representation, often focusing overwhelmingly on businesses when describing their policy and symbolic connections. In contrast, MPs without pre-existing connections emphasized other issues and constituencies as more important; businesses were prioritized because of the sheer volume of service requests.



**Table 4: Percentage of SO31s on Economic and Business Concerns by MP Grouping**



**Table 5: Percentage of SO31s on Economic and Business Concerns by Party**



*Descriptive and Riding Influences*

MPs interviewed from the control group were more likely to engage actively with businesses and to identify them as a pre-pandemic constituency. This trend was also visible in SO31s; control MPs spoke more often about businesses, as illustrated in Table 4. Notably, this also included the target MPs who represented mixed communities; they engaged significantly with business owners in wealthier parts of their riding, demonstrating representational priorities that aligned with their colleagues from control ridings.

There was a stronger focus on businesses by Conservative MPs. Forty percent of all SO31s delivered by Conservatives focused on businesses, as illustrated in Table 5. They often emphasized entire industries as a constituency; it was more common for Liberal MPs to focus on small businesses in their own ridings. The NDP were an exception. The NDP MP interviewed was a former business-owner, but did not mention businesses at all in describing his pandemic representation. None of the NDP MPs included in the sample mentioned businesses in their SO31s, suggesting a consistent approach to prioritization of businesses by the NDP.

This emphasis on economic issues may be explained by the federal government’s role in providing financial support. It is unclear why MPs prioritized businesses over individuals in need of income support, but this may be a result of the differences in supports initially rolled out; the Canada Emergency

Response Benefit (CERB), the support for individuals, was rolled out quickly and with broad eligibility, while Canada Emergency Business Account (CEBA), Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy (CEWS) and Canada Emergency Rent Subsidy (CERS), supports for businesses, initially had limited eligibility and support that was generally seen as inadequate.<sup>21</sup>

Nonetheless, both the interviews and SO31s reveal that businesses were the primary economic constituency, but that this was influenced by MPs’ previous experience, the context of their ridings, and by descriptive representation (particularly political party). Each of these findings are significant in demonstrating the diversity of representational priorities and the relevance of influencing factors in shaping MPs’ priorities.

**Constituents with Service Needs**

Those with service needs emerged as a new priority during the pandemic, illustrating the adaptability of representational priorities. Prior to the pandemic, service needs are often dealt with one-on-one and may not be prioritized as a broader representational strategy.<sup>22</sup> However, during the pandemic, those with service needs emerged as a key constituency for MPs. A significant increase in service requests at the beginning of the pandemic set the stage for this prioritization. Many MPs shared that they were overwhelmed by the level of service requests from constituents; a shift towards service was also documented in early pandemic research on MPs’ representational activities.<sup>23</sup>

### *Service-to-Policy Pipeline*

This influx of service requests occurred as support programs were rapidly changing, creating a window of opportunity for MPs to shape policy. In these conditions, MPs nearly universally described newly prioritizing those with service needs as a constituency, forming a direct service-needs-to-policy-advocacy pipeline, in which service needs directly informed their policy work. One Liberal MP explained:

We would be taking calls from local people as to what [a] program should look like or what should be changed and which ways they should be changed. We were then feeding that information in [to the government] daily. I also don't think I had in my previous term ever seen so much caucus involvement. Of course, caucus is always involved in voicing their opinions, but the amount of direct feedback going into the offices of cabinet Ministers and to Ministers directly [was unprecedented].

Service-to-policy connections were equally emphasized by opposition MPs, who also described providing direct feedback to the government and using constituent service needs to inform partisan strategies.

The impact of MP advocacy is best highlighted through issues that remained out of the public eye. In interviews, several MPs described being confronted with highly specific service issues, such as income supports for non-permanent residents or immigration pathways for frontline workers. These MPs described success working behind the scenes to advocate for policy change as a direct result of constituent service requests. These smaller examples indicate that early pandemic programmatic changes were not only made in response to public attention; they highlight the important role of MP advocacy during this period to translate service needs into policy changes.

Despite this new and powerful prioritization of those with service needs, this constituency remained a relatively private representational priority for MPs; unlike the business constituency, individuals with service needs were generally not profiled in MPs' SO31s. MPs did not appear to take public credit for this advocacy work, and it remains to be seen whether a service-to-policy pipeline will be part of MPs' representational strategies beyond the pandemic. However, the emergence of those with service needs as a priority constituency during the pandemic – even if temporarily – demonstrates the responsiveness of MPs

to the contexts within their ridings and the adaptability of representational priorities.

### *Entanglement of Service Connections*

Beyond service-to-policy connections, interviews also revealed an 'entanglement' of service connections, in which MPs became active in addressing constituent service needs outside of federal jurisdiction. MPs with high proportions of low-income constituents described becoming especially involved with landlord-tenant issues and evictions, while those representing COVID hotspot neighbourhoods described becoming heavily involved in the local vaccine rollout.

This entanglement of service connections has persisted past the initial crisis point, which suggests that this trend could persist beyond the pandemic. Notably, several MPs described developing greater ties with other levels of government over the course of the pandemic, which may also signal persistent entanglement. MPs' willingness to be of service beyond federal jurisdiction demonstrates MPs' clear prioritization of those with service needs as a key constituency.

MPs emphasized a desire to continue helping constituents however possible and remain relevant in their lives. This has significant potential implications for the concept of representation at the federal level, though it remains to be seen how this might impact service connections beyond the pandemic and or how it may impact constituents' expectations of service delivery from their MPs.

### **Vulnerable and Marginalized Constituents**

Vulnerable groups who bore the economic, social, and health impacts of the pandemic also emerged as a priority constituency for some MPs. This constituency is defined broadly, since MPs described vulnerability along varied vectors across ridings and intersecting vectors within them. The most frequently mentioned vulnerable groups were frontline workers, racialized, and low-income constituents.

### *Riding Influences*

While each of the MPs selected for this research represented cities with high rates of COVID-19, not all represented hard-hit communities, so the degree of vulnerability in their ridings varied. In interviews, nearly all MPs identified the heavy service needs of these constituencies; these needs were particularly significant in target ridings.

Though most MPs described a heavy service burden from vulnerable groups, policy connections with these constituencies varied; target MPs more frequently advocated on behalf of this constituency to effect policy change. The SO31 analysis quantifies these trends; there was a greater public and symbolic focus on these constituencies by MPs from target ridings through a focus on equity concerns. This is illustrated in Table 6.

Notably, MPs from mixed ridings were included in the target group but demonstrated patterns in their SO31s more closely resembling the control group. These mixed MPs' SO31s focused on the wealthier parts of their ridings, recognizing individuals who had made contributions to their communities, celebrating students' achievements during the pandemic, and generally aligning themselves symbolically with wealthier constituents rather than highlighting the challenges faced by harder-hit constituents.

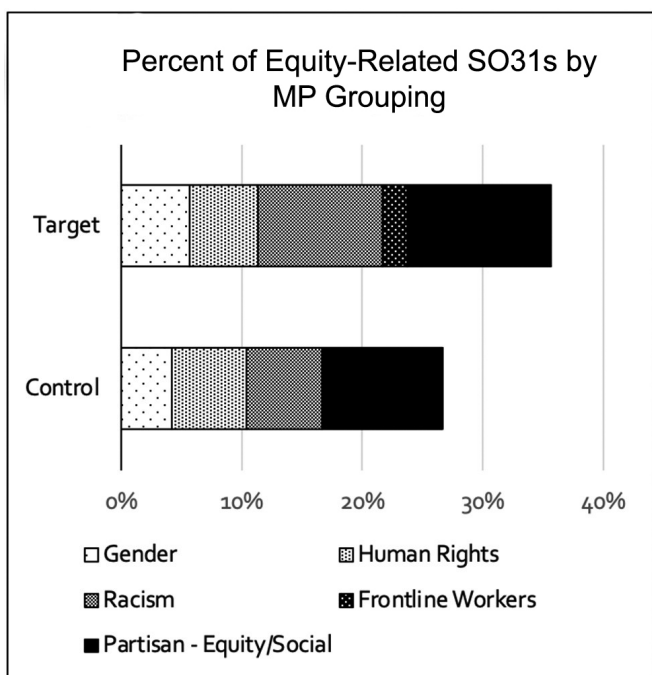
*Descriptive Influences*

However, descriptive characteristics appear to be a greater predictor of prioritization of vulnerable constituencies. In Toronto, the two racialized Liberal MPs interviewed described advocating for the interests of recent immigrants and frontline workers in policy

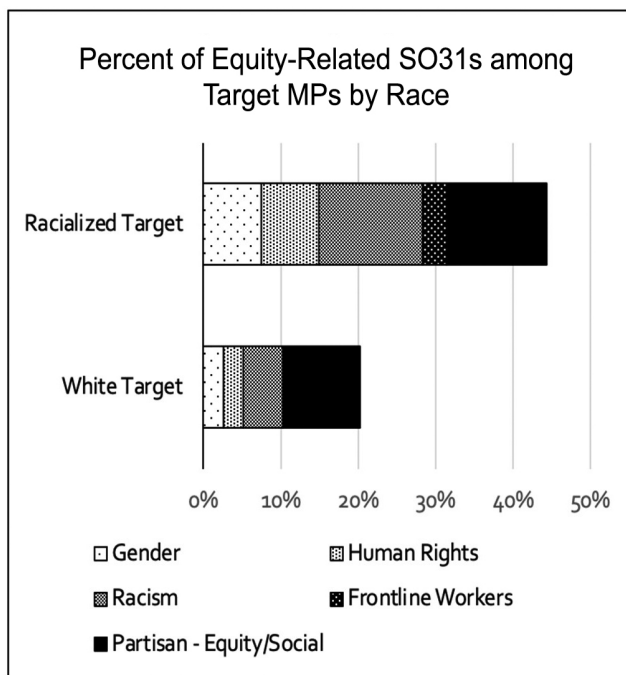
changes, despite one representing a control riding. The white Liberal MP interviewed did not describe the same policy advocacy, despite representing a mixed target riding with a significant population of recent immigrants and frontline workers. Likewise, in the SO31 analysis, racialized MPs drove the focus on equity in both target and control groups, especially on issues of racism. This gap for target MPs can be seen in Table 7. This illustrates the importance of descriptive representation, especially for constituencies whose interests may otherwise be overlooked. It suggests that while riding characteristics may be important in determining MPs' service representational priorities, descriptive characteristics may be more important in ensuring the policy needs of vulnerable constituencies are prioritized.

The analysis also revealed a partisan difference in responding to vulnerable constituents. In interviews, Conservative MPs identified structural challenges for vulnerable constituents laid bare by the pandemic but expressed concern that the pandemic would be used opportunistically by the government to drive a progressive agenda. There were also no SO31s about race from Conservative MPs, despite the inclusion of a proportionate number of racialized MPs in the sample. Liberal and NDP MPs, meanwhile, referenced the pandemic when addressing structural issues.

**Table 6: Equity-Related SO31s by MP Grouping**



**Table 7: Equity-Related SO31s among Target MPs**





## Health and Long-Term Care Constituents

The final theme of health illustrates both the adaptability of representational priorities and the continued relevance of jurisdiction. With the exception of long-term care residents, pandemic-related health issues were consistently less of a priority than other issues and constituencies.

### *Broad Health-Related Connections*

MPs did not engage in policy representation on healthcare, likely because of jurisdiction. Yet, MPs demonstrated adaptability to changing constituent priorities by addressing the new context by highlighting health in symbolic, partisan, and service connections. Focus was on broad health issues impacting the entire population, suggesting this was an attempt to respond to existing priority constituencies. MPs did not speak about health issues impacting a smaller subset of their constituents, such as those who had caught the virus, except in ridings with extremely high case counts, where experience with the virus was more common. Overall, health was a relatively minor focus compared to other priorities, as illustrated in Table 8.

**Table 8: Number of Health-Related SO31s**

Number of Health-Related SO31s	
Frontline Workers	2
Health	10
Non-Health	142

In interviews, MPs expressed frustration at the pandemic for diverting constituent attention to health and away from federal priorities. As one MP lamented, “There’s a challenge [in] getting people’s focus and concentration on substantive policy issues that don’t relate to ‘where is my vaccine? How do I get it in my arm?’”, explaining that this had affected his ability to advance more federally-relevant priorities. This limited and reluctant focus on health highlights how MPs adapt to reflect constituent needs, but that jurisdictional lines may limit the priority of these issues for MPs.

## *Long-Term Care*

The exception was MPs’ prioritization of long-term care residents as a new constituency. MPs emphasized long-term care residents as the most impacted constituent group during the interviews, which was notable considering that interviews were conducted during the height of the third wave, a period of greater community spread and fewer long-term care outbreaks. There was strong common condemnation of the country for failing seniors, reflected in one Liberal MP’s statement:

Another thing that’s come into sharp relief has been this issue of the abject failure – and I use those words quite deliberately – of all three levels of government with respect to seniors in care. [...] Prior to the pandemic, I don’t think you could say that I was a seniors advocate. But because of the pandemic, I’ve become [one] a lot more. [We] need to address the situation using the levers that we can as the federal government.

The call for action in this statement is echoed across all parties; there was a common appetite for federal action in this policy area, despite long-term care being under provincial jurisdiction.

This convergence around a previously deprioritized constituency is significant, especially considering MPs’ reluctant focus on other health-related issues and the jurisdictional lines that would otherwise exclude this constituency from federal priorities. It illustrates that MPs are not only responsive to their key constituencies but can also be responsive to the needs of emerging constituencies, especially in response to catalyst events and policy failures. It remains to be seen whether this newfound priority constituency will remain after the pandemic, and whether federal policy action will materialize.

## **Conclusion**

This examination of MPs’ representational priorities during the COVID-19 pandemic revealed significant diversity in representational priorities and the agency and adaptability of MPs in shaping these priorities. This closely echoes the findings of Koop, Bastedo, and Blidook and builds on their Representational Connections Framework by demonstrating that similar influencing factors to those that influence representational connections also influence representational priorities.



MPs adapted to constituent priorities by shifting to health-related service representation, although it was outside of federal jurisdiction. This included helping constituents find COVID-19 vaccination appointments, like at this mass vaccine clinic in Toronto.

This research shows that riding characteristics, descriptive characteristics, and MPs' previous experiences shape their representational priorities. MPs' representational priorities were resilient; MPs shifted to address the new issues facing their priority constituencies and appeared to emphasize the issues facing constituencies with which they had previous connections. They are also adaptive to changing interests and needs within their ridings, including prioritizing entirely new constituencies. However, while responsive to contextual factors, the diversity of MPs' representational priorities – like the diversity of their representational activities – demonstrate MPs' agency in representation.

These findings underscore the theoretical importance of representational priorities and highlights this as an important avenue for continued study. The concept has significant implications for who is represented at the political level in Canada, including which voices

are heard, what issues are included on the agenda, and how issues are framed, debated, and addressed. Overall, it represents an exciting new avenue for exploration that has the potential to contribute significantly to conceptions of political representation in Canada.

## Notes

- 1 Acknowledgements: This research project was conducted as part of the Parliamentary Internship Programme. It would not have been possible without the support of Dr. Paul Thomas, the Director of the Parliamentary Internship Programme; research funding for the Programme from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for providing research funding to the Programme; guidance on researching political representation from Dr. Kelly Blidook; and the MPs who participated in research interviews. A special thanks to these generous research supporters.
- 2 Polacko, M. "Party Positions, Income Inequality, and Voter Turnout in Canada, 1984-2015." *American Behavioral Scientist*, 64(9), 2020, pp. 1324-1347. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00027642200941238>.

- 4 Pitkin, H. F. *The concept of representation* (1. paperback ed., [Nachdr.]). Univ. of California Press, 1967.
- 5 Koop, R., Bastedo, H., & Blidook, K. *Representation in action: Canadian MPs in the constituencies*. UBC Press, 2018.
- 6 Koop, Blidook, and Bastedo.
- 7 Rehfeld, A. "Representation Rethought: On Trustees, Delegates, and Gyroscopes in the Study of Political Representation and Democracy." *American Political Science Review*, 103(2), 2009, pp/ 214–230. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055409090261>
- 8 Flavin, P., & Franko, W. "Government's Unequal Attentiveness to Citizens' Political Priorities: Government's unequal attentiveness to citizens' political priorities." *Policy Studies Journal*, 45(4), 2017, pp. 659–687. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12184>
- 9 Giger, N., & Klüver, H. "Voting Against Your Constituents? How Lobbying Affects Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(1), 2016, pp. 190–205. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12183>
- 10 Harden, J. J. "Multidimensional Responsiveness: The Determinants of Legislators' Representational Priorities: Multidimensional Responsiveness." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 38(2), 2013, pp. 155–184. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lsq.12009>
- 11 Saalfeld, T., & Bischof, D. Minority-Ethnic MPs and the Substantive Representation of Minority Interests in the House of Commons, 2005-2011. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 66(2), 2013, pp. 305–328. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gss084>
- 12 Bowen, D. C., & Clark, C. J. Revisiting Descriptive Representation in Congress: Assessing the Effect of Race on the Constituent–Legislator Relationship. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(3), 2014, pp. 695–707. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912914531658>
- 13 Bird, K. Toward an Integrated Perspective of Minority Representation: Views from Canada. *Politics & Gender*, 8(04), 2012, pp. 529–535. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X12000554>
- 14 Bowen and Clark.
- 15 Government of Canada. *COVID-19 daily epidemiology update*. April 19, 2020. <https://health-infobase.canada.ca/covid-19/epidemiological-summary-covid-19-cases.html?stat=rate&measure=total&map=pt#a2>
- 16 Manitoba and Saskatchewan surpassed Ontario in total case rate in the Spring of 2021, after cases were selected for this research. Despite their exclusion from this research, the focus on communities that have been epicentres throughout the pandemic provides a solid basis for analysis of the impact of the pandemic on representational priorities among MPs representing hard-hit communities.
- 17 Subedi, R., Greenberg, L., & Turcotte, M. (2020, October 28). *COVID-19 mortality rates in Canada's ethno-cultural neighbourhoods*. Statistics Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/45-28-0001/2020001/article/00079-eng.htm>
- 18 Bosc, M., & Gagnon, A. *House of Commons procedure and practice* (Third). House of Commons, 2017.
- 19 Hsieh, H.-F., & Shannon, S. E. "Three approaches to qualitative content analysis." *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 2005, pp. 1277–1288. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687>
- 20 The NDP MP interviewed offered to waive anonymity and consented to full attribution during his interview. He will not be named in this research, however considering this consent, identifying characteristics such as race, city, and previous occupation may be used in this paper where they are relevant. It may be possible to identify this MP through these characteristics.
- 21 McGregor, J. "Emergency Programs to Support Pandemic-Struck Businesses Less Popular than Expected." CBC News, June 12, 2020.
- 22 Koop, Blidook, and Bastedo.
- 23 Koop, R., Blidook, K., & Fuga, L. A. "Has the COVID-19 Pandemic Affected MPs' Representational Activities?" *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 53(2), 2020, pp. 287–291. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423920000566>



# *Women's Descriptive Representation in Canadian Politics: Impacts of Electoral Reform*

Despite significant advances in recent decades, women in Canada continue to be underrepresented in Canada's House of Commons. Many reasons have been discussed for this gap, not the least of which is the impact of the Single Member Plurality (SMP) electoral system. Indeed, the effects of the electoral system reverberate through the candidate aspiration, nomination, and election phases. Using evidence from the Alternative Vote (AV) electoral system of Australia and the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system of New Zealand, Canada's electoral system will be critically evaluated from the perspective of women's descriptive representation. The evidence suggests that, while adopting Australia's AV system could be expected to have a minimal impact at best, should Canada switch to MMP, while no panacea for women's underrepresentation, we would likely see a higher proportion of women elected to the House of Commons compared to results currently seen under SMP.

**Mark Johnson**

## **Introduction**

---

Despite significant advances in recent decades, women in Canada continue to be underrepresented in Canada's House of Commons. Numerous studies have identified explanations for the mismatch between women's proportion of the population and their representation in Canada's House of Commons, such as persisting gender norms and biases, a masculinized political environment, lower financial and networking resources for women, and the weakness of the political left in Canada. As well, Canada's current electoral system – Single Member Plurality (SMP) (also known as “first past the post”) – has been associated with women's underrepresentation.

Following the federal election of 2021, Canada's House of Commons boasted the highest proportion of women in the country's history, with 30 per cent of the 338 total Members of Parliament (MPs) identifying as women. However, Canada is still behind many other countries, currently occupying 58<sup>th</sup> place (November

2021 data) in the world for women as a percentage of the national legislature, according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union – down from 16<sup>th</sup> place in 1997. Could electoral reform in Canada be expected to compensate for the barriers to seeing more women in politics, most notably insufficient recruitment efforts by political parties, incivility and the lack of cooperation on the campaign trail and in Parliament, and the various socioeconomic and psychological realities? These are the key factors to consider that affect women's likelihood of aspiring to enter politics, getting nominated by a political party, and being elected, and can, to a great extent, be linked to the electoral system.

Coming out of the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, a Platform for Action recommended that governments “take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making.” The Platform specifically called on governments to review the impact of their electoral systems on women's representation and undertake necessary reforms. For decades, research has found higher proportions of women elected under proportional representation (PR) electoral systems.<sup>1</sup> While not the only factor impacting the representation of women, the electoral system is certainly an important one.

---

*Mark Johnson recently graduated with an M.A. in Political Science from Carleton University. He also holds graduate degrees in Communication and Political Management.*

University of Calgary political science professor Melanee Thomas has pointed out that women are likely to see an increase in the numbers of women elected as a sign that they have a role to play in decision-making political institutions, thereby making the institution's decisions more legitimate.<sup>2</sup> While there may be general agreement that the underrepresentation of women in Canadian politics is a problem, there is less consensus on preferred solutions. Potential ideas include formal gender quotas, reserved seats, financial incentives, and of course, electoral system reform. This article – which is an abridged version of a much longer research paper – considers whether the adoption of the Alternative Vote (AV) electoral system (used in Australia) or the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system (used in New Zealand) could be expected to positively impact the number of women being elected in Canadian federal politics.

### **Approach and Methodology**

---

This article focuses on descriptive (or “mirror”) representation, that is, what proportion of the House of Commons consists of individuals identifying as women.<sup>3</sup> Descriptive representation is distinct from substantive representation, which refers to the degree to which women's interests are promoted in the legislature. This article, therefore, relates to women's *presence* in the House of Commons, not their actions or policy priorities.

I chose to focus on the electoral systems of Australia and New Zealand as potential alternatives because these countries are democracies with similar origins – coming out of the British Empire – and have comparable religious, cultural, and racial contexts, relatively speaking. They also have experience using the SMP electoral system, though they both switched to different systems; Australia's Lower House to AV in 1918 and New Zealand to MMP in 1996. Thus, their experiences could be considered reasonably comparable to the Canadian context.

