

Country Cases: Canada and the UK



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POL 002: Introduction to Comparative Politics

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Outline

1. The Canadian Party System
2. The electoral reform process
3. Three Cases
 - Canada
 - UK
 - New Zealand

Canadian Party System

Canada: a Matter of Perspective



CANADA
AMERICA'S HAT



AMERICA
CANADA'S PANTS

Canada: Federal Like Us



Most Canadian GIF Ever?



Johnston: Canada Is Polarizing

- Why does Johnston (2014) say Canada is polarizing?
- Traditionally one of the least polarized countries in the world.
 - Dominated by a centrist party, the Liberals
- The Conservatives and the NDP have grown and the Liberals have shrunk
- Has the electorate's ideology changed? No – but more are voting for the left or right rather than the center

Or Maybe Not: 2015 Election

- **Liberals**: 54% of seats (184)
- **Conservatives**: 29% of seats (99)
- **New Democratic Party**: 13% of seats (44)
- **Bloc Quebecois**: 3% of seats (10)
- **Green Party**: 0.3% of seats (1)

- **TOTAL SEATS: 338**

- Johnston (2014) does an excellent job describing trends in Canadian politics, but the future is hard to predict!

Electoral Reform

Ranking by Political Scientists

Table 2. Overall rankings of electoral systems

	Rank	Average	Number 1st prefs
MMP	1	2.37	52
STV	2	2.60	38
Open list PR	3	3.26	18
AV	4	4.01	10
Closed list PR	5	4.17	9
SMP	6	4.67	21
Runoff	7	4.9	7
MMM	8	5.18	3
SNTV	9	6.76	3

Notes: MMP (mixed member proportional); STV (single transferable vote); AV (alternative vote); SMP (single member plurality); MMM (mixed member majoritarian); SNTV (single non-transferable vote).

Source: McDougall Trust expert survey (total N = 169).

Phases of Electoral Reform

1. Pressure
2. Recognition
3. Initiation and consultation
4. Decision-making

Stage 1: Pressure

- Public demand arises, often due to “systemic failure”
- Failures could be a “reverse winner” or a “super-lopsided majority” in a plurality system
- Public pressure causes political elites to place electoral reform on the agenda

Stage 2: Recognition

- The party/parties in power weigh the pros and cons of electoral reform
- The executive then either supports or blocks reform
- What affects support or blockage?
 - *Outcome-contingent* factors
 - *Act-contingent* factors

Stage 3: Initiation and Consultation

- An independent committee is established to review the existing system and recommend changes
- Raises the public profile of electoral reform
- Usually reports back to the executive with its recommendations

Stage 4: Decision-Making

- The final choice must be somehow made about whether to undergo electoral reform
- This could come from an assembly vote, a public referendum, or by executive order
- Obstacles will likely be erected by those in power who benefit from the current system

Two Case Studies: BC and UK

Table 3. Comparative Dimensions of Analysis

Dimension	British Columbia	United Kingdom
Model of democracy	Majoritarian	Majoritarian
Written constitution	Yes	No
Constitutional configuration	Federal	Unitary
Level of government	Provincial	National
Population size	Small (4.4 million)	Large (60.78 million)
Recent examples of systemic failure	