The AV and MMP electoral systems also have been discussed extensively in terms of applicability to Canada. For instance, MMP has been considered in electoral reform referenda in Ontario and Prince Edward Island, and MMP was part of the election platform of Quebec's current government. MMP was also recommended for adoption federally in Canada by the Law Commission of Canada in 2004 and the 1979 Task Force on Canadian Unity. The House of Commons also voted on MMP in 2014, and in 2016,

the Special Committee on Electoral Reform reported that MMP was the system supported by the majority of the thousands of Canadians who engaged with the committee in favour of reform.<sup>4</sup>

AV, while never put to a referendum in Canada, has nevertheless been a subject of much discussion, as it is considered the preferred system of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, and the previous Liberal Party of Ontario leader pledged to implement it in Ontario. AV was also adopted (for a time) in recent years by several cities in Ontario, has been used in the past by certain provinces, and is the system that some of Canada's major political parties use to select their leaders. As such, AV is a concept that would likely be palatable to Canadians, especially given its single-member districts and other similarities with SMP.

This research paper considers whether a new electoral system for Canada could:

- Compensate for the socioeconomic and psychological barriers that hinder women's participation in Canadian politics;
- Lead to more proactive and sustained efforts on the part of the Canadian political parties to recruit and nominate women; and
- Lead to more civility and cooperation in the Canadian federal political sphere.

### **Literature Review**

---

Women in Canada won the right to vote in 1918, and the first woman (Agnes Macphail) was elected federally in 1921, but by 1979 – almost 60 years later – women still represented just 3.6 per cent of the House of Commons. There were subsequent gradual increases, with women's representation passing 20 per cent in 1997, and then hitting 30 per cent in 2021. However, women remain far from achieving parity, and this mismatch raises questions about democratic legitimacy.

Increasing the number of women elected in Canada is more complicated than it might seem. Research has shown that Canadians are just as likely to vote for women as they are for men and potential female politicians often have stronger qualifications.<sup>5</sup> The main obstacles are encountered long before Election Day. In fact, even before the nomination stage. Canada remains a patriarchal society, with women often bearing a disproportionate share of family and home responsibilities. Women, in general, are disadvantaged in terms of the professional

connections, social capital, and self-confidence that spur people to seek electoral nominations.<sup>6</sup> As well, women tend to express less interest in joining the political world, they are less likely than men to be recruited by parties, and they are also less likely to respond positively to parties' recruitment efforts.<sup>7</sup> As observed by former Canadian Minister for the Status of Women Maryam Monsef, "If you know a woman who would make a terrific representative for your community or municipality, ask her to run. And then ask her 14 more times, because that's how long it could take to convince her she has what is needed."<sup>8</sup>

It is important to recognize that being in a position to run for a party nomination or elected office is, in itself, to be in a position of privilege. Individuals must possess the motivation, resources, and lifestyle to match political life. Women's access to politics is hindered by the persisting gender wage gap in Canada, as economic security is critical given that months off work are often required to campaign for a nomination and election.<sup>9</sup> In general, women in Canada also tend to have less time for and access to networking opportunities, they are more likely to hold precarious or part-time work, less likely to work in careers seen as linked to politics like law and business, and less likely to be promoted in the workplace, hindering leadership experience and capacity.<sup>10</sup> Women are also less likely to be party members to begin with,<sup>11</sup> are even more underrepresented among riding association presidencies,<sup>12</sup> and report being less likely to perceive themselves as qualified to seek election.<sup>13</sup>

Women's underrepresentation in the House of Commons has consequences beyond the obvious questions of legitimacy. It means fewer female political role models; and, in the relative absence of these figures, women may have less confidence about their political abilities and fall prey to patterns that "are rooted in, and fed by, socialization and gender roles that discourage politics as a vocation for women."<sup>14</sup> Granted, there have been moves in recent years by Canada's major political parties to recruit more women (and other equity-seeking groups), especially by the Liberals, NDP, and Greens, who each require a diversity search committee as part of candidate nominations.<sup>15</sup> However, the decentralized nature of candidate selection in Canada makes coordinated efforts to elect more women difficult to implement. Heather MacIvor, a former professor of political science at the University of Windsor, noted that SMP has produced a strong and fiercely guarded traditional local party control over candidate selection,

but even in cases where the party centre appointed candidates, the Samara Centre for Democracy found that appointees tend to be men.<sup>16</sup>

Gender quotas, which can help overcome some of the systemic barriers to seeing more women elected, are used in over 100 democracies, but not in Canada – at least, not in the legal sense. From requiring that women replace incumbents to requiring at least one female candidate before a nomination is concluded, there are many options that political parties – as the real gatekeepers – can use to elect more women, but efforts to date have been insufficient if parity is the goal. Male candidates have been found to receive more party funding than women candidates, perhaps because SMP incentivizes parties to focus on winnable districts, where women are less likely to be running.<sup>17</sup> Major parties also sometimes protect nominations for sitting MPs – who tend to be white men – which is also counterproductive in terms of increasing women's representation.<sup>18</sup>

Even if a woman in Canada was interested in entering Canadian politics, what about the barrier presented by the knowledge of what is in store for her, should she be nominated or elected? The Canadian news media's interest in leadership style, personal appearance, and private lives could certainly be a disincentive for many.<sup>19</sup> For example, examining the 2004 Conservative Party of Canada leadership race, University of Alberta political science professor Linda Trimble found that roughly one-third of related news stories mentioned the physical appearance of candidate Belinda Stronach, while only two per cent mentioned that of candidate Stephen Harper. Women's family life is analyzed to a greater degree than is the case for men, and at least partly as a result of media coverage, women have been found to self-censor in terms of speech, dress, behaviour, and even public event attendance in order to discourage journalists from focusing on their gender.<sup>20</sup> Dr. Trimble notes that women also face a double standard on children: if they do have children, they are questioned about their capacity to perform as leaders while caring for their families, and if they are childless, they are considered suspect for being unable or unwilling to fulfill their presumed biological destiny.<sup>21</sup> Former Prime Minister Kim Campbell, for example, faced characterizations of being unstable and unreliable because she was twice divorced and childless.

Brenda O'Neill, associate professor of political science at the University of Calgary, found that



women are less interested in politics when the atmosphere is hostile and adversarial – and Canadian politics is known for both of these traits. For example, the Samara Centre has quoted current or former MPs as referring to Question Period as “kids in a sandbox” and “the greatest embarrassment,”<sup>22</sup> given the tendency for screaming matches and insults; one former MP even commented that “booze, caffeine, testosterone and ego”<sup>23</sup> fuel the House of Commons. It is also no surprise that the toxicity in legislatures branches out to social media – with female politicians bearing the brunt of the attacks. For example, it was reported that Cathy Bennett, former Minister of Finance in Newfoundland and Labrador, stepped down after receiving emails and social media communications containing, among other negative suggestions, encouragement to kill herself.<sup>24</sup> Former Alberta premier Rachel Notley “earned” the title of being the most threatened Alberta premier on record – and by a wide margin. Former federal Conservative Cabinet Minister Gerry Ritz was forced to apologize in 2017 when he referred to then-Environment Minister Catherine McKenna as “Climate Barbie” on Twitter,<sup>25</sup> but the moniker would continue to be used by many Twitter accounts following that time. Canada’s electoral commissioner, in 2019, argued that online harassment of political figures not only interferes with citizens’ ability to participate in the electoral process but can also prevent some (disproportionately women and people of colour) from experiencing an equitable opportunity to inform voters of their policy platforms. Witnessing the terrible conditions that many women politicians’ experience, women on the outside may opt to exclude themselves as potential candidates.

While toxicity in politics has been the reality for decades and is hardly exclusive to SMP systems, SMP is seen as encouraging such conduct. Because a couple of percentage points difference in the polls can mean rocketing a party from opposition to majority government, there is the incentive to go on to the attack, and the realities of SMP discourage inter-party collaboration. While coalition government is the norm in many democracies, Canada has never had a coalition government at the national level.<sup>26</sup> Without coalitions, minority governments are fragile, and “snap elections” are disadvantageous to women because many may have to think carefully about how going into politics will affect their job and family, and a short nomination period is a definite barrier for women in particular.<sup>27</sup> Research suggests women tend to prefer political environments that are more collegial and collaborative, but with SMP,

especially in minority situations, the constant threat of an election call causes parties to engage in “the permanent campaign,” always in electioneering mode and attacking their opponents. Even with majority governments, there is much toxicity, in that governments have no incentive to collaborate (despite almost never having won a majority of Canadians’ votes), and they can control the legislative agenda, impose time allocation to limit debate, and play games with parliamentary committees, none of which lend themselves to constructive discourse.

Even if a woman in Canada is aware of all of the above, and remains interested in entering the political realm, will she be selected as a candidate? In the 2015 and 2019 Canadian federal elections, for example, white men alone made up the majority of candidates (including 65 per cent of incumbents), despite only representing 36 per cent of Canada’s population.<sup>28</sup> With SMP, and only one candidate being selected per party per riding, there is overwhelming pressure on local riding associations to pick a “winnable candidate” – and that tends to be a man.<sup>29</sup> Research by Carleton University political science professor William Cross found that, when there is an opening in a riding (i.e., no incumbent) and a woman stands for the nomination, she is significantly more likely to be challenged than is the case if only a man stands for nomination.<sup>30</sup> With fewer networks, fewer financial resources, and greater socioeconomic barriers, a woman is generally less likely to be the widely-known, highly-connected, and confident candidate that a riding association would prefer. Looking at the 2004-2015 period, for example, the Samara Centre found that women made up just 28 per cent of nomination contestants in Canadian federal politics.<sup>31</sup> The problem is not that women cannot win nominations or that voters will not choose women – the challenge is creating conditions that permit more women to run in the first place, and addressing the formidable systemic barriers that persist.

Sylvia Bashevkin, a political science professor at the University of Toronto, has commented that higher representation of women in legislatures has been associated with “lower levels of political conflict, greater emphasis on collective consensus-building, and higher standards of interpersonal respect,” as well as a “more reasonable and more collegial, less adversarial and less conflictual tenor of debate.”<sup>32</sup> If an electoral system change could lead to more collaboration and bridge-building, the environment of the House of Commons would likely be more enticing to women.

The myriad factors outlined above are just some of the reasons that women are less represented in the figurative pool of potential candidates for Canadian elections. Overarching much of these concerns is SMP, which is consistently noted as a key reason for women's underrepresentation in Canadian politics. Using data from the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, looking at the top 25 countries on women's representation in national legislatures, among those considered partly or fully free by Freedom House, all but one – Grenada – use a form of PR. MacIvor noted that, while electoral systems may not by themselves determine the level of women's parliamentary representation, disproportional systems like SMP impose “formidable barriers” to the nomination and election of women candidates.

Canada's political parties may highlight increased nominations of women in recent years, but what about when those women are nominated in unwinnable ridings? For example, in the 2011 Canadian federal election, 62 per cent of women candidates were running in the stronghold of another party.<sup>33</sup> Seeing other women constantly losing elections would certainly not be encouraging to women considering running for office, and women often being nominated in unwinnable ridings can reinforce erroneous perceptions that women are somehow less qualified or weaker politicians.

The existing literature outlines many of the barriers to women's equal representation in Canada's House of Commons. Whether a change in the electoral system would solve many of the problems merits investigation. I will now review evidence from the AV and MMP electoral systems of Australia and New Zealand, respectively.

## Findings

---

### *Alternative Vote – Australia*

Australia's AV system is rather similar to SMP, with single-member districts and a tendency for majority governments to emerge with a minority of the nationwide vote. Australia's AV system simply adds a preferential ballot whereby citizens rank-order their choices. MPs are elected in an instant run-off system: after the votes are tallied, if no one candidate has a majority of votes, the last-place candidate is dropped and their votes are recounted according to those voters' second choice, and this continues until one candidate has a majority.

AV differs from SMP in that it, at least in theory, promotes collaboration and civility on the campaign trail. In fact, one of the primary reasons for Australia's switch from SMP to AV over 100 years ago was “to encourage and reward collaboration or coalition arrangements between parties.”<sup>34</sup> In Australia, the right-leaning National and Liberal parties have maintained a coalition for decades, both in and out of government. So-called “strategic voting” is less of an issue under AV, since voters can choose a minor or fringe party as their top choice, knowing that their second or subsequent choice might eventually contribute to the winner (while in SMP, that ballot would ultimately count for nothing in terms of electing a candidate). A number of Australian parties have actually distributed “how to vote” cards to their supporters, to help guide vote rankings.<sup>35</sup> Parties are incentivized to bargain, compromise, and cooperate in search of electoral victory, unlike the zero-sum game of SMP. In Australia, minor parties that may have been shut out under SMP can also achieve some leverage with the AV system by calling on supporters to hold back from casting second choices for a major party candidate unless that candidate or party agrees to support some of the minor party's issues.<sup>36</sup>

In theory, the incentive to court supporters of other parties (for second and subsequent choices on the ballot) encourages civility since, for example, candidate A running an attack advertisement against candidate B could anger candidate B, potentially causing their supporters to rank candidate A lower on their ballot. Evidence suggests that this situation does occur in Australian elections, though negative advertising certainly still exists.<sup>37</sup> Recent research out of the United States, looking at municipalities that switched from SMP to AV, did find that voters were generally more satisfied with election conduct and found more civility among candidates under AV. When running for office, women in general are less likely to employ negative advertising themselves, and their conciliatory style may avoid alienating other candidates' supporters under AV, increasing their electoral chances.<sup>38</sup>

Women politicians in Australia, like their Canadian counterparts, have reported preferring more friendly, consensus-based politics.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, AV's incentives to be friendlier on the campaign trail have not carried over to the Australian Lower House – the House of Representatives. In Australia, like Canada, men tend to be seen as the “safer option” in nominations (even though women are just as electable), and women politicians report being subject

to persistent gendered attacks that do not happen to their male counterparts.<sup>40</sup> For example, Julia Gillard, who served as Australia's first and only female prime minister (2010 – 2013), was routinely demonized for being unmarried and childless while in office, and political debate over the contentious carbon tax brought in under her administration (among other matters) often degenerated into gendered vitriol. One male Liberal senator criticized her leadership abilities because of her being “deliberately barren.”<sup>41</sup> In 2012, partly as a result of repeated derogatory sexist remarks from then-opposition leader Tony Abbott, Gillard gave a speech with passionate pleas for less sexism in Parliament. In response, she was accused by opponents and media observers of hysteria, “playing the gender card,” and speaking based on emotion rather than reason.<sup>42</sup> Subsequent surveys found that the way Gillard was treated following that speech – and the sexism she encountered more generally – has led to most Australian women with political aspirations to second-guess those ambitions.<sup>43</sup> Australia, like Canada, also sees gendered media coverage of politicians, and frequent gendered attacks occurring on social media.

Australian women also face similar socioeconomic barriers to their entry into politics, with a gender pay gap, fewer networking opportunities, and generally lower levels of political awareness and ambition.<sup>44</sup> When women do want to run in Australian elections, like in Canada, parties are the gatekeepers for candidate nominations, and local party members largely control the process, with men consistently selected more than women. Women are also more likely to be nominated as candidates in unwinnable districts.<sup>45</sup> Gender quotas are voluntary, and of the major parties, only the left-leaning Labour Party (which has near parity in its caucus) – has imposed an internal target for nominating more women.<sup>46</sup> While the Liberal Party has an internal target of 50 per cent women MPs by 2025, the percentage of women in its caucus, as of 2019, was actually lower than a decade earlier.<sup>47</sup> Overall, the percentage of women in the House of Representatives, in 2019, at 31 per cent, was only just barely above Canada's 30 per cent, and Australia's number had not changed much over the previous two decades.

#### *Mixed Member Proportional – New Zealand*

While New Zealand's MMP system retains certain key components of SMP – most notably single-member districts with representatives elected by plurality vote – it does ensure proportionality between the overall

party vote and legislative representation. Sixty-five MPs are elected in constituencies, while another 48 “at large” MPs are elected via lists established by the political parties, and an additional seven electorate (riding) MPs are elected by Māori (Indigenous) individuals. Citizens receive a ballot with two votes – one for a party and one for a candidate. The winner of the candidate vote becomes the MP for the district, but the idea is that, if a party receives 40 per cent of the vote on the party side of the ballot, it should hold as close as possible to 40 per cent of the seats in the legislature, and list MPs are elected to bridge that gap. The party list is “closed,” meaning that parties and not voters determine the list and order, though New Zealanders can, of course, join the political parties in hopes of influencing the party list. Closed lists are associated with higher representation of women than open lists, where voters have the opportunity to re-arrange the order of the list.<sup>48</sup>

New Zealand switched from SMP to MMP for the 1996 election, and one of the arguments for the change was that the system would lead to improved representation of women.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, following the 1996 election, the proportion of women elected immediately jumped by more than half. MMP is believed to have placed significant pressure on New Zealand's parties to place women in winnable positions on the party list. That said, even though New Zealand was led by a female prime minister from 1997 to 2008, the growth in women's representation was slow or even stagnant in the years immediately following the 1996 election. It then jumped from 31 to 38 per cent in 2017, and to 48 per cent in 2020, where it stands today. The 2020 election also marked the first time that more women MPs were elected in constituencies than from the party lists.<sup>50</sup> Similar to Canada and Australia, centre-left parties in New Zealand have higher proportions of women in their caucuses than do parties of the right. The presence of a popular female leader in current Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern – who gave birth while in office – may have helped inspire more women to consider entering politics. While an electoral system on its own is unlikely to address the gender wage gap, tear down sexist stereotypes and traditional gender roles, or smash the patriarchy, seeing strong women in positions of leadership can serve as a source of inspiration to bring more women into politics.

There is certainly sexism and gendered media coverage in New Zealand, and the absence of the preferential ballot in elections for MPs means that particular incentive for civility in local campaigns



is absent, as it is with SMP. However, New Zealand politics today is relatively collegial, and Manon Tremblay, professor of political studies at the University of Ottawa, notes that the adversarial nature of SMP was in fact a primary factor in New Zealanders' decision to switch to MMP.<sup>51</sup> Former New Zealand MP Charles Chauvel believes MMP has "changed the way politics is conducted and perceived in New Zealand," with a new era of consensus over policy decisions since PR means parties must usually work together to pass legislation.<sup>52</sup> The system has proven to be highly stable, and coalition government is the norm. Since 1996, no New Zealand government has lost the confidence of the House of Representatives, and all budgets have passed. Post-election collaboration within the House of Representatives has created conditions more generally amenable to women joining politics.

While in a system like SMP, riding associations are pressed to choose a winnable candidate, in a PR system with party lists, it would be a disadvantage for a party to present a list consisting solely of persons of a single trait (e.g., men). There is also evidence that New Zealanders are ready and willing to punish parties that exclude women from winnable positions.<sup>53</sup> Parties are therefore compelled to seek out and nominate more women – an incentive that is lacking in Canada and Australia. Former New Zealand Prime Minister Jim Bolger, who led the right-wing National Party, said that the party list feature of MMP "delivered" for women.<sup>54</sup> In proportional systems, women candidates tend to be seen as assets and are deliberately added to party lists to entice women voters. New Zealand's parties are required by law to use "democratic procedures"<sup>55</sup> to build the party lists, and they *de facto* need to ensure broad appeal, while in SMP, choosing a candidate in a riding is a zero-sum game that, by definition, is exclusionary.

## Conclusion

---

While typically not atop the Canadian public agenda, the electoral system is arguably the most central component underpinning the nature of our democracy, given its impacts on parties, candidate selection, representation, and government creation and performance. This article has considered whether the adoption of AV or MMP in Canada could be expected to increase women's representation. The evidence suggests that the adoption of AV could have a minimal positive impact, while MMP could have a major positive impact. Nothing in this research suggests that, if electing more women is the goal,

including improving civility in campaigning and collaboration in the House of Commons, SMP is preferable to the alternatives explored.

Different countries have different factors at play, but the clear finding across studies is that PR systems pose fewer barriers to achieving representative outcomes than do majoritarian systems like SMP, and there is no reason to expect that Canada would be an exception. It is important to recognize that, even without electoral reform, women's representation could still be improved in the short term through action by the parties to nominate more women candidates. However, the extremely decentralized nature of party nominations in Canada makes change difficult to realize, and the systemic barriers remain. The socioeconomic and psychological conditions that hinder women's participation in Canadian politics will also not disappear quickly and go well beyond the scope of an electoral system. While no panacea, an electoral reform like MMP could shake the complacency of Canadian politics and perhaps usher in a new era of increased civility and collaboration, action on the ingrained and patriarchal barriers that keep many women out of politics, and a push for parties to recruit more women as candidates.

AV and MMP are both tested and realistic options for Canada to consider as it investigates ways to improve the political participation and representation of women. Of the two alternatives examined, MMP holds the most promise in terms of increasing the number of women running for and being elected to Canada's House of Commons.

## Notes

---

- 1 Norris, P. (2004). *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- 2 Thomas, M. (2013). Barriers to women's political participation in Canada. *University of New Brunswick Law Journal*, 64, 218-233.
- 3 For the purposes of this article, "women" and "female" will be used interchangeably to represent those who were both born a member of the female sex and continue to identify as female. This research does not encompass the transgender community.
- 4 <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/ERRE/Reports/RP8655791/errerp03/errerp03-e.pdf>
- 5 See for example Black, J. H & Erickson, L. (2000). Similarity, compensation, or difference? A comparison of female and male office-seekers. *Women & Politics*, 21(4), 1-38.

- 6 O'Neill, B. (2015). Unpacking gender's role in political representation in Canada. *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, 38(2), 22-30.
- 7 Cheng, C. & Tavits, M. (2011). Informal influences in selecting female political candidates. *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(2), 460-471.
- 8 <https://globalnews.ca/news/3574060/gender-equality-in-canada-where-do-we-stand-today/>
- 9 Thomas, 2013
- 10 O'Neill, 2015
- 11 Thomas, 2013
- 12 Gauja, A. & McSwiney, J. (2019). Do Australian Parties Represent? In K. Heidar and B. Wauters (Eds.), *Do Parties Still Represent?* (pp. 47-65). London, UK: Routledge.
- 13 Jalalzai, F. & Krook, M. L. (2010). Beyond Hillary and Benazir: women's political leadership worldwide. *International Political Science Review*, 31(1), 5-21.
- 14 Tossutti, L. & Hilderman, J. (2014). Representing Canadians: Is the 41st Parliament Still a Vertical Mosaic? In E. Gidengil and H. Bastedo (Eds.), *Canadian Democracy from the Ground Up: Perceptions and Performance* (p. 178). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- 15 Dasko, D. (2021, April 10). Political parties are setting up female candidates to fail. *The Globe and Mail*, p. O3.
- 16 <https://www.samaracanada.com/docs/default-source/reports/party-favours-by-the-samara-centre-for-democracy.pdf>
- 17 <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/info/2019/elections-federales/femmes-hommes-probabilites-vote-egalite-chateaux-forts/index-en.html>
- 18 <https://www.hilltimes.com/2022/03/23/incumbent-conservative-mps-to-be-shielded-from-nomination-challenges-if-they-raise-15000-donate-3350-to-the-party-tory-sources-say/351039>
- 19 Tossutti & Hilderman, 2014
- 20 Goodyear-Grant, E. (2009). Crafting a Public Image: Women MPs and the Dynamics of Media Coverage. In S. Bashevkin (Ed.), *Opening Doors Wider: Women's Political Engagement in Canada* (pp. 147-166). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- 21 <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/fr/magazines/september-2018/media-undermine-women-political-leaders/>
- 22 <https://www.samaracanada.com/research/political-leadership/mp-exit-interviews/volume-i/it-s-my-party-report/lights-camera-question-period>
- 23 [https://www.samaracanada.com/docs/default-source/reports/the-real-house-lives-by-the-samara-centre-for-democracy.pdf?sfvrsn=b893062f\\_2](https://www.samaracanada.com/docs/default-source/reports/the-real-house-lives-by-the-samara-centre-for-democracy.pdf?sfvrsn=b893062f_2)
- 24 <https://globalnews.ca/news/3122297/newfoundland-minister-speaks-out-about-vile-and-sexually-exploitative-comments/>
- 25 <https://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/mckenna-calls-out-outgoing-conservative-mp-for-sexist-climate-barbie-tweet-1.3597464>
- 26 During World War I, Prime Minister Robert Borden lured some pro-conscription Liberals over to his Conservative government, but it was not a "coalition" – the Liberals remained a separate party in the House of Commons.
- 27 Cross, W. P. & Pruyers, S. (2019). The local determinants of representation: party constituency associations, Candidate Nomination and Gender. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 52, 557-574.
- 28 <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/info/2021/elections-federales/minorites-visibles-diversite-autochtones-racises-candidats-politique/en>
- 29 Janssen, C., Erzeel, S. & Celis, K. (2020). Intersectional candidate nomination: how district and party factors shape the inclusion of ethnic minority men and women in Brussels. *Acta Politica*, 56, 567-586.
- 30 Cross, W. (2016). The importance of local party activity in understanding Canadian politics: winning from the ground up in the 2015 federal election. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 49(4), 601-620.
- 31 <https://www.samaracanada.com/docs/default-source/reports/party-favours-by-the-samara-centre-for-democracy.pdf>
- 32 Bashevkin, S. (2009). *Women, Power, Politics: The Hidden Story of Canada's Unfinished Democracy*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- 33 Thomas, M. & Bodet, M. A. (2013). Sacrificial lambs, women candidates, and district competitiveness in Canada. *Electoral Studies*, 32, 153-166.
- 34 Reilly, B. (2009). *Democracy in Divided Societies: Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management* (p. 24). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- 35 Cross, W. (2017). Electoral System Reform: Implications for Internal Party Democracy. In A. Potter, D. Weinstock and P. J. Loewen (Eds.), *Should We Change How We Vote? Evaluating Canada's electoral system* (p. 67). Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- 36 Richie, R. & Hill, S. (1999). This Time let the Voters Decide: The Proportional Representation Movement in the United States. In H. Milner (Ed.), *Making Every Vote Count: Reassessing Canada's Electoral System* (pp. 179-188). Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.
- 37 <https://www.samaracanada.com/docs/default-source/reports/party-favours-by-the-samara-centre-for-democracy.pdf>
- 38 John, S., Smith, H., & Zack, E. (2018). The alternative vote: do changes in single-member voting systems affect descriptive representation of women and minorities? *Electoral Studies*, 54, 90-102.
- 39 <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/ABS@.nsf/94713ad445ff1425ca25682000192af2/3067a337a2f2c855ca2569de001fb2dc!OpenDocument>
- 40 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-australia-48197145>

- 41 Squires, N. (2007, November 26). An uneasy ascent; Deputy PM faces jibes about ex-lovers, choice of hairstyle. *National Post*, p. A3.
- 42 See for example Sorrentino, J., Augoustinos, M. & Le Couteur, A. (2019). “[It] does not explain everything ... , nor does it explain nothing ... it explains some things”: Australia’s first female Prime Minister and the dilemma of gender. *Feminism & Psychology*, 29(1), 19-39.
- 43 <https://www.adelaidenow.com.au/news/south-australia/more-women-turning-off-politics-after-julia-gillard-was-badly-treated/news-story/321177664cf100e0316704bad5c5f8a6>
- 44 See for example <https://www.kas.de/en/web/politikdialog-asien/single-title/-/content/women-policy-and-political-leadership-1>
- 45 King, A. & Leigh, A. (2010). Bias at the ballot box? testing whether candidates’ gender affects their vote. *Social Science Quarterly*, 91(2), 324-343.
- 46 <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-05-01/vote-compass-election-women-quotas/11053956?nw=0&r=HtmlFragment>
- 47 Ibid
- 48 Rosen, J. (2013). The effects of political institutions on women’s political representation: a comparative analysis of 168 countries from 1992 to 2010. *Political Research Quarterly*, 66(2), 306-321.
- 49 Nagel, J. H. (1999). The Defects of its Virtues: New Zealand’s Experience with MMP. In H. Milner (Ed.), *Making Every Vote Count: Reassessing Canada’s Electoral System* (pp. 157-169). Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.
- 50 <https://www.parliament.nz/en/get-involved/features/new-zealand-women-mps-continuing-to-break-barriers/>
- 51 Tremblay, M. (2005). Women’s political representation: Does the electoral system matter? *Political Science*, 57(1), 59-75.
- 52 Chauvel, C. (2011). A Better Democracy, Thanks to MMP. In C. Morris, J. Boston and P. Butler (Eds.), *Reconstituting the Constitution* (p. 200). Heidelberg, Germany: Springer-Verlag.
- 53 Curtin, J. (2008). Gendering Parliamentary Representation: A Mixed System Producing Mixed Results. In M. Tremblay (Ed.), *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and Sex Quotas* (pp. 191-202). New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
- 54 <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/votes-and-seats/new-zealand-adopts-pr-a-prime-ministers-view/>
- 55 <https://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1993/0087/latest/whole.html#DLM307519>



# The Canadian Region



Katherine Drake, Province of PEI

The Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians' steering committee (with CWP Canadian Regional chair Lisa Thompson, front, centre) met on July 17 to review the organization's previous activities, plan its 2022-2023 budget and strategic plan, discuss how to strengthen funding.

## The 58<sup>th</sup> Annual Commonwealth Parliamentary Association - Canadian Regional Conference

From July 16 to 22, 2022, the 58<sup>th</sup> Annual Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) – Canadian Regional conference drew more than 80 delegates and 36 other guests to Charlottetown.

Following two years of virtual meetings due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, host Prince Edward Island provided a welcome return to in-person gatherings with an enjoyable programme of business sessions and other activities.

## Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians (CWP)

Following a day of business meetings for steering committee members, on July 18 CWP Canadian Regional Chair **Lisa Thompson** welcomed attendees to the first business session. The session covered a review of the organization's previous activities, approvals for its 2022-2023 budget and strategic plan, and a discussion about strengthening funding.

In a session chaired by Nova Scotia MLA **Susan LeBlanc** titled "Women in Politics – Are We There Yet?", Manitoba Speaker **Myrna Driedger** surveyed





Katherine Drake, Province of PEI

**CWP Canadian Regional delegates gathered to hear presentations about how women parliamentarians have fared during the pandemic, how workplace changes have affected women politicians, and what the next few years might hold for them.**

the changes in our politics and sense of community as the world is gripped by the pandemic. Speaker Driedger, who is currently International President of the CWP, noted that women parliamentarians are looked upon to lead by example, energize people to be involved and inform policy. They must also be mindful of forging a path for others to follow so more women can build capacity and experience that will enable them to realize they too can make a difference at any level of government. Her presentation examined what the future could look like and what doors need to be opened to get there.

**Sweta Daboo**, executive director of the PEI Coalition for Women in Government, examined how COVID-19 changed the workplace for many women and what virtual meetings mean for networking opportunities. The session, chaired by Quebec MP **Maryse Gaudreault**, sought to discuss how balance can be achieved in the new hybrid reality where in-person and virtual meetings co-exist.

A final session on “Improving Future Outcomes,” saw **Sheryl MacAuley**, chief executive officer of Startup Zone, ask attendees what they imagined life would be like for women in politics five years into the future. Subgroups then discussed the question and presented their answers.

### **CPA Canadian Regional Conference**

On the evening of July 18, Prince Edward Island’s Lieutenant Governor **Antoinette Perry** and Speaker **Colin LaVie** officially welcomed attendees to the conference.

The following morning, Speaker LaVie chaired the first two business sessions where delegations from the CPA’s Canadian branches provided jurisdictional updates.

Alberta’s Deputy Speaker **Angela Pitt** chaired a panel on “Private Members’ bills: the PEI perspective,”



For the first time since 2019, CPA Canadian Regional delegates were able to meet in person for their annual conference. Presentations included talks on private Member's bills, unparliamentary language, Quebec's Citizen Roundtable, and restoration projects at legislatures.

featuring MLAs **Cory Deagle** and **Lynne Lund**, and PEI's Deputy Speaker **Hal Perry**.

The final session of the day, chaired by Quebec Senator **Tony Loffreda**, saw Quebec Speaker **François Paradis** present on how Quebec's Citizens' Roundtable has been used to promote innovation in a modern legislature.

On July 20, in a session chaired by New Brunswick Speaker **Bill Oliver**, British Columbia Speaker **Raj Chouhan** spoke about his Assembly's new governance framework (see *Canadian Parliamentary Review* Volume 45, No. 1).

The second session of the day found Speaker Paradis chairing a talk on "Unparliamentary language and behaviour and changing expectations," by Alberta Speaker **Nathan Cooper**. The presentation is being revised for publication and should appear in our next issue.

On July 21, the final two business sessions took place. First, in a session chaired by Newfoundland and Labrador Speaker **Derek Bennett**, Yukon's Environment Minister **Nils Clarke** delivered a presentation titled "Climate change: creating resilient infrastructure, reducing GHGs, and green energy" that illustrated actions taken in one of Canada's northern territories to combat the effects of climate change.

Manitoba Speaker **Myrna Driedger** chaired a session on restoration projects at legislatures, featuring host jurisdiction PEI Deputy Clerk **Emily Doiron** speaking about PEI's recent heritage restoration work at Province House.

As the conference concluded, the countdown began to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association international conference in Halifax.

**Will Stos**

Editor, *Canadian Parliamentary Review*





Clockwise from left: 65th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference official opening ceremony; panel on how parliaments

### 65th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference

The end of August 2022 saw the City of Halifax welcome more than 600 parliamentarians, parliamentary staff, and decision makers from across the Commonwealth who came together for the annual Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference (CPC). It was the first opportunity for members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) to gather at an in-person conference since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic. As CPA president during the time of the conference, I was honoured to be part of this important event.

Over the course of the conference parliamentarians networked, discussed important issues, shared best practices, and provided guidance to the secretariat of the General Assembly. Three special networks: CPA Small Branches; Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians (CWP); and Commonwealth Parliamentarians with Disabilities allowed members the chance to discuss critical topics and, as necessary, to hold elections. Parallel to the CPC, the Society of Clerks-at-the-Table in Commonwealth Parliaments discussed procedural and administrative best practices.

Canadians participated actively in the work of all three networks. For example, **Jeanie McLean** of the Yukon spoke about well-being indicators for small branches and **Mark Monaghan** of the Northwest Territories gave a presentation on building sustainable economies in small branches. **Myrna Driedger**, Speaker of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly and the CWP President, chaired a workshop on how to combat all forms of abuse and harassment in Parliament, while **Iqra Khalid** of the House of Commons, spoke about promoting gender-sensitive parliaments post-pandemic. **Carla Qualtrough**, the federal Minister of Employment, Workforce Development and Disability Inclusion, gave a presentation during the conference itself on the implementation of standards respecting assistive technologies across Commonwealth parliaments.

**Mary Simon**, Governor General of Canada and Vice-Patron of the CPA, officially opened the 65<sup>th</sup> CPC. At the opening ceremony, I provided welcoming remarks and **George J. Furey**, Speaker of the Senate of Canada read the goodwill message to the conference from the then patron of the CPA, Her Majesty **Queen Elizabeth II**. As hosts of the 65<sup>th</sup> CPC, the CPA Canada Region showcased Canada and the beautiful city of Halifax.





65th CPC



remained relevant during the pandemic; participants at the Commonwealth Parliamentarians with Disabilities meeting.

Through the cultural program, delegates explored Halifax and Lunenburg, including the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, and learned more about our country and cultures.

Inspired by the conference theme of *“Inclusive, Accessible, Accountable and Strong Parliaments: the Cornerstone of Democracy and Essential for Development,”* workshops brought together participants, including Canadians who made valuable contributions. **Chris d’Entremont**, Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons, **Nathan Cooper**, Speaker of the Alberta Legislative Assembly and **Catherine Fife**, member of the Ontario Legislative Assembly, spoke about how parliaments remained relevant during the pandemic response. **Susan Leblanc** of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly participated in a youth roundtable on cyberbullying and mental health. Speaker Driedger and **Julie Green** of the Northwest Territories participated in a panel discussion on how to build gender-sensitive parliaments. **Keith Bain**, Speaker of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, chaired a panel on the role of parliaments in achieving sustainable development.

During the General Assembly members approved several constitutional amendments, including ones to

guarantee an increased representation of women in CPA delegations and governing bodies.

The conference provided a superb networking and learning opportunity for all. I wish to congratulate my colleagues and fellow members of the CPA Canada Region including federal parliamentarians and provincial/territorial speakers and members for hosting a successful 65<sup>th</sup> CPC. I am sincerely grateful to the staff who worked so hard to organize the conference and to delegates for travelling from across the world to participate in the 65<sup>th</sup> CPC in Halifax. I know we are all looking forward to future opportunities to gather in person at upcoming CPA events, including the 66<sup>th</sup> CPC in Ghana in 2023.

It was with great sadness that we learned of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II’s passing shortly after the CPC. Her Majesty served Canada and the Commonwealth with great distinction and dedication. Throughout her reign, the Queen supported the CPA, serving as patron of the CPA since 1989. I look forward to the involvement of her successor **King Charles III** in the coming years.

**Hon. Anthony Rota**  
Speaker of the House of Commons

## Regional Executive Committee, CPA\*

---

### **PRESIDENT**

Colin LaVie, Prince Edward Island

### **FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT**

Randy Weekes, Saskatchewan

### **SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT**

Ted Arnott, Ontario

### **PAST PRESIDENT**

Keith Bain, Nova Scotia

### **REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES**

Terry Duguid, Federal Branch

Randy Weekes, Saskatchewan

Ted Arnott, Ontario

### **CHAIR OF THE CWP, CANADIAN REGION**

(Commonwealth Women Parliamentarians)

Lisa Thompson, Ontario

### **EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER**

Jeremy LeBlanc, House of Commons

---

## Members of the Regional Council\*

---

### **HOUSE OF COMMONS**

Anthony Rota, Speaker

Charles Robert, Clerk

### **SENATE**

George Furey, Speaker

Gérald Lafrenière, Clerk (Interim)

### **ALBERTA**

Nathan Cooper, Speaker

Shannon Dean, Secretary

### **NOVA SCOTIA**

Keith Bain, Speaker

James Charlton, Secretary

### **BRITISH COLUMBIA**

Raj Chouhan, Speaker

Kate Ryan-Lloyd, Secretary

### **ONTARIO**

Ted Arnott, Speaker

Todd Decker, Secretary

### **CANADIAN FEDERAL BRANCH**

Alexandra Mendès, Chair

Rémi Bourgault, Secretary

### **PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND**

Colin LaVie, Speaker

Joey Jeffrey, Secretary

### **MANITOBA**

Myrna Driedger, Speaker

Patricia Chaychuk, Secretary

### **QUÉBEC**

François Paradis, Speaker

Mélissa Morin, Secretary

### **NEW BRUNSWICK**

Bill Oliver, Speaker

Shayne Davies, Secretary

### **SASKATCHEWAN**

Randy Weekes, Speaker

Gregory Putz, Secretary

### **NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR**

Derek Bennett, Speaker

Sandra Barnes, Secretary

### **NORTHWEST TERRITORIES**

Frederick Blake Jr., Speaker

Glen Rutland, Secretary (Acting)

### **NUNAVUT**

Tony Akoak, Speaker

John Quirke, Secretary

### **YUKON**

Jeremy Harper, Speaker

Dan Cable, Secretary



\*As of September 30, 2022



*Canadian Region  
Commonwealth Parliamentary Association*

**Alberta**  
Office of the Clerk  
3rd Floor, 9820-107 Street  
Edmonton, Alberta T5K 1E7  
780 427-2478 (tel)  
780 427-5688 (fax)  
clerk@assembly.ab.ca

**Newfoundland and Labrador**  
Office of the Clerk  
Confederation Building  
P.O. Box 8700  
St John's, NL A1B 4J6  
709 729-3405 (tel)  
709 729-4820 (fax)  
sbarnes@gov.nl.ca

**Ontario**  
Office of the Clerk  
Room 104,  
Legislative Bldg.  
Toronto, ON M7A 1A2  
416 325-7341 (tel)  
416 325-7344 (fax)  
clerks-office@ola.org

**British Columbia**  
Office of the Clerk  
Parliament Buildings  
Room 221  
Victoria, BC V8V 1X4  
250 387-3785 (tel)  
250 387-0942 (fax)  
ClerkHouse@leg.bc.ca

**Northwest Territories**  
Office of the Clerk  
P.O. Box 1320  
Yellowknife, NT X1A 2L9  
867 669-2299 (tel)  
867 873-0432 (fax)  
glen\_rutland@ntassembly.ca

**Prince Edward Island**  
Office of the Clerk  
Province House  
P.O. Box 2000  
Charlottetown, PE C1A 7N8  
902 368-5970 (tel)  
902 368-5175 (fax)  
jajeffrey@assembly.pe.ca

**Federal Branch**  
Executive Secretary  
131 Queen Street, 5<sup>th</sup> Floor  
House of Commons  
Ottawa, ON K1A 0A6  
613 992-2093 (tel)  
613 995-0212 (fax)  
ccom@parl.gc.ca



**Québec**  
Direction des relations inter-  
parlementaires  
Assemblée nationale  
Québec, QC G1A 1A3  
418 643-7391 (tel)  
418 643-1865 (fax)  
melissa.morin@assnat.qc.ca

**Manitoba**  
Office of the Clerk  
Legislative Building  
Room 237  
Winnipeg, MB R3C 0V8  
204 945-3636 (tel)  
204 948-2507 (fax)  
patricia.chaychuk@leg.gov.mb.ca

**Nova Scotia**  
Office of the Clerk  
Province House  
P.O. Box 1617  
Halifax, NS B3J 2Y3  
902 424-5707 (tel)  
902 424-0526 (fax)  
James.Charlton@novascotia.ca

**Saskatchewan**  
Office of the Clerk  
Legislative Building  
Room 239  
Regina, SK S4S 0B3  
306 787-2377 (tel)  
306 787-0408 (fax)  
cpa@legassembly.sk.ca

**New Brunswick**  
Office of the Clerk  
Legislative Building  
P.O. Box 6000  
Fredericton, NB E3B 5H1  
506 453-2506 (tel)  
506 453-7154 (fax)  
shayne.davies@gnb.ca

**Nunavut**  
Office of the Clerk  
Legislative Assembly of Nunavut  
P.O. Box 1200  
Iqaluit, NU X0A 0H0  
867 975-5100 (tel)  
867 975-5190 (fax)

**Yukon**  
Office of the Clerk  
Legislative Building  
P.O. Box 2703  
Whitehorse, YT Y1A 2C6  
867 667-5494 (tel)  
867 393-6280 (fax)  
clerk@gov.yk.ca

# New and Notable Titles

A selection of recent publications relating to parliamentary studies prepared with the assistance of the Library of Parliament (May 2022 – August 2022).

Bussey, Barry W. "Parliamentary privilege: An issue of conscience." *The Lawyer's Daily* 3p, June 1, 2022.

- On May 13, Ontario Superior Court Justice John Fregeau issued his decision in *Alford v. Canada (Attorney General)* 2022 ONSC 2911, striking down s. 12 of the *National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians Act*, S.C. 2017, c. 15, as being unconstitutional.

Johnston, Michael A. "Changing of the constitutional guard: why the Chief Justice of Canada should never also be the Governor General." *The Advocate* 80 (3): 341-43, May 2022.

- In Canada, separation of powers among the executive, legislative and judicial branches—an important requirement for a vibrant democracy—is more illusory than real...for six months, the Chief Justice of Canada granted royal assent to nascent laws, signed Orders in Council and acted as Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian Armed Forces. It is, no doubt, a position he never sought, and one his predecessors have also filled, but it is a position a justice ought never to have been given.

Kennedy, Gerard J. "*Glover v. Progressive Conservative Party of Manitoba*: Courts deferential in reviewing internal party affairs—even when they're 'contracts'." *Journal of Parliamentary and Political Law / Revue de droit parlementaire et politique* 16(2): 521-, 2022.

- ...this case comment explores this unusual saga, and its implications for courts reviewing the results of internal party elections.

Macfarlane, Emmett. "The place of constitutional conventions in the constitutional architecture, and in the courts." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique* 55 (2): 322-41, June/juin 2022.

- The Supreme Court's recent invocation of the 'constitutional architecture' in the *Senate Reform Reference* has led a number of scholars to question the status of constitutional conventions in the legal, as opposed to political, constitution. Has the Court, without expressly saying so, transformed at least some conventions into constitutional law? This would be a serious rupture, not only from existing precedent on the justiciability of conventions but also from the traditional understanding of conventions as binding political rules. In light of this recent scholarly debate, an exploration of the profound consequences of entrenching conventions in the legal constitution is warranted, as it implicates the meaning of constitutional conventions, their creation, their relation to law, and their enforcement. Judicial entrenchment of conventions would be a dangerous violation of the separation of powers and would have negative consequences for the functioning of Canada's system of government and for the future of constitutional change.

Murray, C.R.G. and Megan A. Armstrong. "A mobile phone in one hand and Erskine May in the other: the European Research Group's parliamentary revolution." *Parliamentary Affairs* 75 (3): 536-57, July 2022.

- It has become axiomatic that backbench Members of Parliament at Westminster have limited capacity for independent action under the burdens of constituency business and whipped votes. Even the limited avenues available for such MPs to shine, such as select committees, are often illusory because parliamentarians have little time to prepare the materials or brief themselves on any but the highest profile witnesses. The political parties have benefitted from this state of affairs; docile MPs make for reliable votes. The rise of the European Research Group as a parliamentary force disrupts this narrative...this article analyses the methods by which the Group's members magnified their influence over Brexit debates.

Schmitz, Cristin. "Judge strikes down national security gag law in parliamentary privilege case." *The Lawyer's Daily* 7p, May 26, 2022.

- In a sleeper case said to have implications for the rule of law, judicial independence and other foundational principles of Canada's Constitution, an Ontario judge has struck down a federal provision that purports to permanently gag from disclosing classified or other secret government information those MPs and senators appointed by the prime minister to be national security watchdogs.

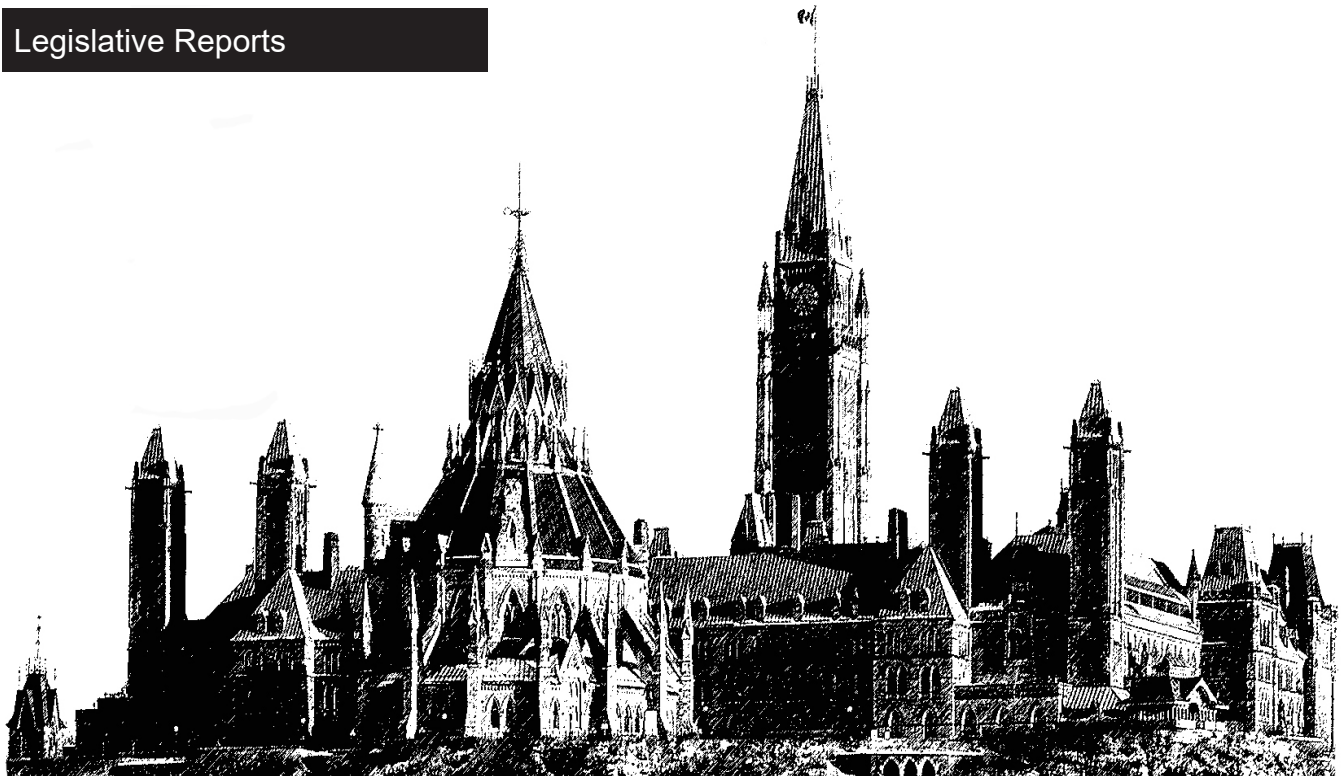
Tardi, Gregory. "Moving toward gender balance in public life." *Journal of Parliamentary and Political Law / Revue de droit parlementaire et politique* 16 (2): 349-, 2022.

- ...even if it could be demonstrated that proportional representation is more likely to favour the equality of men and women in terms of candidacy for elective office than first-past-the-post, litigation is not likely to be the best method of reform toward that goal. In fact, a more fundamental conclusion observers should be attracted to is whether, instead of reforming the general system of elections, it may not be more useful to construct a proportional representation-type of regime inside political parties.

White, Stuart. "How should a progressive parliament advance proportional representation?" *The Political Quarterly* 93 (2): 297-306, April-June 2022.

- Many supporters of democratic reform in the UK propose both a change in the electoral system to proportional representation (PR) and a shift to a formal (codified and entrenched) constitution... this article discusses seven possible approaches by which a future progressive Parliament might advance PR.





## House of Commons

This account covers key highlights of the period from April to the end of June 2022. On June 23, the House adjourned until September 19, 2022.

### Legislation

---

*C-8, An Act to implement certain provisions of the economic and fiscal update tabled in Parliament on December 14, 2021 and other measures*

Bill C-8, *An Act to implement certain provisions of the economic and fiscal update tabled in Parliament on December 14, 2021 and other measures*, was introduced in the House on December 15, 2021, by **Chrystia Freeland** (University—Rosedale, LIB), Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. After the bill had made its way through second reading and consideration in committee, it was passed at report stage on May 2 and third reading on May 4 before receiving royal assent on June 9.

*C-14, An Act to amend the Constitution Act, 1867 (electoral representation)*

On March 24, 2022, Bill C-14, *An Act to amend the Constitution Act, 1867 (electoral representation)*, was introduced in the name of **Dominic LeBlanc**

(Beauséjour, LIB), Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, Infrastructure and Communities. On June 15, prior to debate at report stage, **Sherry Romanado** (Longueuil—Charles-LeMoine, LIB) sought and received unanimous consent to establish parameters for consideration of the bill at report stage and third reading. Bill C-14 received royal assent on June 23.

*C-19, An Act to implement certain provisions of the budget tabled in Parliament on April 7, 2022 and other measures*

On April 28, 2022, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance **Chrystia Freeland** (University—Rosedale, LIB) moved that a Ways and Means motion to introduce Bill C-19, an *Act to implement certain provisions of the budget tabled in Parliament on April 7, 2022 and other measures*, be concurred in. The motion was adopted. The bill was referred to the Standing Committee on Finance on May 10.

At the opening of the sitting on June 2, the Speaker declared null and void an amendment to clause 135 of Bill C-19 which had been adopted in committee. In the Chair's view, the amendment infringed on the financial initiative of the Crown and therefore necessitated a Ways and Means motion. A further amendment, put forward by **Daniel Blaikie** (Elmwood—Transcona, NDP), was adopted at report stage on June 7, and the bill passed third reading on June 9. Bill C-19 received royal assent on June 23.

C-28, *An Act to amend the Criminal Code (self-induced extreme intoxication)*

On June 17, 2022, Minister of Justice **David Lametti** (LaSalle—Émard—Verdun, LIB) introduced Bill C-28, *An Act to amend the Criminal Code (self-induced extreme intoxication)*, in response to Supreme Court decisions in *Brown and Sullivan and Chan*. On June 21, unanimous consent was given for C-28 to be deemed passed at all stages the following day. In the same motion, the Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights was instructed to study the subject matter of C-28. The bill received royal assent on June 23.

S-10, *An Act to give effect to the Anishinabek Nation Governance Agreement, to amend the Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act and the Yukon First Nations Self-Government Act and to make related and consequential amendments to other Acts*

On June 16, 2022, the Senate informed the House that it had passed Bill S-10, *An Act to give effect to the Anishinabek Nation Governance Agreement, to amend the Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act and the Yukon First Nations Self-Government Act and to make related and consequential amendments to other Acts*. On June 21, Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations **Marc Miller** (Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Île-des-Soeurs, LIB) moved that the bill be read a first time, and on June 22, **Patrick Weiler** (West Vancouver—Sunshine Coast—Sea to Sky Country, LIB), sought and received unanimous consent for Bill S-10 to be deemed passed at all stages. Bill S-10 received royal assent on June 23.

### Private Members' Business

---

C-233, *An Act to amend the Criminal Code and the Judges Act (violence against an intimate partner)*

On April 29, 2022, **Anju Dhillon** (Dorval—Lachine—LaSalle, LIB) moved that Bill C-233, *An Act to amend the Criminal Code and the Judges Act (violence against an intimate partner)*, be read a second time. During debate, the House agreed by unanimous consent that the bill be deemed to have been read a second time and referred to the Standing Committee on the Status of Women at the conclusion of the first hour of debate. The bill was reported with amendments on May 17 and concurred in at report stage on May 30. It was read the third time and passed in the House of Commons on June 1.

### Private members' bills suspended

---

On May 11, the Deputy Speaker made a statement concerning similarities between Bill C-250, *An Act to amend the Criminal Code (prohibition—promotion of antisemitism)*, and Bill C-19, *An Act to implement certain provisions of the budget tabled in Parliament on April 7, 2022, and other measures*. He ordered that Bill C-250 remain pending so that the House could avoid deciding the same question twice.

Similarly, on June 6, the Speaker ordered that Bill C-243, *An Act respecting the elimination of the use of forced labour and child labour in supply chains*, remain pending, given that Bill S-211, *An Act to enact the Fighting Against Forced Labour and Child Labour in Supply Chains Act and to amend the Customs Tariff*, had been adopted at second reading.

Suspending these private members' bills leaves open the possibility that they could be reinstated in the next session if bills C-19 or S-211 should fail to be enacted.

### Procedure and privilege

---

*Government Business No. 11: Extension of sitting hours and conduct of extended proceedings*

On April 28, 2022, a motion concerning the extension of sitting hours was moved in the name of the Leader of the Government in the House of Commons, **Mark Holland** (Ajax, LIB). Among other matters, it stated that on sitting days until June 23, 2022, a minister could, with the agreement of a House Leader of a recognized party, rise before 6:30 p.m. and request that the House sit until midnight on that day and that such a request would be deemed adopted. The motion also stated that on extended sitting days, no quorum calls or dilatory motions would be permissible after 6:30 p.m.

Two points of order were raised in relation to Government Business No. 11. First, House Leader of the Official Opposition **John Brassard** (Barrie—Innisfil, CPC) argued that the motion contained seven procedurally distinct questions and requested that the Speaker divide the motion accordingly. Second, **Blaine Calkins** (Red Deer—Lacombe, CPC) argued that subparagraph (b)(ii) of the motion was inadmissible, as it would limit the Speaker's ability to receive quorum calls after 6:30 p.m., thereby effectively waiving the procedural and constitutional requirement for quorum. He requested that the Speaker rule subparagraph (b)

(ii) of the motion be inadmissible. On May 2, Deputy Speaker **Chris d'Entremont** (Nova West, CPC) ruled that subparagraph (b)(ii) of the motion was admissible, listing various circumstances during which quorum calls are not permitted pursuant to the Standing Orders or established practice. He also ruled that two provisions of the motion were sufficiently distinct as to merit separate votes. He divided the motion into three parts:

- provisions relating to the business of the House until June 23, 2022,
- a provision related to deadlines for the Special Joint Committee on Medical Assistance in Dying, and
- a provision seeking to permanently amend Standing Order 28(1).

On May 2, closure was moved by Minister of Justice **David Lametti** (LaSalle—Émard—Verdun, LIB) on Government Business No. 11 and it was adopted. Later in the sitting, the question was put on all three parts of the motion, and all were agreed to on recorded divisions.

*Government Business No. 19: Extension of hybrid proceedings until June 2023*

On June 22, 2022, **Mark Holland** (Ajax, LIB), Leader of the Government in the House of Commons, moved a motion respecting the business of the House and its committees. The motion provided for hybrid proceedings of the House of Commons to continue until June 23, 2023. Certain Standing Orders were suspended or modified to allow the House to sit in a hybrid fashion, documents to be tabled electronically, and recorded divisions to be deferred. It also allowed for the continuation of the electronic voting system. Similar provisions have been in effect since a motion governing hybrid proceedings was adopted on November 25, 2021. Government Business No. 19 was adopted after Mr. Holland moved closure on the motion on June 23, 2022.

*Suspensions of the House due to technical difficulties with hybrid proceedings*

On June 15, 2022, during a vote, problems with the electronic voting system caused the sitting to be suspended. After 28 minutes the technical problems were resolved, and the sitting resumed. Members were given the opportunity to indicate if they had been unable to vote using the system, and their votes were recorded.

On June 21, the House was suspended between 7:28 and 8:54 p.m. due to technical issues with access to the internet and therefore to the virtual sitting. The House, which had been scheduled to sit until midnight, adjourned at 8:55 p.m. on account of these issues. On June 22, **Greg McLean** (Calgary Centre, CPC) raised a question of privilege based on his inability to access the hybrid proceedings the night before and the subsequent early adjournment of the House. The next day, the Speaker ruled that because there was no deliberate attempt to block members from participating in the proceedings, and because the necessary measures had been taken to ensure that members' access was not unduly restricted (including adjourning the sitting early), there was no *prima facie* case of privilege.

*Suspension of provisions related to COVID-19 vaccination*

On June 16, 2022, during the customary Thursday statement, Leader of the Government in the House of Commons **Mark Holland** (Ajax, LIB) sought and received unanimous consent for a motion to suspend the provisions related to COVID-19 vaccination in effect in the House. The motion took effect on June 20. Previously, in accordance with a decision from the Board of Internal Economy and a motion adopted in the House on November 25, 2021, individuals had been required to be fully vaccinated against COVID-19 before accessing the House of Commons Precinct. Exceptions included children under 12 years old and those with a medical exemption.

## **Committees**

---

On April 6, the House adopted a motion by unanimous consent that gave all witnesses appearing before a standing, standing joint, special, special joint, or legislative committee the option to do so in person or by videoconference as of Monday, April 25, 2022. Previously, witnesses had been required to appear by videoconference. Government Business No. 19, adopted on June 23, extended the availability of hybrid committee proceedings until June 23, 2023. However, the Special Joint Committee on the Declaration of Emergency may hold in-person-only meetings if required by section 61(2) of the Emergencies Act.

As part of Government Business No. 11, adopted on May 2, the deadline for the Special Joint Committee on Medical Assistance in Dying (AMAD) to present its final report was extended to October 17, 2022. On May 4, the House was notified that the Senate has also adopted a motion to extend the deadline. AMAD presented its first report on June 22.



On May 12, 2022, **Michael Chong** (Wellington—Halton Hills, CPC) moved an opposition motion that would create a special committee charged with hearing testimony from witnesses on all aspects of the relationship between Canada and the People’s Republic of China once the Special Committee on Afghanistan had finished its work. On May 16, the motion was adopted by deferred recorded division. The membership of the Special Committee on the Canada–People’s Republic of China Relationship (CACN) was appointed on May 20. On June 8, 2022, **Sukh Dhaliwal** (Surrey—Newton, LIB) presented the first and final report of the Special Committee on Afghanistan. As stipulated by Mr. Chong’s motion, CACN subsequently held its first meeting on June 13.

Several committees received instructions before the House adjourned for the summer. On June 2, **Sébastien Lemire** (Abitibi—Témiscamingue, BQ) sought and received unanimous consent to summon representatives from Hockey Canada to appear before the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage (CHPC) to address allegations of sexual misconduct within the organization. Furthermore, the Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights was ordered to study the subject matter of Bill C-28, *An Act to amend the Criminal Code (self-induced extreme intoxication)*. Finally, as part of Government Business No. 19, the Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs (PROC) was instructed to conduct a study on hybrid proceedings and the various changes to the Standing Orders set out in the motion.

### **Financial procedures**

---

On Thursday, April 7, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, **Chrystia Freeland** (University—Rosedale, LIB), tabled Budget 2022. On Friday, April 8, the House considered the Ways and Means Motion No. 3 for the budget presentation. The fourth and final day of the budget debate took place on Wednesday, April 27, and the main motion was adopted.

On June 2, **Rob Moore** (Fundy Royal, CPC) gave notice of opposition to Vote 1 under Department of Justice – Operating expenditures in the Main Estimates for the fiscal year ending March 31, 2023. As a result, the President of the Treasury Board, **Mona Fortier** (Ottawa—Vanier, LIB) gave notice of a motion to concur in the vote. On June 7 (the final supply day for the period ending on June 23, 2022), the motion was adopted by recorded division. The Main Estimates for the fiscal year ending March 31, 2023, were also concurred in, and Bill C-24, *An Act for granting to*

*Her Majesty certain sums of money for the federal public administration for the fiscal year ending March 31, 2023*, was accordingly adopted at all stages.

### **Other**

---

#### *Resignations, absences and tributes*

On May 19, 2022, a supply day, **Sven Spengemann** (Mississauga—Lakeshore, LIB) used his allotted speaking time to present farewell remarks to the House in light of his imminent resignation to serve in a role at the United Nations. A number of members thanked Mr. Spengemann for his service and extended their best wishes. On May 30, the Deputy Speaker notified the House of Mr. Spengemann’s resignation, effective Friday, May 27.

On March 21, 2022, Speaker **Anthony Rota** (Nipissing—Timiskaming, LIB) underwent scheduled bypass surgery in Sudbury. The Speaker was absent from the House of Commons for over two months. On May 31, the Speaker addressed the House for the first time since his surgery to thank those who supported him during his extended absence. He returned to preside over the opening of the sitting on June 1.

On June 21, by unanimous consent, time was set aside following Oral Questions for **Candice Bergen** (Portage—Lisgar, CPC) and members from all parties to make statements. Members paid tribute to Ms. Bergen’s tenure as Leader of the Opposition in advance of her successor’s election. The next Leader of the Opposition is scheduled to be elected at the Conservative Party leadership election on September 10, 2022, during the House’s summer adjournment period.

#### *Reopening of the House of Commons galleries*

On April 25, 2022, the galleries of the House were opened to the public for the first time since the Board of Internal Economy closed visitor access to the House of Commons precinct on March 13, 2020, at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. The following day, April 26, the Speaker’s parade recommenced.

#### *Changes to the House of Commons Administration*

On June 16, 2022, **Philippe Dufresne** was confirmed as Privacy Commissioner after the House approved his appointment. Following the adoption of the motion, the Speaker, members of each recognized party, and **Elizabeth May** (Saanich—Gulf Islands, GP) rose to congratulate Mr. Dufresne and thank him for his

service as Law Clerk and Parliamentary Counsel. Mr. Dufresne had served in the role since 2015, overseeing the legal and legislative drafting services provided to the House of Commons and its administration. **Michel Bédard**, Deputy Law Clerk and Parliamentary Counsel, Legal Services, will be assuming the functions of the Law Clerk and Parliamentary Counsel on an interim basis.

On September 6, certain changes will come into effect in the Procedural Services management team. **Natalie Foster**, who will be returning from leave, will become Acting Clerk Assistant for the Parliamentary Information and Publications Directorate (PIPD). **Robert Benoit** will assume the role of Principal Clerk for the PIPD, and **Jubilee Jackson** will be assigned to PIPD as Deputy Principal Clerk and will become a Table Officer. **Suzie Cadieux** will be assigned as Principal Clerk for the Legislative Unit of the Committees and Legislative Services Directorate (CLSD), **Evelyn Lukyniuk** and **Mariane Beaudin** will be assigned to the Committees team of the CLSD, and **Julie Geoffrion** will be assigned to the International and Interparliamentary Affairs Directorate.

**Sophia Nickel**

Table Research Branch



## Senate

### Legislation

---

Six Senate public bills were passed and sent to the House of Commons this quarter: Bill S-211, *An Act to enact the Fighting Against Forced Labour and Child Labour in Supply Chains Act and to amend the Customs Tariff*, on April 28; Bill S-219, *An Act respecting a National Ribbon Skirt Day*, on May 10; Bill S-203, *An Act respecting a federal framework on autism spectrum disorder*, Bill S-209, *An Act respecting Pandemic Observance Day*, and Bill

S-227, *An Act to establish Food Day in Canada*, on May 12; and Bill S-245, *An Act to amend the Citizenship Act (granting citizenship to certain Canadians)*, on May 17.

Bill C-8, *An Act to implement certain provisions of the economic and fiscal update tabled in Parliament on December 14, 2021 and other measures*, was adopted by the Senate at third reading, without amendment, and received Royal Assent by written declaration on June 9.

On June 16, Bill S-8, *An Act to amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, to make consequential amendments to other Acts and to amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations*, as amended, and Bill S-10, *An Act to give effect to the Anishinabek Nation Governance Agreement, to amend the Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act and the Yukon First Nations Self-Government Act and to make related and consequential amendments to other Acts*, were read a third time and passed. Bill S-7, *An Act to amend the Customs Act and the Preclearance Act, 2016*, and Bill S-6, *An Act respecting regulatory modernization*, as amended, were read a third time and passed, on division, on June 20. On June 21, the Senate passed bills S-4, *An Act to amend the Criminal Code and the Identification of Criminals Act and to make related amendments to other Acts (COVID-19 response and other measures)*, as amended, and S-9, *An Act to amend the Chemical Weapons Convention Implementation Act*. In all cases, messages were sent to the House of Commons to acquaint it that the Senate had passed the bills, to which it desires its concurrence.

The following Commons government bills were also passed, without amendment, on June 21: Bill C-14, *An Act to amend the Constitution Act, 1867 (electoral representation)*, Bill C-24, *An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money for the federal public administration for the fiscal year ending March 31, 2023*, and Bill C-25, *An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money for the federal public administration for the fiscal year ending March 31, 2023*.

Bill S-5, *An Act to amend the Canadian Environmental Protection Act, 1999, to make related amendments to the Food and Drugs Act and to repeal the Perfluorooctane Sulfonate Virtual Elimination Act*, as amended, was read a third time and passed, on division, on June 22. A message was sent to the House of Commons to acquaint it that the Senate had passed the bill, to which it desires its concurrence.

On June 23, Bill C-19, *An Act to implement certain provisions of the budget tabled in Parliament on April 7, 2022 and other measures*, and Bill C-28, *An Act to amend*

*the Criminal Code (self-induced extreme intoxication)*, were read a third time and passed. Later that day, the following bills received Royal Assent by written declaration: S-10, C-14, C-24, C-25, C-19 and C-28. Bill C-19, it may be noted, contains amendments to the *Parliament of Canada Act* to take account of changes that have occurred in the Senate's Rules and practices since 2015.

### **Chamber and Procedure**

---

On May 5, the Senate adopted a motion, as amended, to extend the provisions of previous orders concerning hybrid meetings of the Senate and its committees, and other matters (the original order was adopted on November 25, 2021, and extended on March 31, 2022). This allowed the provisions to continue in effect until June 30, 2022, subject to some adjustments.

As a result of adopting the fourth report of the Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs on April 7, which dealt with its study of a government motion that proposed that the Senate agree with a proposed resolution to amend the Constitution in relation to the taxation of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Senate accordingly adopted said motion.

On May 19, the Senate adopted a motion to amend section 2 of Chapter 4:03 of the *Senate Administrative Rules* concerning the Committee of Selection, relating to the authority to make office allocation decisions during periods of prorogation or dissolution.

On June 23, a motion to conclude all deliberations on Bill C-28 was adopted. The motion outlined the process by which debate would be completed on the bill, including limiting speaking times and a provision that if third reading was not completed by 9 p.m., all questions to dispose of the bill would then immediately be put, with a maximum 15-minute bell in the event a standing vote was requested. Later in the sitting, with leave, the timeline was extended. The motion also authorized the Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs to examine and report on the matter of self-induced intoxication, including self-induced extreme intoxication, in the context of criminal law, including in relation to section 33.1 of the *Criminal Code*, with a reporting date of March 10, 2023.

Also on June 23, a motion to extend the electronic tabling of documents pursuant to rule 14-1(6) to the end of the current session was adopted by the Senate. This authority was previously contained in the motion

allowing hybrid proceedings, which was set to expire on June 30.

### **Committees of the Whole**

---

On June 14, the Senate resolved into a Committee of the Whole in order to receive **Philippe Dufresne** respecting his appointment as Privacy Commissioner. Following the Committee of the Whole, the Senate adopted a motion approving his appointment for a term of seven years.

On June 21, with leave, a motion was adopted for the Senate to resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole at 5 p.m. the same day, to receive **David Lametti**, Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, accompanied by two officials, to consider the subject matter of Bill C-28, *An Act to amend the Criminal Code (self-induced extreme intoxication)*.

### **Speaker's Rulings and Statements**

---

On June 2, a point of order was raised by Senator **Donald Plett** respecting various aspects of Question Period. On June 9, the Speaker delivered a ruling stating that senators should be mindful that questions can be asked of committee chairs during Question Period, but not chairs of subcommittees, and that any questions relating to a subcommittee should be directed to the chair of the committee in question. He also noted that questions should only pertain to the activities of the committee. In relation to concerns about the length of questions and answers, the Speaker advised that debate is not permitted during Question Period, and that only brief comments or explanatory remarks are permitted, in accordance with rule 4-8(2). He reminded senators to be brief and refrain from asking multiple questions at once, in order to avoid long and complex answers, as well as to ensure the relevance of supplementary questions.

A second point of order was raised on June 9 by Senator **Julie Miville-Dechéne**, concerning Question Period and possible references made to in-camera committee proceedings. The Speaker ruled on June 16 that the matter should be discussed by the committee in question. The Speaker also reminded senators that deliberations and any proceedings related to in-camera meetings are confidential.

### **Committees**

---

The Standing Committee on Rules, Procedures and the Rights of Parliament tabled its second interim report



concerning the use of displays, exhibits and props in Senate proceedings. The report was put on the Orders of the Day for consideration at the next sitting and debate concluded on May 12. The committee noted with approval the flexibility inherent in the non-codified practices on the matter, and that items of cultural or religious significance would generally be acceptable, if not used as tools in debate. The committee also presented its third report dealing with amendments to the Rules relating to committee mandates. The report was adopted on May 12. The changes include a reordering of the list of committees, adjustments in the names of some committees, and clarifications about mandates. They take effect on July 31. The first report of the Standing Committee on Rules, Procedures and the Rights of Parliament, entitled *Amendments to the Rules — Speaker pro tempore*, which had been presented on March 29, was also adopted on April 7. This report provided for elections to this position to be by secret ballot, rather than by nomination by the Committee of Selection.

On April 28, the Senate passed a motion authorizing multiple committees to examine and report on the subject matter of various elements of Bill S-6, *An Act respecting regulatory modernization*, with a reporting deadline of May 30. The bill was referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce after second reading.

On May 3, the Speaker read a message from the House of Commons concerning their sittings and the extension of the reporting deadline for the Special Joint Committee on Medical Assistance in Dying to October 17, 2022. A similar motion was adopted by the Senate on May 4.

On May 4, the Standing Senate Committee on National Finance received an order of reference to examine the subject matter of all of Bill C-19, *An Act to implement certain provisions of the budget tabled in Parliament on April 7, 2022, and other measures*, in advance of the bill coming before the Senate. Multiple committees were also authorized to examine the subject matter of certain elements of C-19 and to submit their final reports no later than June 10, 2022, and to deposit their reports with the Clerk of the Senate if the Senate was not then sitting.

The Senate adopted two motions on May 31 to authorize two committees to examine the subject matter of bills in advance of them coming before the Senate. One authorized the Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages to examine the subject matter of Bill

C-13, *An Act to amend the Official Languages Act, to enact the Use of French in Federally Regulated Private Businesses Act and to make related amendments to other Acts*. The other motion allowed the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communication to examine the subject matter of Bill C-11, *An Act to amend the Broadcasting Act and to make related and consequential amendments to other Acts*. The motions gave the committees the power to meet on these studies even though the Senate may then be sitting or adjourned.

On June 2, the Standing Committee on Audit and Oversight tabled its third report, entitled *Annual Report of the Standing Committee on Audit and Oversight: Activities and Observations, October 1, 2020, to March 31, 2022*, and presented its fourth report concerning a Senate Audit and Oversight Charter. The fourth report was adopted on June 7.

On June 14, a number of reports on Senate government bills were presented with amendments. The Standing Senate Committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce presented its third report on Bill S-6, *An Act respecting regulatory modernization*, with amendments, and the report was adopted the next day. The Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade presented its fifth report on Bill S-8, *An Act to amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, to make consequential amendments to other Acts and to amend the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations*, which it reported with one amendment, and the report was adopted the following day. The Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs presented its sixth report on Bill S-4, *An Act to amend the Criminal Code and the Identification of Criminals Act and to make related amendments to other Acts (COVID-19 response and other measures)*. The report was presented with amendments and was adopted the following day.

On June 15, the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence presented its third report on Bill S-7, *An Act to amend the Customs Act and the Preclearance Act, 2016*, also with amendments. The report was adopted on June 16. Also on June 15, the Standing Committee on Audit and Oversight presented its sixth report concerning amendments to the *Rules of the Senate* and the *Senate Administrative Rules* to reflect the Senate Charter on Audit and Oversight. The report was adopted on June 23.

On June 20, the Standing Senate Committee on Energy, the Environment and Natural Resources presented its third report on Bill S-5, *An Act to amend the Canadian Environmental Protection Act, 1999, to make*

related amendments to the Food and Drugs Act and to repeal the Perfluorooctane Sulfonate Virtual Elimination Act, with amendments. The report was adopted on June 21. The Standing Senate Committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce tabled its fourth interim report on its study on business investment in Canada. Finally, the Standing Senate Committee on National Finance also tabled its fifth report on the Supplementary Estimates (A), for the fiscal year ending March 31, 2023.

The Standing Senate Committee on National Finance presented its sixth report, on Bill C-19, *An Act to implement certain provisions of the budget tabled in Parliament on April 7, 2022, and other measures*, without amendment, on June 21.

On June 22, the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples tabled its sixth interim report entitled *Not Enough: All Words and No Action on MMIWG*. The Special Joint Committee on Medical Assistance in Dying tabled its first interim report entitled *Medical assistance in dying and mental disorder as the sole underlying condition: an interim report*.

## Senators

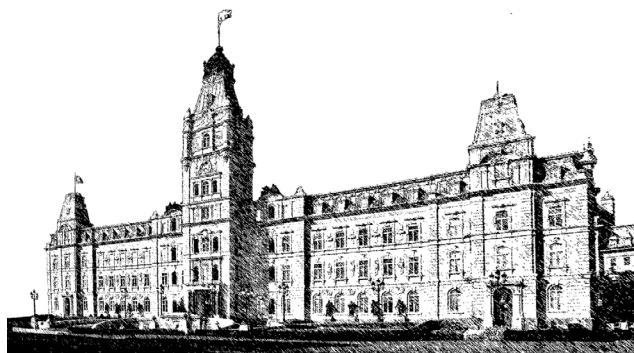
---

Senator **Terry Mercer** retired from the Senate on May 6, 2022. He was appointed to the Senate on November 7, 2003, on the advice of Prime Minister **Jean Chrétien** and represented the province of Nova Scotia. Prior to his appointment, Senator Mercer served as Director of Fundraising and National Director of the Liberal Party and had also been an administrator and fundraiser for a number of charitable organizations. As a senator, he was an active member of several committees, including the Standing Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, the Committee of Selection, the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence, the Special Senate Committee on the Charitable Sector, and the Standing Joint Committee on the Library of Parliament.

Senator **Howard Wetston** retired from the Senate on June 3, 2022. He was appointed to the Senate on November 10, 2016, on the advice of Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** and represented the province of Ontario. Senator Wetston had previously served as a judge of the Federal Court of Canada, a chairperson of the Ontario Securities Commission, and chair and CEO of the Ontario Energy Board, prior to his appointment. Senator Wetston served on a number of committees during his time at the Senate, including the Standing Senate Committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce, the Standing Senate Committee on Agriculture and

Forestry, the Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, the Standing Senate Committee on National Finance and the Standing Senate Committee on Transport and Communications.

**Katy Quinn**  
Procedural Clerk



## Québec

### Proceedings of the National Assembly of Québec

---

#### *Composition*

Following the by-election held on April 11, 2022, in the Marie-Victorin riding, **Shirley Dorismond**, Coalition avenir Québec candidate, was proclaimed elected. Since then, the National Assembly has been composed of 76 Coalition avenir Québec Members, 27 Liberal Party of Québec Members, 10 Québec solidaire Members, seven Parti Québécois Members, and five independent Members, including one affiliated with the Conservative Party of Québec.

Additionally, on June 1, 2022, as a result of the passage of Bill 96, *An Act respecting French, the official and common language of Québec*, the Ministère de la Langue française was established and **Simon Jolin-Barette**, previously Minister Responsible for the French Language, became its minister.

#### *Terms for National Assembly sittings*

On May 22, 2022, after returning from the final week of work in the electoral districts, the Assembly adopted a motion to abolish the requirement to wear a mask during sittings. In force since February 2, 2021, this requirement had been renewed with each new agreement that set the terms for parliamentary proceedings in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

## *Legislative agenda*

Between the April 5, 2022, sitting and the last sitting of the sessional period on June 10, 2022, 31 bills were introduced. During the same period, 30 bills were passed, including 20 Government bills, two private Members' public bills, and eight private bills. The following are some of those bills:

- Bill 2, *An Act respecting family law reform with regard to filiation and amending the Civil Code in relation to personality rights and civil status*;
- Bill 9, *An Act respecting the National Student Ombudsman*;
- Bill 21, *An Act mainly to end petroleum exploration and production and the public financing of those activities*;
- Bill 28, *An Act to terminate the public health emergency while maintaining transitional measures necessary to protect the health of the population (modified title)*;
- Bill 32, *An Act respecting academic freedom in the university sector*;
- Bill 35, *An Act to harmonize and modernize the rules relating to the professional status of artists*;
- Bill 96, *An Act respecting French, the official and common language of Québec*;
- Bill 101, *An Act to strengthen the fight against maltreatment of seniors and other persons of full age in vulnerable situations as well as the monitoring of the quality of health services and social services*;
- Bill 498, *An Act to proclaim the National Day for the Promotion of Positive Mental Health*;
- Bill 998, *An Act to amend the Act respecting the National Assembly to establish the office of Commissioner for Respect*.

## *Budget*

On April 7, 2022, following the 25-hour debate that began on March 24, 2022, the Assembly ended the budget process for 2022–2023 by adopting the motion approving the Government's budgetary policy.

## *Other events*

### *Francophone Face-Off competition*

On April 25, 2022, the Assembly held a debating competition. Nine young people, aged 17 to 22, battled verbally on various current topics in front of a jury of five parliamentarians presided over by **François Paradis**, President of the Assembly. After the face-off, three finalists competed for a prize by presenting their point of view on a current issue assigned on the spot.

### *Unveiling the monument in honour of Jacques Parizeau*

On June 1, 2022, at the intersection of Rue Jacques-Parizeau and Rue des Parlementaires, Mr. Paradis, President of the Assembly, unveiled a bronze statue of **Jacques Parizeau**, Premier of Québec from 1994 to 1996, before loved ones, dignitaries, and Members of the Assembly.

### *Implementing voice recognition technology for the Journal des débats*

During this sessional period, a voice recognition system was introduced to support the employees transcribing the debates and press activities held on Parliament Hill. In particular, this technology allows the transcriptions to be available on the Assembly website within a shorter timeframe.

## Committee Proceedings

Below are some of the highlights of the parliamentary committee proceedings held between April and June 2022. It should be noted that this period coincided with two important moments in parliamentary proceedings: the examination of the budget estimates and the final period of extended hours of meeting for the 42nd Legislature.

### *Examination of the budget estimates*

Under an agreement approved by the Assembly on March 29, 2022, examination of the annual budget estimates took place during the weeks of April 25 and May 2, 2022. For a third consecutive fiscal year, the time allocated for this mandate was reduced, passing from 200 to 120 hours. A total of 100 hours was allocated to the exchanges with opposition Members, while Members of the parliamentary group forming the Government had 20 hours for their exchanges with the Ministers.

During the last two years, the time devoted to the examination of budget estimates had been reduced by half, from 200 to 100 hours. This shortened format meant that only opposition Members were allowed to question Ministers on the management of their department's portfolio.

### *Bills*

The consideration of public bills took up most of the parliamentary committees' time during the months of April to June 2022. Six public bills were the subject



of special consultations and public hearings, while clause-by-clause consideration of 18 public bills was carried out across the nine sectorial committees.

In a rare occurrence, on June 9, 2022, the Committee on Institutions carried out clause-by-clause consideration of a bill not authored by a minister: Bill 192, *An Act to recognize the Members' oath to the people of Québec as the sole oath required for Members to take office*. This was the first clause-by-clause consideration of a private Members' public bill carried out in parliamentary committee during this Legislature, except for those carried out in Committee of the Whole.

The Committee on Health and Social Services carried out clause-by-clause consideration of four bills. The deliberations included the more than 50 hours needed to complete consideration of Bill 15, *An Act to amend the Youth Protection Act and other legislative provisions*. As indicated in its title, this bill proposes various provisions concerning youth protection, including in particular new provisions to take into account the historical, social, and cultural factors specific to Indigenous people. The clause-by-clause consideration of the bill's 64 sections ended on April 11, 2022. The Committee also carried out special consultations and began clause-by-clause consideration of Bill 38, *An Act to amend the Act respecting end-of-life care and other legislative provisions*. However, clause-by-clause consideration of this bill was not completed before the end of the 42nd Legislature's sessional period.

Finally, on April 14, 2022, the Committee on Culture and Education completed clause-by-clause consideration of Bill 96, *An Act respecting French, the official and common language of Québec*, which had begun in November 2021. The purpose of the bill is to affirm that the only official language of Québec is French and that French is the common language of the Québec nation. It proposes new fundamental language rights and various measures to reinforce French. Approximately 30 meetings, totalling more than 125 hours of work, were devoted to the clause-by-clause consideration of the bill's 201 sections.

As usual, several private bills were examined at the end of the sessional period. The Committee on Planning and the Public Domain examined five bills concerning municipalities. It should be noted that, unlike public bills, private bills are passed in principle by the Assembly *after* they have been examined in committee.

### *Mandate under the Standing Orders*

Pursuant to Standing Order 117.6, on May 31, 2022, the Committee on Public Administration heard the Auditor General of Québec on her annual management report. In accordance with the Committee's usual biennial practice, the hearing took place during a deliberative meeting. Following the two-hour hearing, the committee members formulated conclusions and three recommendations. The latter were presented in the Committee's spring 2022 report on accountability, tabled in the Assembly on June 7, 2022.

### *Movement of personnel*

On April 29, 2022, after 12 years as a Parliamentary Committee Clerk, **Louissette Cameron** retired from the Parliamentary Committees Directorate.

**David Bordeleau**

Sittings and Parliamentary Procedure Directorate

**Mathieu LeBlanc**

Parliamentary Committees Directorate



## Alberta

### Spring Sitting

---

The spring sitting of the Third Session of the 30th Legislature commenced on February 22 and adjourned on May 26. The fall sitting is scheduled to begin on October 31, 2022. The spring sitting saw the introduction of 24 government bills, 22 of which have received royal assent, including:

- Bill 15, *Education (Reforming Teacher Profession Discipline) Amendment Act, 2022*, which creates the Alberta Teaching Profession Commission to oversee teacher conduct and competency complaints.

- Bill 18, *Utility Commodity Rebate Act* which repeals the *Natural Gas Price Protection Act* in order to allow for rebates on electricity bills. The Government is now working to implement both an Electricity Rebate Program and a Natural Gas Rebate Program.
- Bill 22, *Electricity Statutes (Modernizing Alberta's Electricity Grid) Amendment Act, 2022* responds to the changing needs of producers and consumers. The updated legislation provides for unlimited self-supply and export and it reassigns many of the responsibilities of the current Balancing Pool in order to allow the Pool to wind down its operation once its statutory responsibilities are complete.

Two private bills and eight private members' public bills were introduced and referred to the Standing Committee on Private Bills and Private Members' Public Bills. Both private bills have received royal assent. Of the private members' public bills one remains with the committee, three will not proceed if the Assembly concurs with the committee's recommendation, and the others are in various stages of consideration. The one exception is Bill 205, *Human Tissue and Organ Donation (Mandatory Referral) Amendment Act, 2022*, sponsored by **R.J. Sigurdson**, which received royal assent. Bill 205 will require health care practitioners to report imminent deaths to the province's organ procurement organization in order to minimize lost donation opportunities and permit potential donors to make the necessary arrangements in a timely fashion. The bill will come into force on April 1, 2023.

### **United Conservative Party Leadership Race**

---

Premier **Jason Kenney** has announced his intention to resign as leader of the United Conservative Party (UC). Mr. Kenney will continue to serve as the leader and Premier until the party announces a new leader, which is set to occur on October 6. Some members of the current UC caucus have already announced their candidacy for party leader and three ministers have resigned from cabinet in order to participate in the race. Leadership candidates include **Brian Jean**, the former leader of the Wildrose Party, who lost to Mr. Kenney in the previous UC leadership race, **Danielle Smith**, a former MLA and former leader of the Wildrose Party, and **Leela Aheer**, a former cabinet member.

### **Cabinet Changes**

---

The current year has already seen multiple adjustments to Premier Kenney's cabinet. On February 25, 2022, **Tyler Shandro**, who was the Minister of Labour and Immigration, exchanged roles with **Kaycee Madu**, former Minister of Justice and Solicitor General.

Shortly after Premier Kenney announced that he would be stepping down as leader of the UC, three ministers resigned from cabinet to enter the leadership race: **Travis Toews**, former Minister of Finance and Treasury Board; **Rebecca Schulz**, former Minister of Children's Services; and **Rajan Sawhney**, former Minister of Transportation. As of June 21, the following additional changes are in effect:

**Jason Nixon**, previously the Minister of Environment and Parks, who had been acting as the Minister of Finance and President of Treasury Board, has taken on the role permanently;

**Whitney Issik** is now the Minister of Environment and Parks, and her previous role as the Associate Minister for the Status of Women has been taken on by **Jackie Armstrong-Homeniuk**;

**Prasad Panda** has been moved from Infrastructure to Minister of Transportation, and Hon. **Nicholas Milliken** has been appointed Minister of Infrastructure and resigned his position as Deputy Chair of Committees;

**Matt Jones** is the new Minister of Children's Services, and

**Brad Rutherford** has been appointed both chief government whip and minister without portfolio.

### **Committee Business**

---

The Select Special Information and Privacy Commissioner Search Committee completed its recruitment process and recommended **Diane McLeod** as the next commissioner. Ms. McLeod comes to Alberta from Yukon, where she served as Information and Privacy Commissioner, Ombudsman, and Public Interest Disclosure Commissioner. She will take on her new role effective August 1, when the current commissioner, **Jill Clayton**, completes her second term.

The current Ombudsman and Public Interest Commissioner, **Marianne Ryan**, completes her term on June 30 and will be retiring. Following her departure, the current Deputy Ombudsman and Deputy Public Interest Commissioner, **Peter Sherstan**, will be appointed as the acting officer for both positions until the recruitment process has been completed. On May 12 the Legislative Assembly appointed the Select Special Ombudsman and Public Interest Commissioner Search Committee for the purpose of inviting applications for the positions of Ombudsman and Public Interest Commissioner and to recommend to the Assembly the applicant it considers most suitable for each position. The committee will be accepting applications until July 25.

On June 20, after receiving two extensions from the Assembly, the Select Special Committee on Real Property Rights released its final report. The committee made six recommendations relating to the abolition of future adverse possession claims, compensation for loss of reasonable use of property, and the process for determining fair market value in situations of expropriation. The committee also added consideration of surface rights to the scope of its review in response to input from stakeholders and the public, which resulted in multiple recommendations regarding the *Surface Rights Act*.

After receiving an extension to its reporting deadline, the Select Special Committee to Examine Safe Supply released its final report on June 27. The report contained eight recommendations, including the implementation of a provincial strategy for the management of pain, insulating medical education from the influence of the pharmaceutical industry, ensuring maximum coverage for evidence-based medications for use in treating addictions, and enhancing alternatives to the criminal justice system that could be used to support addictions recovery.

The Standing Committee on Alberta's Economic Future completed its consideration of the *Lobbyists Act* and released its final report, which included recommendations that copies of the written submissions to the committee be provided to the Ministry of Justice and Solicitor General and "that any amendments made to the *Lobbyists Act* take into account the importance of public transparency with respect to the practice of lobbying."

On May 25 the Assembly referred consideration of a draft amendment to the *Publication Ban (Court Applications and Orders) Regulation*. Under the *Child,*

*Youth and Family Enhancement Act* any new regulation or proposed amendment to a regulation made under section 131(1) of the *Act* must be considered by a committee of the Assembly. The proposed amendment would extend the expiry date for the regulation for five years, to September 30, 2027. The committee met on July 5 and completed its review with no recommendations regarding the draft amendment.

The Assembly has tasked the Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, Standing Orders and Printing to conduct a review of the October 2021 amendments to the Standing Orders related to interventions. The committee has released an online survey to all MLAs to collect their thoughts regarding the new procedure.

### **Canada Day at the Legislature**

---

After a two-year hiatus due to the COVID-19 pandemic, there were once again in-person events on the Legislature Grounds to celebrate Canada Day. Speaker **Nathan M. Cooper** invited Albertans to attend the July 1 festivities, saying "Canada Day at the Alberta Legislature is a wonderful opportunity to learn about our parliamentary system and enjoy examples of our diversity, culture, talents, and traditions." In addition to the annual Legislature Chamber open house, the event included multiple stages for live performances, interactive entertainers such as magicians and musicians as well as several food trucks and food stands.

### **Happy Birthday Hansard**

---

Following the passage of a government motion on March 8, 1972, a true transcript of parliamentary proceedings, *Hansard*, was created in Alberta. Although some records of Assembly debate exist prior to the official *Hansard*, these are found primarily in news clippings, et cetera. Some transcripts of debate, particularly Oral Question Period, were produced in 1971, but these were not produced in a timely fashion nor were they a complete record of what had been said. On March 8, 2022, Speaker Cooper marked the 50th birthday of *Alberta Hansard* in the Chamber by noting that "in 2020-2021 more than 6 million words were spoken in the Assembly and its committees; 6,453,127 words to be exact. I know this because that is how many words were transcribed by our amazing *Hansard* staff."

**Jody Rempel**  
Committee Clerk





## British Columbia

### Spring Sitting Period

---

During the spring sitting period of the Legislative Assembly, a total of 13 bills received Royal Assent. Of note was the *Anti-Racism Data Act*, which lays the foundation for the province to collect, publish and use disaggregated race-based data to address service gaps and barriers faced by racialized people. For the first time in 15 years, a Private Member's bill was debated during Private Members' Time, when former B.C. Liberal Party Member **Stephanie Cadieux** moved second reading of Bill M 202, *Equal Pay Reporting Act*. On the final day of the summer sitting on June 2, a long adjournment motion was adopted and the Legislative Assembly is scheduled to return on October 3, 2022.

On May 11, B.C. NDP Member **Rick Glumac** made B.C. history by proposing to his partner, who was seated in the public gallery, during Members' Statements. This is the first marriage proposal to take place in the Chamber during a proceeding of the Legislative Assembly.

### Committee of Supply

---

The Legislative Assembly adopted a Sessional Order on May 10 authorizing the Committee of Supply to sit in three sections to consider the 2022-23 Estimates; Section A was also authorized to consider bills at committee stage. Unlike 2021, when Committee of Supply proceedings were held in a hybrid format, the spring proceedings took place primarily in person. The Committee of Supply spent 170 hours considering Estimates in the spring sitting period which is similar to last year when the Committee of Supply spent approximately 171 hours considering the 2021-22 Estimates.

### Liberal Caucus Party Standings

---

The new B.C. Liberal Party Leader, **Kevin Falcon**, was sworn in as the Member for Vancouver-Quilchena on May 16. Former B.C. Liberal Party Member Ms. Cadieux resigned on April 28 to take on the role as Canada's first Chief Accessibility Officer. A by-election for South Surrey must be called by October 28, 2022. Following the resignation of Ms. Cadieux, current party standings in British Columbia are 57 B.C. NDP, 26 B.C. Liberal Party, two B.C. Green Party and, one vacancy.

### Governor General's Visit

---

**Mary Simon**, Governor General of Canada, visited the Legislative Assembly on her first official visit to B.C. on May 20, 2022. The Governor General was welcomed by Lieutenant Governor **Janet Austin**, Premier **John Horgan**, Speaker **Raj Chouhan**, and Indigenous leaders. The Governor General was met with a performance by the Lekwungen traditional dancers of the Songhees Nation and received a 21-gun salute fired by the 5th Field Artillery Regiment of the Royal Regiment of Canadian Artillery.

### Parliamentary Committees

---

On April 28, the Special Committee on Reforming the *Police Act* released its report, *Transforming Policing and Community Safety in British Columbia*. The Legislative Assembly appointed the Committee to undertake a broad inquiry into policing and related systemic issues. In total, 411 organizations and individuals from across the province made presentations and written submissions, and over 1,400 British Columbians provided input on their experiences and perspectives regarding policing and related systemic issues via a survey. The Committee's report details the Committee's public consultation as well as 11 recommendations to transform policing and community safety in B.C.

The Special Committee to Review the *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act* released its report, *FIPPA for the Future*, on June 8, pursuant to section 80 of the Act, which requires a special committee to undertake a comprehensive review of the Act once every 6 years. The report includes 34 recommendations to improve and modernize access and privacy rules in B.C.'s public sector including immediately clarifying and expanding the types of records that must be released, while moving toward proactive disclosure of all documents that are not

explicitly noted as exceptions in the *Act*; modernizing and improving how public bodies handle freedom of information requests; establishing a comprehensive health information privacy law; regulating automated decision-making; and enhancing the powers of the Information and Privacy Commissioner.

On May 9 and 18, 2022, the Select Standing Committee on Parliamentary Reform, Ethical Conduct, Standing Orders and Private Bills met and considered a private bill, Bill Pr 401, *Sea to Sky University Amendment Act, 2022*, including a recommended amendment from the Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Training. The Committee agreed to amend the bill and recommend to the Legislative Assembly that the bill proceed as amended. As per usual practice, the bill proceeded through second reading, Committee of the Whole, and third reading in one day with limited debate, and the bill received Royal Assent on June 2, 2022.

The Select Standing Committee on Children and Youth released its annual report for 2021-22 on May 12, 2022. The report covers the activities of the Committee from April 1, 2021, to March 31, 2022, during which the Committee reviewed three reports from the Representative for Children and Youth.

The *Interim Report on Statutory Offices* was released by the Select Standing Committee on Finance and Government Services on June 2, 2022. The Committee meets with B.C.'s nine statutory officers in the fall to review budgetary proposals and in the spring to receive updates. This interim report provides a summary of the spring 2022 meetings.

The Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts released its annual report on May 31, 2022, summarizing its activities between April 2021 and March 2022 in reviewing reports of the Office of the Auditor General and approving the Office's *Financial Statement Audit Coverage Plan for fiscal years ending in 2023, 2024 and 2025*.

The Select Standing Committee on Health received its Terms of Reference on April 4, 2022, to examine the urgent and ongoing illicit drug toxicity and overdose crisis. This is the first time since February 2017 that the Committee has received a Terms of Reference.

A Special Committee to Appoint a Merit Commissioner was appointed on June 2, 2022.

## **Legislative Assembly Administration**

---

On June 29, the 2022-23 to 2024-25 Legislative Assembly Administration Strategic Plan was approved by the Legislative Assembly Management Committee. The Administration's first-ever Strategic Plan outlines the Administration's purpose and operating principles and sets out three key priorities: enhance the Legislative Assembly's organizational capacity to provide unified, innovative and seamless support to the Legislative Assembly and Members; invest in modern secure and sustainable infrastructure; and promote engagement, diversity, equity, inclusion and accessibility, and learning. The plan is a three-year rolling plan, updated regularly and undertaken with input from Administration staff and leadership.

In April 2022, **Kate Ryan-Lloyd**, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, announced an administrative restructuring with the formation of a new department, Precinct Services, which consolidates Capital Planning and Development, Legislative Facility Services, and the Parliamentary Dining Room. This new department will be led by a new Director reporting to the Executive Financial Officer.

The Legislative Assembly opened a Meditation Room which is available to all Members, caucus staff, and Legislative Assembly Administration employees. The room is designed for prayer, reflection, spiritual practices, as well as mindfulness and meditation.

## **Legislative Lights**

---

The Legislative Assembly held its 8th annual Legislative Lights Employee Recognition Ceremony on June 13. Speaker Chouhan of the Legislative Assembly, and **Artour Sogomonian**, Clerk Assistant, stepping in for the Clerk, Ms. Ryan-Lloyd, addressed Legislative Assembly employees from the Legislative Chamber and congratulated award nominees and recipients for their outstanding achievements in categories including teamwork, spirit, and leadership as well as long service awards recognizing staff who have worked in the public sector for 25, 30, and 35 years.

## **Appointment of Chief Human Resources Officer**

---

On May 4, 2022, **Daisy Jassar** joined the Legislative Assembly in the new position of Chief Human Resources Officer. Daisy brings over 25 years of senior leadership experience in the public service, most recently as the Executive Director of the Health Benefits Digital Office with the Ministry of Health.

## Appointment of Acting Executive Financial Officer

---

**Randy Smith** was appointed as the Acting Executive Financial Officer on June 23, 2022 until the role is permanently filled through a competitive process. Randy is a senior financial executive with 25 years of experience. Prior to his retirement, Randy was the Executive Vice President/Chief Financial Officer and Leader of the Corporate Services Division at the B.C. Oil and Gas Commission.

**Natalie Beaton**

Committee Research Analyst



## Manitoba

### 4<sup>th</sup> Session of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Legislature

---

The Fourth Session of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Legislature resumed on March 1, 2022, and adjourned for the summer on June 1, 2022. It was a relatively busy session as seven (7) Government Bills received Royal Assent in March and an additional nineteen (19) Government Bills were introduced in time to meet the criteria for Specified Bill status, which resulted in them having the questions put and ultimately being passed and receiving Royal Assent before the House rose in June. Five Private Member Bills (two from the Government and three from the Official Opposition) passed during these sittings as well, and the following four non-Specified Government Bills passed with the consent of the Opposition:

*Bill 35 – The Commemoration of Days, Weeks and Months and Related Repeals and Amendments Act* consolidates into one statute all current legislation proclaiming commemorative days, weeks and months. In addition, May 12 is to be commemorated as Manitoba Day.

*Bill 37 – The International Child Support and Family Maintenance (Hague Convention) Act* implements the *Convention on the International Recovery of Child Support and Other Forms of Family Maintenance* in Manitoba to facilitate the international recovery of child support and other forms of family maintenance. This Bill also applies procedures under *The Inter-jurisdictional Support Orders Act* to applications made under the Convention.

*Bill 41 – The Child and Family Services Amendment Act* amends *The Child and Family Services Act* to clarify certain sections and facilitate collaboration and information sharing between the persons and entities who administer the *Act* and the Indigenous governing bodies and Indigenous service providers who administer Indigenous laws respecting child and family services. Part VI.1 is added and sets out new authority and rules respecting:

- the sharing of information contained in service-related records by the director, authorities, agencies, Indigenous governing bodies and Indigenous service providers;
- the disclosure of personal information and personal health information to Indigenous service providers by public bodies and trustees, when requested for the purpose of ensuring the safety, health or well-being of children;
- access by Indigenous service providers to provincial electronic information systems and the child abuse registry, including entering information in the information systems and reporting names for entry in the registry; and
- transferring the supervision of care and the guardianship of children in care to Indigenous service providers.

*Bill 34 – The Employment Standards Code Amendment Act (Minimum Wage)* amends *The Employment Standards Code* to enable the minimum wage to be increased by an additional amount set out in a regulation. The regulation:

- may be made only in a year in which the inflation rate in Manitoba exceeds five per cent (as measured in the first three months of that year), and
- must be made 30 days before it takes effect and that effective date must be within the period of October 1 to December 31 of the applicable year.

The House is set to resume sitting on September 28, 2022. This upcoming sitting period promises to



be extremely busy, especially for Committees, as the Estimates process in the Committee of Supply still needs to be completed and the Official Opposition designated the following five (5) Bills for delayed consideration in the Fall:

*Bill 13 – The Social Services Appeal Board Amendment Act* amends *The Social Services Appeal Board Act*. The following changes are to be made to the procedures before the board:

- An appeal may be heard by a single member of the board.
- An appeal may be heard in writing or by telephone or other electronic means.
- The board may dismiss an appeal in certain circumstances, including when the appeal is trivial, not made in good faith, or is vexatious.
- Certain procedural deadlines are extended.

*Bill 14 – The Drivers and Vehicles Amendment, Highway Traffic Amendment and Manitoba Public Insurance Corporation Amendment Act*, amends several statutes to make changes to Manitoba’s driver licensing, vehicle registration, and vehicle insurance framework. Some of its provisions include:

- Amending *The Drivers and Vehicles Act* by restricting new residents who have international driving licences from operating heavy trucks, allowing driver’s licences to be issued electronically, enabling a database to check the validity of licences, and authorizing the Registrar to specify the types of identification necessary for obtaining a driver’s licence or identification card
- Amending *The Highway Traffic Act* by increasing the minimum amount of required automotive third-party liability insurance from \$200,000 to \$500,000
- Amending *The Manitoba Public Insurance Corporation Act* to clarify the ability of Manitoba Public Insurance to take into account a person’s claims history and to enable Manitoba Public Insurance to establish and implement driver premiums based on the approval of the Public Utilities Board

*Bill 22 – The Environment Amendment Act (Pesticide Restrictions)* removes the prohibition on the sale and application of certain pesticides to lawns. The list of premises where the use of certain pesticides is prohibited is expanded to include municipal playgrounds, picnic areas, dog parks, and provincial parks.

*Bill 24 – The Real Property Valuation Board and Related Amendments Act* makes amendments to a number of Acts and establishes the Real Property Valuation Board (the “Board”) to take over the roles of other boards and commissions in relation to the following matters:

- applications for a determination of compensation under *The Expropriation Act* for expropriated property, which are currently heard by the Land Value Appraisal Commission;
- applications for a determination of compensation under *The Land Acquisition Act* for property acquired by the government, which are also currently heard by the Land Value Appraisal Commission;
- property tax assessment appeals under *The Municipal Assessment Act*, which are currently heard by the Municipal Board;
- applications under *The Surface Rights Act*, which are currently heard by the Surface Rights Board.

*Bill 36 – The Manitoba Hydro Amendment and Public Utilities Board Amendment Act* creates a new framework in which both electricity rates and gas rates will be regulated under *The Manitoba Hydro Act* instead of the current setup administered by the Public Utilities Board. The new legislative framework applies to the determination of electricity rates for each three-year rate period beginning after March 31, 2025. The general rate increase for a fiscal year cannot exceed five per cent or the rate of inflation, whichever is less.

## Committees

---

Since the last submission, the following Standing Committees met in April and May to complete clause-by-clause consideration of numerous Bills:

- Social and Economic Development met four times to pass 17 Bills
- Justice met three times to pass 13 Bills
- The Committee of the Whole also met four times to pass six Bills.

The Public Accounts Committee (PAC) has met on seven occasions so far this year and the Committee had a significant change in personnel in June. Government MLA **James Teitsma** was elected as the new Vice-Chair during its meeting on June 20. The election was necessary due to the former Vice-Chair, **Greg Nesbitt**, being appointed to cabinet as the new Minister of Natural Resources and Northern Development. The cabinet appointment

was prompted by the resignation of **Scott Fielding** as a Minister on June 6 and subsequently as an MLA on June 17. **Len Isleifson**, Government MLA for Brandon East, was also added as a new PAC Member to replace Mr. Nesbitt.

## Sessional Order

---

The Legislature is still operating under the Sessional Order allowing for virtual participation among other things. Originally passed on October 7, 2020, as discussed in previous issues, the Sessional Order has been extended to December 1, 2022.

## Rule Changes

---

The Legislature passed further changes to the Rules of the House that will take effect at the start of the Fall Sitting effective September 28, 2022. Some of the Rule changes include:

- Amending the provisions regarding the qualifications and deadline days for Specified Bills;
- Removing the 10-day notification period for calling meetings for the Rules or Public Accounts Committees;
- Formally recognizing and empowering the PAC Steering Committee comprised of the Chair, Vice-Chair, Auditor General, Committee Clerk, and Research Officer;
- Creating a Members' Dress Code;
- Making permanent the current practice of having an Indigenous Land Acknowledgement read at the start of each sitting day;
- Clarifying that digital as well as paper copies of documents may be used during proceedings;
- Clarifying speaking time exceptions;
- Refining some processes for Standing Committees including the questioning of public presenters on legislation.

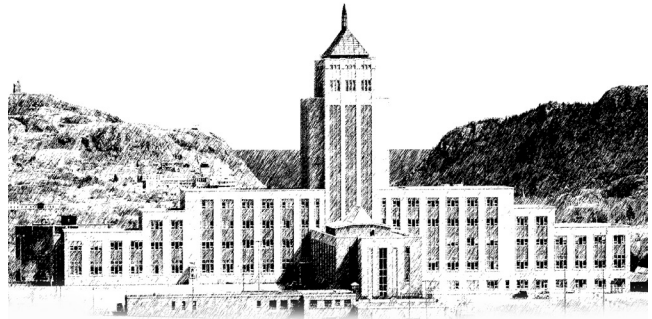
## By-election results

---

On June 7, 2022, voters in the Thompson constituency elected a new Member to the Official Opposition New Democratic Party Caucus **Eric Redhead**, a former chief of the Shamattawa First Nation. Mr. Redhead was officially sworn in on June 24, 2022.

**Greg Recksiedler**

Research Officer/Clerk Assistant



# Newfoundland and Labrador

The first session of the 50<sup>th</sup> General Assembly continued in the spring sitting of 2022, with the House sitting for 25 days between March 15 and June 1, 2022. During that time, the House debated and passed 20 bills, including the *Interim Supply Act, 2022* and the *Supply Act, 2022*.

## Highlights – Spring 2022 Sitting

---

The Minister of Finance delivered the 2022 Budget Speech on April 7, following which the Estimates were referred to the Resource, Social Services and Government Services Standing Committees for review. During the Estimates process, some Members and departmental officials required isolation due to COVID-19, and several meetings of the Standing Committees reviewing the Estimates required virtual accommodations. Additional clerking support was required to facilitate the virtual capacity, which was successfully achieved. Each Committee delivered its Concurrence Report to the House on May 9. The budget motion was passed by the House on May 12 and main supply on May 16.

On April 13, the Speaker tabled a report of the Commissioner for Legislative Standards under the conflict of interest provisions of the *House of Assembly Act*, concerning the non-compliance of the Member for Humber - Bay of Islands with statutory financial disclosure requirements. The report, which recommended that the Member be suspended from the House until the financial disclosure was provided, is available here: <https://www.assembly.nl.ca/business/electronicdocuments/CLSJoyceReportApril2022.pdf>.

On May 2, the Member for Humber - Bay of Islands raised a point of privilege related to the report referenced above, alleging it contained false and

misleading statements and questioned the reputation of the Member.

On May 3, the Speaker ruled there was no prima facie point of privilege. In his ruling, he stated that conflict of interest is a serious matter, particularly for elected officials, as they are intended to provide the public with confidence and protect the integrity of our political system. He further stated that a report respecting the compliance of a Member with these requirements does not, in and of itself, breach the privileges of that Member. The entire ruling can be referenced in Hansard, available here: <https://www.assembly.nl.ca/HouseBusiness/Hansard/ga50session1/22-05-03.htm>

Also on that day, the Government House Leader gave notice of a motion that the House concur in the report but would provide the Member with seven days following the adoption of the motion in which to comply with the requirements, otherwise, the suspension without pay would take effect.

During debate on the motion, the Government House Leader moved an amendment that: (i) a mediator be appointed by the Speaker to assist with resolution of the matter; (ii) the time to comply was extended to seven clear sitting days; and (iii) the mediator be required to report to the House. The motion as amended was adopted.

Accordingly, the Speaker appointed **Gail Hamilton** as the mediator. Her report, submitted and tabled on May 18, advised that the information requested of the Member was reasonable in terms of the applicable legislation and authority granted to the Commissioner. The report also indicated that the Member had met their statutory obligations within the seven clear sitting days as required. The full report is available here: <https://www.assembly.nl.ca/business/electronicdocuments/MediationReportReJoyceReportApril12-2022.pdf>.

On May 2, the Opposition House Leader made a motion under Standing Order 36 to adjourn the House to commence an urgent debate regarding issues on the rising cost of living in the province. The Speaker's ruling on the matter focused on the important distinction between an urgent matter and an urgent debate and concluded that the matter of urgency of debate in the House, which would supersede all other business, had not been established.

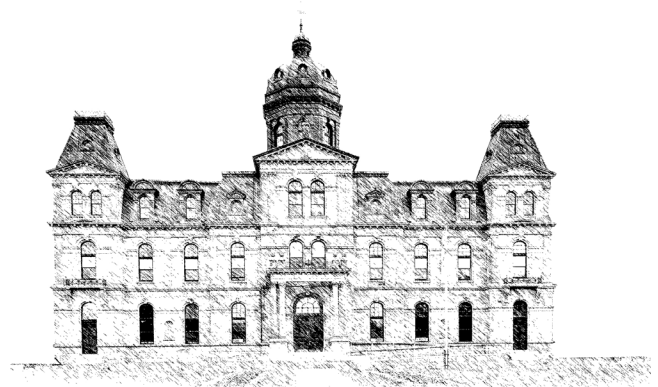
In the ruling, the Speaker was guided by a previous ruling of the House from Speaker Hodder on April 22, 2004, and a passage from Parliamentary Practice in

British Columbia. While the Speaker concurred that the matter of rising gas prices, among other commodities, was of importance to the province, the Speaker was not satisfied the debate itself was of an urgent nature. The Speaker reminded the House of other opportunities to debate the matter, including the budget debate and a private Member's resolution on the rising cost of living, for which notice had been given on May 4.

The Spring 2022 sitting adjourned on June 1, 2022, with a traditional Royal Assent ceremony held in the Chamber. Lieutenant Governor **Judy M. Foote** assented to bills passed during the Spring sitting and gave short remarks.

**Bobbi Russell**

Policy & Communications Officer, Office of the Clerk



## New Brunswick

### Pandemic Restrictions Lifted

---

The 1<sup>st</sup> Session of the 60<sup>th</sup> Legislature resumed its spring sitting on May 10, 2022. This marked the end of all COVID-19 pandemic restrictions that had been in effect at the Legislative Assembly in various forms for more than two years. As of May 6, 2022, Members and staff were no longer required to wear a mask in the Legislative Assembly Building, its main Chamber, and Committee Rooms. While still recommended, masks became optional. As well, the main Legislative Assembly Building, including the Gallery, was opened to the public for the first time since March 2020.

### Legislation

---

A total of 19 bills were introduced following the House's resumption in May. These, along with 15 bills introduced by the Government at the end of March,



were considered in the House and committee. In total, 34 bills received Royal Assent on June 10 before the House rose for the summer. Certain bills of note considered later in the spring sitting included:

Bill 113 - *An Act to Amend the Motor Vehicle Act*, introduced by Public Safety Minister **Bill Hogan**, allows for the development of regulations devoted exclusively to bicycle safety. The amendments also provide the flexibility to address changing practices and new technologies like power-assisted bicycles.

Bill 114 - *Child and Youth Well-Being Act*, introduced by Social Development Minister **Bruce Fitch**, aims to promote the interests, protection, participation and well-being of children and youth along with the health and well-being of families. It is stand-alone legislation intended to modernize portions of the *Family Services Act*. The bill's approach is child-centred, rather than parent-centred. Among other things, the bill expands on provisions to include circumstances under which a child or youth may be at substantial risk of harm, which would permit the Minister to intervene before harm has occurred.

Bill 117 - *An Act Respecting Heavy Industrial Property*, introduced by Finance and Treasury Board Minister **Ernie Steeves**, establishes a new heavy industrial classification of property and permits local governments and rural districts to levy a corresponding local property tax rate.

Bill 118 - *Fair Registration Practices in Regulated Professions Act*, introduced by Post-Secondary Education, Training and Labour Minister **Trevor Holder**, aims to help internationally educated people practice their professions in New Brunswick sooner. The legislation requires that professional regulatory bodies in the province establish transparent, objective, impartial and efficient application and registration processes and recognize credentials from other Canadian jurisdictions in compliance with the Canadian Free Trade Agreement.

## Motions

---

On June 8 the House adopted a resolution to designate August 1 as Emancipation Day in New Brunswick. Emancipation Day commemorates the United Kingdom Parliament's August 1, 1834, abolition of slavery in the British Empire, including British North America. The motion was introduced by Aboriginal Affairs Minister **Arlene Dunn** and seconded by Green Party Leader **David Coon**.

On June 9 the House adopted a resolution introduced by Mr. Coon and seconded by **Kevin Arseneau**, as amended on motion by Minister Dunn, to designate September 30 as the Day for Truth and Reconciliation in New Brunswick. The Day for Truth and Reconciliation honours survivors of residential schools, their families and communities, and ensures that public commemoration of the history and legacy of residential schools remains a vital component of the reconciliation process.

## Committee Activity

---

The Standing Committee on Estimates and Fiscal Policy, chaired by **Ross Wetmore**, met in the Legislative Assembly Chamber for four weeks in April to review and approve the budgetary estimates of various government departments. The Committee tabled its second report on May 10.

The Standing Committee on Economic Policy, chaired by **Greg Turner**, remained active during the spring sitting. In a first for this committee, on motion of Government House Leader **Glen Savoie**, the House on June 8 authorized and instructed the committee to identify and invite four presenters to appear at public hearings as part of the committee's consideration of Bill 114 – *Child and Youth Well-Being Act*. Child, Youth and Senior Advocate **Kelly Lamrock** appeared and recommended amendments. Representatives from Partners for Youth, the New Brunswick Association of Social Workers, and Mi'gmaq Child and Family Services of New Brunswick, Inc. also appeared. After the public hearings, the committee considered amendments to the bill proposed by all parties and adopted eight amendments moved by the sponsoring Minister (Mr. Fitch).

The Standing Committee on Law Amendments, chaired by Attorney General **Hugh J.A. (Ted) Flemming**, met on May 27 to discuss the subject matter of Bill 28 - *An Act to Amend the Municipal Elections Act*. The bill would allow permanent residents to vote in municipal elections. The committee heard from representatives of the Department of Environment and Local Government regarding permanent resident voting and, on May 31, reported to the House with recommendations concerning Bill 28 and two other bills.

The Standing Committee on Private Bills, chaired by **Ryan Cullins**, met on May 27 and considered three bills, which it reported favourably to the House on May 31. The Committee met again on June 7 and heard

from several interested parties regarding Bill 119 - *An Act to Amend the Engineering Technology Act*.

The Standing Committee on Public Accounts, chaired by **Chuck Chiasson**, met with Auditor General **Paul Martin** on June 23 to discuss his latest report regarding the provincial health and dental benefits plan as well as NB Liquor's role in the development of the liquor industry in the province.

### Review of MLA Compensation

---

On May 5, it was announced that the Legislative Administration Committee had named an independent committee to review MLA salaries and benefits. **Margaret Larlee**, a retired judge of the Court of Appeal of New Brunswick, and **Robert Basque**, a senior lawyer practicing in Moncton, were tasked with conducting the review as mandated by the *Legislative Assembly Act*. The committee has sought input from the public as well as current and former MLAs. They are expected to report their recommendations in the fall of 2022.

### By-elections

---

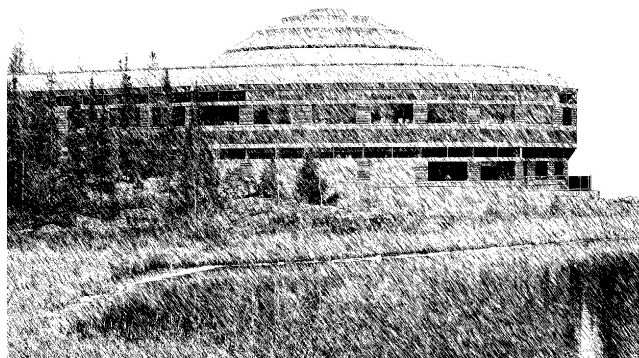
On May 13, Chief Electoral Officer **Kim Poffenroth** issued the writs for by-elections in the electoral districts of Miramichi Bay-Neguac and Southwest Miramichi-Bay du Vin. These two seats had been vacant since mid-August 2021 when the MLAs for the two ridings resigned to offer as candidates in the federal election. Advance voting occurred on June 11 and 13, and polling day was June 20. The Progressive Conservatives claimed both ridings, with **Réjean Savoie** elected in Miramichi Bay-Neguac and **Mike Dawson** elected in Southwest Miramichi-Bay du Vin. The newly elected Members took and subscribed the oath of allegiance before Lieutenant-Governor **Brenda L. Murphy** at a ceremony in the Legislative Assembly Chamber on July 5.

### Sitting Days and Standings

---

The House sat from May 10 to May 20 and from May 31 to June 10, for a total of 86 sitting days during the 1<sup>st</sup> Session since it opened in 2020. The House is scheduled to resume sitting on October 4, 2022. The standings in the House are 30 Progressive Conservatives, 16 Liberals, and three Greens.

**Shannon Armstrong**  
Research Officer



## Northwest Territories

### Session

---

The Second Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Legislative Assembly resumed on May 26 through June 3, 2022. pursuant to Rule 10.2, Speaker **Frederick Blake Jr.** approved a hybrid sitting from May 30 through June 3, 2022

With the easing of COVID-19 restrictions in the Northwest Territories, Chamber setup and operations returned to pre-pandemic arrangements without social distancing requirements. Interpretation services were increased to include Chipewyan, Tlicho, North Slave, South Slave, Inuvialuktun, and French. Pages returned for the first time since COVID-19 restrictions were mandated.

### Speaker's Opening Statement

---

Speaker Blake opened the sitting by congratulating participants of the 18<sup>th</sup> Youth Parliament which was held prior to this sitting. There were participants from most of the Northwest Territories ridings. Many Members volunteered their time to serve as pages during Youth Parliament session. The Youth Parliamentarians read statements and moved and debated motions on various topics.

The Speaker also thanked the Prince of Wales and Duchess of Cornwall for their visit to the Northwest Territories during their Canadian tour in May. In addition to visiting Yellowknife, the Prince and Duchess first visited the Indigenous community of Dettah, which was attended by many Indigenous Leaders from other communities. The Prince of Wales and Duchess of Cornwall observed traditional ceremonies, demonstrations of traditional games, and a drum dance in which the Prince participated in.

During the spring of 2022, the territory experienced unprecedented flooding affecting thousands of residents. Speaker Blake thanked the volunteers and community for their kindness and generosity during this time of need.

### **Speaker's Decisions**

---

On May 30, the Member for Yellowknife Centre rose on a Point of Order alleging that the Member for Tu Nedhé-Wiilideh made allegations against her and imputed false motives.

The Speaker took it under advisement and on May 31, 2022, Speaker Blake ruled that the Member for Tu Nedhé-Wiilideh made comments that went beyond what is appropriate debate, stating:

I expect Members of this House to conduct themselves appropriately. The language you use in the House should reflect this. While it is appropriate to share what constituents are saying to you, you must share those concerns in a manner that is consistent with the rules.

The Member for Tu Nedhé-Wiilideh was asked to apologize to the House and withdraw the specific remarks found out of order. The Member refused and in accordance with Rule 3.4(1) was suspended from the House for the remainder of the sitting day.

### **Legislation**

---

During the May/June 2022 Sitting, the Assembly considered and passed several Bills. The following Bills received Assent on June 3, 2022:

- Bill 40 *An Act to Amend the Medical Profession Act*
- Bill 46 *An Act to Amend the Motor Vehicles Act*
- Bill 47 *An Act to Amend the Employment Standards Act, No. 2*
- Bill 54 *Supplementary Appropriation Act (Operations Expenditures), No. 1, 2022-2023*
- Bill 55 *Supplementary Appropriation Act (Infrastructure Expenditures), No. 1, 2022-2023*

### **Motions**

---

The following motions were passed during the Spring 2022 sitting:

- 53-19(2) Appointments to the Standing Committees on Social Development and Government Operations

- 54-19(2) Improving Health Care in Small Communities
- 55-19(2) Appointment of Integrity Commissioner
- 56-19(2) Reappointment of Human Rights Commission Member
- 57-19(2) Housing NWT Transfers to Long-Term Tenants
- 58-19(2) A Strategy to Match Canada's Population Growth
- 59-19(2) Extended Adjournment of the House to October 13, 2022

### **Statutory Officers of the Legislative Assembly**

---

*Re-appointment of Integrity Commissioner*

**David Phillip Jones** was re-appointed as Integrity Commissioner effective June 2, 2022.

*Re-appointment of Human Rights Commission Member*

**Gail Cyr** of the City of Yellowknife, was re-appointed as a Member, for a term of four years.

### **Committee Business: Appointments to Standing Committees:**

---

*Standing Committee on Social Development*

The Member for Tu Nedhé-Wiilideh was appointed.

The Member for Hay River South was appointed as alternate.

*Standing Committee on Government Operations*

The Member for Tu Nedhé-Wiilideh.

### **Committee Reports**

---

Standing Committee on Social Development

- Report on Bill 40: *An Act to Amend the Medical Profession Act*

Standing Committee on Government Operations:

- Report on the Review of the 2020-2021 Annual Report of the Information and Privacy Commissioner
- Report on the Review of the Languages Commissioner for the Northwest Territories Annual Report 2020-2021



## Special Committee on Reconciliation and Indigenous Affairs

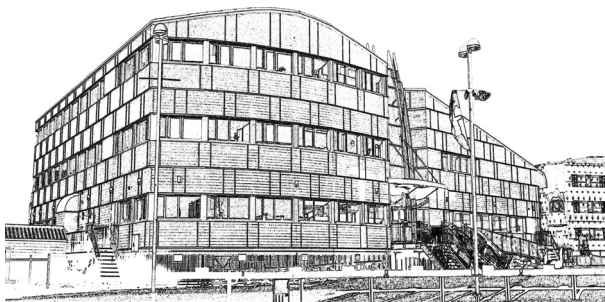
- Interim Report: What We Heard About the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Negotiating Agreements

### Committee Travel

---

With the lifting of restrictions due to COVID-19 pandemic, Committees have begun travelling into the communities and have resumed in-person public meetings.

**Cynthia James**  
Committee Clerk



# Nunavut

### House Proceedings

---

The winter 2022 sitting of the 1<sup>st</sup> Session of the 6<sup>th</sup> Legislative Assembly convened on March 7, 2022, and was prorogued on March 21, 2022. The proceedings of the Committee of the Whole during the winter 2022 sitting were dominated by the consideration of the government's proposed 2022-2023 capital estimates.

Three bills received Assent during the winter 2022 sitting:

- Bill 1, *Interim Appropriation (Operations and Maintenance) Act, 2022-2023*;
- Bill 2, *Appropriation (Capital) Act, 2022-2023*; and
- Bill 3, *Supplementary Appropriation (Operations and Maintenance) Act, No. 2, 2021-2022*.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Session of the 6<sup>th</sup> Legislative Assembly opened on March 22, 2022. Commissioner **Eva Qamaniq Aariak** delivered the Opening Address.

The spring 2022 sitting of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Session of the 6<sup>th</sup> Legislative Assembly convened on May 25, 2022,

and concluded on June 13, 2022. The proceedings of the Committee of the Whole during the spring 2022 sitting were dominated by the consideration of the government's proposed 2022-2023 main estimates.

Six bills received Assent during the spring 2022 sitting:

- Bill 1, *Appropriation (Operations and Maintenance) Act, 2022-2023*;
- Bill 2, *Supplementary Appropriation (Capital) Act, No. 1, 2022-2023*;
- Bill 3, *Write-Off of Assets and Debts Act, 2020-2021*;
- Bill 5, *An Act to Amend Certain Acts Respecting the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation*;
- Bill 6, *An Act to Amend the Judicature Act*; and
- Bill 7, *Interim Language of Instruction Act*.

### Appointment of New Member of the Executive Council

---

The House was recalled for a one-day sitting held on April 20, 2022, to consider a report submitted by the Integrity Commissioner of Nunavut in respect to the Minister of Human Resources, **Adam Arreak Lightstone**, MLA for Iqaluit-Manirajak. A motion to accept the report was moved by Iqaluit-Sinaa MLA **Janet Pitsiulaaq Brewster** and seconded by Arviat North-Whale Cove MLA **John Main**. Mr. Lightstone spoke to the motion and announced his resignation from the Executive Council. The motion was carried unanimously.

The House immediately recessed and the Nunavut Leadership Forum, which consists of all Members of the Legislative Assembly, subsequently convened. The Forum is used to conduct the selection process for the Speaker, Premier, and members of the Executive Council of Nunavut. The Forum's proceedings were televised live. Three Members accepted nominations to serve on the Executive Council. After delivering remarks, the candidates responded to questions posed by their colleagues. Baker Lake MLA **Craig Simailak** was elected after one round of balloting. The House subsequently reconvened and a formal motion recommending his appointment was moved and adopted.

### Committee Hearing

---

From April 26-27, 2022, the Standing Committee on Oversight of Government Operations and Public Accounts held a televised hearing on the *2021 Report of the Auditor General of Canada to the Legislative Assembly*

of Nunavut: Follow-up Audit on Corrections in Nunavut. Standing Committee Chair and Iqaluit-Tasiluk MLA **George Hickes** subsequently presented the standing committee's report to the House at its sitting of May 31, 2022.

### Electoral Boundaries Commission

---

On June 13, 2022, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and Gjoa Haven MLA **Tony Akoak** announced that the next Nunavut Electoral Boundaries Commission will be established during the fall 2022 sitting of the Legislative Assembly. The Commission will consist of three members and be presided over by a judge or retired judge of the Nunavut Court of Justice or the Court of Appeal. The other two members must be eligible Nunavut voters. Speaker Akoak's announcement invited qualified Nunavummiut to submit applications to serve on the Commission.

Section 14 of the *Nunavut Elections Act* requires that an electoral boundaries commission "must be established for Nunavut every 10 years commencing in 2022." The last electoral boundaries commission was established in 2010. Its final report was tabled in the Legislative Assembly on September 28, 2011.

### Order of Nunavut

---

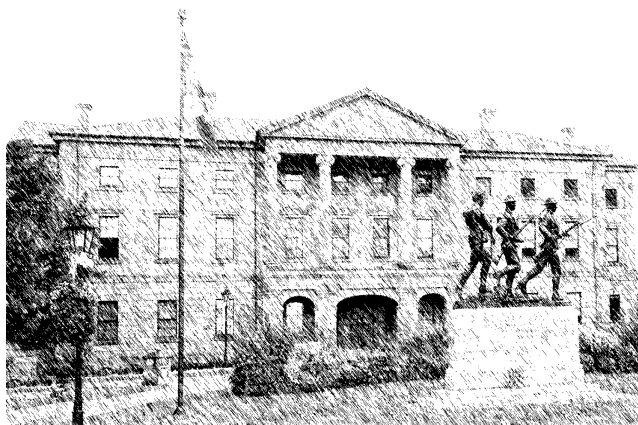
On June 13, 2022, the Order of Nunavut Advisory Council, which is chaired by Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and Gjoa Haven MLA **Tony Akoak**, announced that the 2021 appointments to the Order would be **Maryanne Inuarq Tattuinee** and **Dorothy Atuat Tootoo** of Rankin Inlet.

Maryanne Inuarq Tattuinee is a respected Elder who has provided counselling and guidance to generations of young people. Ms. Tattuinee is renowned for the aid and comfort that she provided to Inuit receiving treatment for tuberculosis at the Clearwater Lake Sanatorium during the 1950s. Ms. Tattuinee participated in the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls.

Dorothy Atuat Tootoo's career has included significant roles with Nunavut Arctic College and the Royal Canadian Army Cadet Corps. Ms. Tootoo is a long-time community volunteer who has been recognized with numerous awards, including the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal and the Governor General's Polar Medal.

**Alex Baldwin**

Office of the Legislative Assembly of Nunavut



## Prince Edward Island

### 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, 66<sup>th</sup> General Assembly

---

The House adjourned to the call of the Speaker on May 6, 2022, after sitting for 36 days during the Winter-Spring period. The 2<sup>nd</sup> session of the 66<sup>th</sup> General Assembly opened in February 2021.

### Government and Private Member's Bills

---

During the Winter-Spring sitting, the House reviewed 27 bills. Nine of these bills did not progress beyond first reading; all others passed and received Royal Assent.

Most bills originated with Government, mostly to amend existing legislation. These included Bill 56, *An Act to Amend the Education Act*, which re-establishes an elected school board for the Public Schools Branch, PEI's English-language school authority, and Bill 60, *An Act to Amend the Climate Leadership Act*, which sets a new carbon pricing framework for the province. The latter bill was unusual in that the motion for its second reading was debated over three sitting days; debate on most bills in PEI takes place during Committee of the Whole House instead. Debate mainly focused on whether Government should use carbon pricing revenue to fund climate change programs or return it to Islanders in the form of refunds. The House also passed Bill 19, *Temporary Foreign Worker Protection Act*, which had been introduced in 2021, referred to a standing committee and amended as a result of that committee's report. The bill aims to protect temporary foreign workers by imposing licensing, registration, and other obligations on recruiters and employers.

Three private member's bills were passed during the sitting. Bill 125, *An Act to Amend the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act*, replaces the definition of "officer of the Legislative Assembly" in the parent Act with a more general definition that covers current officers and officers that may be provided for in future legislation. Bill 123, *An Act to Amend the Real Property Tax Act*, empowers the Minister of Finance to waive penalties or interest on unpaid property taxes when satisfied that the reason for non-payment is beyond the control of the property owner. This bill had a winding trip through the House, with several days of debate in Committee of the Whole House, amendment, and re-referral to committee at the third reading stage, but did ultimately pass. Finally, Bill 124, *Emancipation Day Proclamation Act*, establishes August 1 as Emancipation Day in Prince Edward Island to serve as a reminder of the need to eliminate discrimination in all its forms.

### 2022-23 Operating Budget

---

After reviewing the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure in Committee of the Whole House over several days, the House passed Bill 65, *Appropriation Act (Current Expenditures) 2022* on May 6, approving an operating budget of \$2.6 billion for the 2022-23 fiscal year. A deficit of \$92.9 million is forecast.

### Rule Changes: Recognition of Guests and Parliamentary Calendar

---

During the Winter-Spring sitting the House modified the *Rules of the Legislative Assembly of Prince Edward Island* by adopting two reports by the Standing Committee on Rules, Regulations, Private Bills, and Privileges. The first report recommended changes to the "Matters of privilege and recognition of guests" segment of the Ordinary Daily Routine to limit members to 45 seconds in their recognition of guests, except leaders of recognized parties, who shall have no time limit. The second report recommended changing the parliamentary calendar to begin the fall sitting on the first Tuesday in November instead of the third Tuesday in October, and to discontinue the practice of not sitting every fourth week when the House is in session. These non-sitting weeks, called "planning weeks", had been part of the calendar since January 2021. The rule changes took immediate effect upon the adoption of the reports.

### Speaker's Ruling

---

On April 28, Minister of Fisheries and Communities **Jamie Fox** rose on a point of order to interrupt

proceedings in order to provide information about a Government program. The following day, Speaker **Colin LaVie** chastised the Minister for using a point of order in this manner, as it was "in no way, shape or form" an actual point of order.

**Ryan Reddin**

Director of Parliamentary Research



## Ontario

The final session of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Parliament witnessed the return of the Committee of the Whole House and several reports by Committees. The Provincial Election was held on June 2, 2022.

### Committee of the Whole House

---

For the first time in 20 years, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole House following the referral of a few Private Members' Bills. On March 29, 2022, *Bill 105, An Act to proclaim the month of May as Armenian Heritage Month* was considered by the Committee and reported without amendments. Subsequently, on April 7, 2022, the House again resolved into a committee and, after some time, rose and reported two Bills without amendments: *Bill 112, An Act to proclaim Green Shirt Day*; and *Bill 45, An Act to proclaim Ontario Cadets Week*.

### Dissolution and 2022 Ontario Election

---

On May 3, 2022, a proclamation was issued dissolving the 42<sup>nd</sup> Parliament of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. Writs for a general election for Members to serve in the 43<sup>rd</sup> Parliament were prepared by the Chief Electoral Officer and signed by the Lieutenant Governor. The writs were issued bearing the date of May 4, 2022. The election returned a Progressive Conservative majority with Premier **Doug Ford** securing his second consecutive term.



Overall, the membership of the Legislature will be 83 Progressive Conservatives, 31 New Democrats, eight Liberals, one Green, and one independent Member. Of the 124 Members elected, 36 will take their seats as new Members.

The 43<sup>rd</sup> Parliament will also see a familiar two-recognized-party structure with the Progressive Conservatives and New Democrats obtaining recognized party status. The Ontario Liberals secured eight seats, falling shy of the 12 seats needed for recognized party status.

### Condolences

---

The House expressed its condolence on the passing of several former Members during the second session of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Parliament, including:

**Hugh Alden Edighoffer**, Member for the Electoral District of Perth from September 17, 1967, to September 5, 1990, and served as Speaker from 1985 to 1990.

**Michael James Breough**, Member for the Electoral District of Oshawa from September 18, 1975, to September 5, 1990.

**Harry Craig Parrott**, Member for the Electoral District of Oxford from October 21, 1971, to March 18, 1981.

**Bette M. Stephenson**, Member for the Electoral District of York Mills from September 18, 1975, to September 9, 1987.

**Aileen Carroll**, Member for the Electoral District of Barrie from October 10, 2007, to October 5, 2011.

**Stuart Lyon Smith**, Member for the Electoral District of Hamilton West from September 18, 1975, to January 24, 1982.

**Walter R. Elliot**, Member for the Electoral District of Halton North from September 10, 1987, to September 5, 1990.

**Claude Frederick Bennett**, Member for the Electoral District of Ottawa South from October 21, 1971, to September 9, 1987.

**Marvin Leonard Shore**, Member for the Electoral District of London North from September 18, 1975, to June 8, 1977.

**William Walter Barlow**, Member for the Electoral District of Cambridge from March 19, 1981, to September 9, 1987.

### Committee Activities

---

#### *Standing Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs*

The Standing Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs tabled its Report on the Pre-Budget Consultations 2022 on March 24, 2022. The Committee heard from a total of 137 witnesses during public hearings held over three weeks in January and received over 300 written submissions. The Committee also considered both Bill 106, *An Act to enact two Acts and amend various other Acts*, and Bill 111, *An Act to amend the Fuel Tax Act and the Gasoline Tax Act with respect to a temporary reduction to the tax payable on certain clear fuel and on gasoline*.

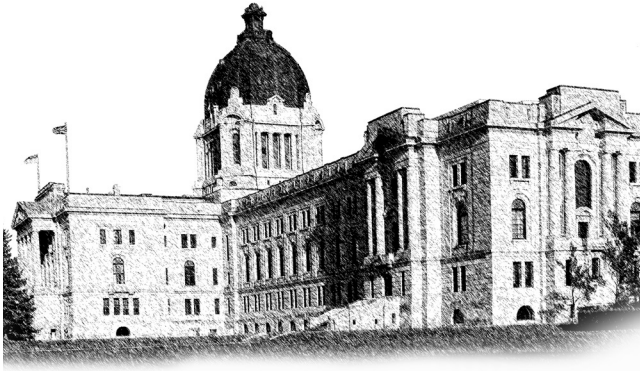
#### *Standing Committee on Public Accounts*

The Standing Committee on Public Accounts held public hearings to examine the Auditor General's value-for-money audits on the COVID-19 Personal Protective Equipment Supply (2021 Annual Report of the Office of the Auditor General) and Ontario Motor Vehicle Industry Council (2021 Annual Report of the Office of the Auditor General). The Committee also met for report writing on the Condominium Oversight in Ontario (2020 Annual Report of the Office of the Auditor General). Lastly, the Committee tabled its report on Electrical Safety Authority (2020 Annual Report of the Office of the Auditor General of Ontario).

#### *Standing Committee on Regulations and Private Bills*

The Standing Committee on Regulations and Private Bills met to consider several Private Bills. During the month of April, eight Bills were reported back to the House. Amongst the Bills reported back, *Bill Pr65, An Act respecting the Ross Memorial Hospital* was debated in the House and carried on division. Unlike public bills, it is not typical for the motion for second reading to be debated in the House. It is also rare that a division is required for both second and third reading of a Private Bill. Furthermore, the Committee recommended that *Bill Pr63, An Act to revive Superior Corporate Services Limited*, be not reported. Finally, on April 28, 2022, the Committee tabled its First Report 2022 relating to regulations filed from July to December 2020.

**Vanessa Kattar**  
Committee Clerk



## Saskatchewan

### Adjournment of the spring sitting

---

The Assembly adjourned the spring sitting of the second session of the twenty-ninth legislature on May 19, 2022, until October 26, 2022. Prior to adjournment, committees spent 74 hours considering the estimates of ministries, agencies, and Crown corporations before the sums were reported, approved, and included in an appropriation bill. On May 18, 2022, Lieutenant Governor **Russ Mirasty** gave royal assent to 47 bills, including the appropriation bill, bringing the total number of bills passed this session to 52.

### Expeditious passage of bills

---

Of note during the spring sitting was the swift passage of Bill No. 85, *The Taxpayers' Fairness (CPR) Act*, which was introduced on May 9, 2022, and immediately passed through all subsequent stages of business. The bill, which pertains to the tax status of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company (CPR), deems valid all taxes imposed on, collected from, and paid by CPR, and deems valid the abolishment of any exemption regarding these taxes. It further stipulates that no proceedings may be launched against the Crown on this subject and removes the Crown of any liability for imposing or collecting these taxes after August 29, 1966.

The introduction of this legislation came in the wake of both the House of Commons and Senate of Canada's adoption of resolutions in early 2022 authorizing an amendment to the Canadian constitution. The constitutional amendment, requested by the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan in late 2021, repealed section 24 of the *Saskatchewan Act*, which dealt with a tax exemption granted to CPR by the

federal government in 1905. This tax exemption is the subject of an ongoing court case in which CPR is suing the Government of Saskatchewan for \$341 million in taxes it has paid.

The government and opposition also found common cause to give expeditious passage to a second piece of legislation during the spring sitting. Bill No. 78, *The Opioid Damages and Health Care Costs Recovery Amendment Act, 2022*, which was introduced on March 24, 2022, preserves the province's right to take legal action against opioid manufacturers and distributors for their role in the ongoing addiction and overdose crisis in Saskatchewan. The bill received second reading on April 4, 2022, was immediately considered in Committee of the Whole on Bills, and was read a third time and passed the same day.

### Motion pursuant to rule 61

---

Rule 61 of the *Rules and Procedures of the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan* allows a motion to be moved without the usual two days' notice by unanimous consent of the Assembly in cases of urgent and pressing necessity. Throughout the second session of the twenty-ninth legislature, seven motions were moved pursuant to this rule, the largest number since 2002-03. Of these, three were given leave, debated, and passed.

The final debate pursuant to rule 61 occurred on May 5, 2022, when Justice and Attorney General Minister **Gordon Wyant** moved a motion regarding missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls. The motion expressed the Assembly's support for the Federation of Sovereign Indigenous Nations' (FSIN) Articles of the *Declaration to Honour Indigenous Women and Girls*. Twelve members, from both sides of the Assembly, spoke to the motion before it was passed on a recorded vote of 45-0.

### Bill No. 70 — *The Legislative Assembly Amendment Act, 2021*

---

Bill No. 70, *The Legislative Assembly Amendment Act, 2021*, introduced by the government during the fall sitting, reduces the jurisdiction of the Legislative Protective Service, led by the Sergeant-at-Arms. The bill redefines the term "legislative precinct" to consist of the floor of the Chamber of the Legislative Assembly; establishes a "legislative district" which encompasses the remainder of the Legislative Building and a defined parcel of land surrounding it (previously the Legislative Precinct); and provides for

the government to appoint a Director of Legislative Security who is responsible through the Ministry of Corrections, Policing and Public Safety for the security of this district.

During the spring sitting, Bill No. 70 proceeded through the remaining stages of consideration. On April 6, 2022, opposition MLA **Nicole Sarauer** moved an amendment at second reading outlining the reasons for which the opposition disagreed with the bill in principle. The reasoned amendment was negatived on a recorded vote of 11-42 on May 4, 2022, and second reading of Bill 70 was agreed to on division. The bill was then committed to the Standing Committee on Intergovernmental Affairs and Justice.

As per the *Rules and Procedures of the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan*, any government bill introduced during the fall period that has received at least 20 hours of debate is required to be voted on the day prior to completion day. Such bills are referred to as specified bills. Bill 70 reached its 20-hour threshold of debate during committee consideration and, in accordance with the rules, the Standing Committee on Intergovernmental Affairs and Justice met on May 18, 2022, to vote on a combined question on all clauses of the bill. The bill was reported back to the Assembly without amendment and received third reading on a recorded vote of 44-12. The bill was given royal assent later that day.

### **Naming of two members**

---

On the second last day of the spring sitting, two MLAs were named and removed from the Chamber in separate incidents. It was the first time a member was named in Saskatchewan since 2017, and the first time two members were named on the same day since 1993.

The first incident involved independent MLA **Nadine Wilson**, who made unparliamentary remarks towards a minister and then refused to withdraw and apologize when asked to do so by the Speaker. Ms. Wilson was subsequently named and removed from the Chamber.

The second incident involved opposition MLA **Doyle Vermette**, who used expletive language and accused government members of being untruthful while asking a question regarding suicide prevention during question period. While Speaker **Randy Weekes** did not initially ask Mr. Vermette to withdraw and apologize, he later did, at which point Mr. Vermette

repeatedly refused to do so. He was accordingly named and removed from the Chamber.

### **Resignation of the Leader of the Opposition**

---

On May 19, 2022, the final day of the spring sitting, Opposition Leader **Ryan Meili** announced his resignation as MLA for Saskatoon Meewasin, effective July 1, 2022. This followed an announcement made by Mr. Meili in February that he would be stepping down as Leader of the Opposition but would continue to serve in the position until the New Democratic Party had chosen a new leader.

Following Mr. Meili's resignation, the composition of the Assembly is now 48 Saskatchewan Party members, 11 NDP members, one independent member, and one vacancy.

### **New Leader of the Opposition**

---

The Saskatchewan New Democratic Party held its leadership convention on June 26, 2022, and selected a new leader, **Carla Beck**, MLA for Regina Lakeview. Subsequently, Ms. Beck was named the Leader of the Opposition.

### **Cabinet shuffle and changes to House leadership**

---

On May 31, 2022, Premier **Scott Moe** announced several changes to his cabinet.

Five cabinet ministers switched portfolios:

- **Jim Reiter** became the Minister of Energy and Resources;
- **Gordon Wyant** became the Minister of Advanced Education;
- **Bronwyn Eyre** became the Minister of Justice and Attorney General;
- **Gene Makowsky** became the Minister of Social Services; and
- **Lori Carr** became the Minister of SaskBuilds and Procurement, Minister Responsible for the Public Service Commission, Minister Responsible for Saskatchewan Liquor and Gaming Authority, and Minister Responsible for the Global Transportation Hub Authority.

Two MLAs entered cabinet for the first time:

- **Jeremy Cockrill** became the Minister of Highways and Minister Responsible for Saskatchewan Water Security Agency; and



- **Dana Skoropad** became the Minister of Environment.

Ten cabinet ministers retained their current portfolios:

- **Donna Harpauer**, Deputy Premier and Minister of Finance;
- **Don Morgan**, Minister of Labour Relations and Workplace Safety, Minister of Crown Investments Corporation, Minister Responsible for SaskEnergy Incorporated, Minister Responsible for Saskatchewan Gaming Corporation, Minister Responsible for Saskatchewan Government Insurance, Minister Responsible for Saskatchewan Power Corporation, Minister Responsible for Saskatchewan Telecommunications, Minister Responsible for Saskatchewan Water Corporation, and Minister Responsible for the Saskatchewan Workers' Compensation Board;
- **Dustin Duncan**, Minister of Education;
- **Christine Tell**, Minister of Corrections, Policing and Public Safety and Minister Responsible for the Firearms Secretariat;
- **Jeremy Harrison**, Minister of Trade and Export Development, Minister of Immigration and Career Training, Minister Responsible for Innovation, and Minister Responsible for Tourism Saskatchewan;
- **David Marit**, Minister of Agriculture and Minister Responsible for Saskatchewan Crop Insurance Corporation;
- **Paul Merriman**, Minister of Health;
- **Don McMorris**, Minister of Government Relations, Minister Responsible for First Nations, Metis and Northern Affairs, and Minister Responsible for the Provincial Capital Commission;
- **Laura Ross**, Minister of Parks, Culture and Sport and Minister Responsible for the Status of Women; and
- **Everett Hindley**, Minister of Mental Health and Addictions, Seniors and Rural and Remote Health.

In addition to these changes, **Tim McLeod** was appointed to the role of Provincial Secretary, as well as Legislative Secretary to the Premier. Eight additional legislative secretaries were appointed:

- **Lyle Stewart** as Legislative Secretary to the Premier (Provincial Autonomy);
- **Terry Dennis** as Legislative Secretary to the Minister of Trade and Export Development (Saskatchewan-Ukraine Relations);

- **Daryl Harrison** as Legislative Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture (Value Added Agriculture/Livestock Engagement);
- **Todd Goudy** as Legislative Secretary to the Minister of Education;
- **Alana Ross** as Legislative Secretary to the Minister of Energy and Resources (Forestry);
- **Jim Lemaigre** as Legislative Secretary to the Minister of Mental Health and Addictions, Seniors and Rural and Remote Health;
- **Marv Friesen** as Legislative Secretary to the Minister of Parks, Culture and Sport (Francophone Affairs Liaison); and
- **Terry Jenson** as Legislative Secretary to the Minister of Social Services.

Two changes were also made to the government House leadership team, with Ms. Carr named Deputy Government House Leader and Ms. Alana Ross named Deputy Government Whip. Mr. Jeremy Harrison and **Greg Ottenbreit** retained their roles of Government House Leader and Government Whip, respectively.

#### **Changes to committee membership**

---

Following the cabinet shuffle, many changes were made to the membership of the standing committees. Three new chairs and one new deputy chair were elected: **Fred Bradshaw** was elected Chair of the Standing Committee on Crown and Central Agencies, **Derek Meyers** was elected Chair of the Standing Committee on Human Services, Mr. Dennis was elected Chair of the Standing Committee on Intergovernmental Affairs and Justice, and **Joe Hargrave** was elected Deputy Chair of the Standing Committee on Public Accounts.

#### **New Table Officer**

---

**Rob Park** has been promoted to the position of Clerk Assistant and Table Officer. Mr. Park first joined the Legislative Assembly Service of Saskatchewan in 2008 as a committee administrator and progressed through the roles of committee clerk, procedural clerk, and, most recently, senior procedural clerk. Mr. Park has gained experience at the Table on a rotational basis in recent years.

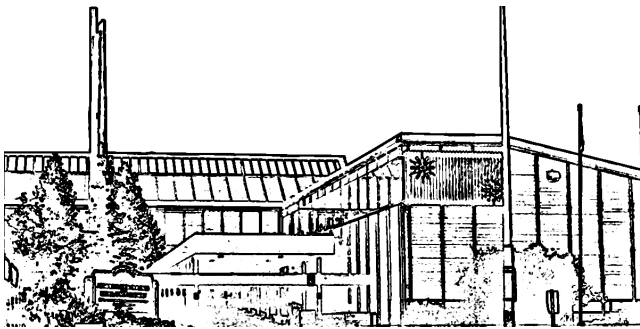
In addition to this change, **Kathy Burianyk** has been promoted from Clerk Assistant to Principal Clerk.

## Saskatchewan Teachers' Institute on Parliamentary Democracy

---

From April 30 to May 4, 2022, Speaker Weekes, with the assistance of the Legislative Assembly Service, hosted 18 teachers from across the province for the 22nd Saskatchewan Teachers' Institute on Parliamentary Democracy. The non-partisan professional development program, which had been suspended during the COVID-19 pandemic, allows teachers the opportunity to gain a better understanding of Saskatchewan's system of parliamentary democracy by observing it firsthand. Participants had the opportunity to meet with the Speaker, ministers, caucus leaders, Whips, and Chairs, as well as members of the judiciary, the media, and the Lieutenant Governor. They also attended information sessions provided by the Legislative Assembly Service.

**Miranda Gudereit**  
Procedural Assistant



## Yukon

### 2022 Spring Sitting

---

The 2022 Spring Sitting of the First Session of the 35<sup>th</sup> Legislative Assembly commenced on March 3 and concluded on April 28, the 32<sup>nd</sup> sitting day.

### Main budget bill assented to

---

As detailed in Yukon's preceding Legislative Report, prior to the final day of the Sitting, eight government bills (six amending bills, a supplementary budget bill, and the interim supply bill) were assented to by Commissioner **Angélique Bernard**. A ninth government bill – the almost \$2 billion main budget bill – was assented to on April 28. On that final day of the Sitting, the only government bill remaining on

the Order Paper was Bill No. 204, *First Appropriation Act 2022-23* (**Sandy Silver**), which was in Committee of the Whole.

Pursuant to the Sessional Order adopted on March 8, 2022, the application of Standing Order 76 (a standing order referred to as "the guillotine clause") was restricted to appropriation bills during the 2022 Spring Sitting. Accordingly, at 5:00 p.m. on the final day of the Sitting, Bill No. 204 was expedited through the remaining stages and was assented to.

### Private Member's bill assented to

---

On April 6, as previously noted, a private member's bill standing in the name of Third Party House Leader **Emily Tredger** was reported from Committee of the Whole with amendment. As summarized in the bill's explanatory note, the object of Bill No. 304, *Act to Amend the Education Act*, was to ensure that all Yukon schools "have safe spaces for LGBTQ2S+ students in the form of student activities or organizations."

On April 20, Bill No. 304 passed third reading (15 yea, nil nay), and on April 28, was assented to by Commissioner Bernard.

It had been a decade since a private member's bill had last progressed through all stages. On April 25, 2012, a private member's bill standing in the name of Official Opposition MLA **Jan Stick** – Bill No. 102, *Act to Amend the Ombudsman Act* (a bill seeking to delete the sunset clause in *the Ombudsman Act*) – passed third reading and received assent.

### Report of the Auditor General of Canada

---

Deputy Auditor General **Andrew Hayes** and other officials from the Office of the Auditor General of Canada (OAG) were in Whitehorse on May 25, 2022, to present a performance audit report on Yukon housing: *Report of the Auditor General of Canada to the Legislative Assembly of Yukon – Yukon Housing – Yukon Housing Corporation – Department of Health and Social Services*. They presented the report to Deputy Speaker **Annie Blake**, and later that morning provided an in-camera briefing on the report to MLAs in the Chamber. The report, which was critical of progress made on certain long-standing issues that had been the subject of previous performance audits, concluded "... [t]ransformative changes are required to support Yukoners in need of housing." Pursuant to Standing Order 45(3), the report stands referred to the Standing Committee on Public Accounts.

## **Special Committee on Electoral Reform**

---

As noted previously, the Special Committee on Electoral Reform held virtual hearings to hear from expert witnesses in late January and late March. The committee held an additional video conference hearing in late April.

The membership of the three-person committee comprises chair **Kate White**, who is the Third Party Leader, Government House Leader **John Streicker** and Opposition MLA **Brad Cathers**.

The results of a survey of Yukon residents that had been conducted on behalf of the committee by the Yukon Bureau of Statistics (YBS) are posted online in the YBS's May 31 report, *Yukon Electoral Reform Survey Report*, and a June 3 news release by the committee. The report noted that over 17 per cent of eligible residents (aged 16 years and up) took part in the survey.

On May 30, the committee held a town-hall style public hearing in Whitehorse. The hybrid hearing

included Zoom participants. In July, additional town-hall style, hybrid public hearings are planned for Carmacks, Mayo, Haines Junction, Teslin, and Watson Lake. As well, in early September, the Committee will hold a hybrid public hearing in Dawson City and a second one in Whitehorse.

The committee's amended reporting deadline (originally, the deadline was March 31, 2021) provides for the committee to report to the House during the 2022 Fall Sitting of the Legislative Assembly.

## **Governor General's visit**

---

Governor General **Mary Simon** and her spouse, **Whit Fraser**, were in Yukon from June 26 to 28. Their Excellencies' first official visit to the territory began on June 26 at the office of the Commissioner of Yukon – Taylor House – and the following day included a meeting with Premier Silver. During the official visit, the Legislative Assembly was adjourned for the summer recess.

**Linda Kolody**  
Deputy Clerk



# Prince Edward Island's Famous Five

Most historically conscious Canadians are familiar with the original Famous Five, the five Alberta women whose 1927-1929 Supreme Court of Canada petition (the Persons Case) finally established women as persons in the eyes of the law. The victorious quintet – activists Henrietta Muir Edwards, Nellie McClung, Louise Crummy McKinney, Emily Murphy and Irene Parlby – became icons as champions of women's rights. But fewer Canadians know about Prince Edward Island's local version of the Famous Five from 1993, when women occupied five key executive and parliamentary positions in PEI's provincial administration – the first such landmark representation in any Canadian political jurisdiction.

Sean McQuaid

## The Callbeck Comeback

---

With or without the rest of the latter-day Famous Five, 1993 would have marked a historic breakthrough for **Catherine Callbeck**. A Prince Edward Island political veteran who had served as a 1970s provincial MLA and Cabinet minister, Callbeck had left PEI politics to concentrate on her family's business (Callbecks Ltd.) in 1978. Returning to elected politics a decade later as a federal MP in 1988, Callbeck came back to provincial politics in 1993 when she ran successfully for the newly vacant leadership of PEI's then-ruling Liberals, becoming the party's first female leader and PEI's first female Premier. Appointed **Premier** in January, she became PEI's (and Canada's) first-ever elected female Premier in the subsequent March election.

## The Mella Factor

---

It was a tough year to be a Progressive Conservative. The federal version of the party would be reduced to a mere two seats in the 1993 federal election, and PEI's provincial PCs had even worse luck that March, when the party was reduced to a single seat. That lone opposition seat was filled by **Pat Mella**. Once a faculty member at Ottawa's St. Patrick's College, Mella had come home to raise her family and pursue a teaching career in PEI's secondary schools. She won the leadership of the provincial Progressive Conservative party in 1990 and became the first female leader of a political party in PEI history. The 1993 campaign pitting her PCs against the Callbeck Liberals marked the first election in which both main contenders for the Premier's job were women. As the only PEI PC

elected in 1993, Mella served as **Leader of the Official Opposition** in the Legislative Assembly thereafter.

## Speakers Three

---

Callbeck and Mella were not the only prominent women in the 1993 Legislative Assembly. The hon. **Nancy Guptill**, a Liberal MLA since 1987 (and a 1989-1993 Cabinet minister), was elected **Speaker** of the Legislative Assembly after the 1993 election, and her caucus colleague **Elizabeth "Libbe" Hubley** (an MLA since 1989) became the new **Deputy Speaker**. Guptill and Hubley were the second women in PEI history to hold their respective posts. The first woman to serve in either of those roles on PEI was the hon. **Marion L. Reid**. First elected to the PEI Legislative Assembly in 1979, Reid had served as Deputy Speaker (1979-1983) and Speaker (1983-1986) before leaving electoral politics in 1989. Appointed as **Lieutenant Governor of Prince Edward Island** in 1990, she was the first woman to serve in that role in the province, as well as the first female Lieutenant Governor in Atlantic Canada.

## The Famous Five

---

With Reid already in place as Lieutenant Governor since 1990, the ascension of Callbeck, Mella, Guptill and Hubley to their new posts in 1993 meant that the five most powerful executive and parliamentary roles in PEI government were now filled by women, the first (and thus far only) time in PEI's history that women filled all five of those jobs simultaneously. It was also the first time anywhere in Canada that all five of those positions were held by women, an outcome yet to be repeated in any Canadian jurisdiction. The quintet became known as PEI's Famous Five.

---

*Sean McQuaid is a research officer at the Prince Edward Island Legislative Assembly.*





PEI's Famous Five in 1993 (below) and during their 25th anniversary reunion in 2018.

Reid left the Lieutenant Governor job in 1995, the others' stints in their respective posts all ended in 1996, and all five women were succeeded by men. But the Famous Five period remains a milestone for women's political representation in Canada, and others have since followed in their footsteps with PEI having had various female Speakers, Deputy Speakers and Lieutenant Governors in the ensuing years.

### Capturing the Moment

During the spring opening of the 1993 sitting of PEI's Legislative Assembly, the provincial government's official photographer Brian Simpson took a picture of the women later known as PEI's Famous Five. In October 2021, a framed enlargement of that photograph was placed on permanent display in the legislative chamber. Officials in attendance at a ceremony marking the occasion included all of PEI's current female MLAs: Trish Altass, Michele Beaton, Hannah Bell, Karla Bernard, Darlene Compton, Natalie Jameson and Lynne Lund.





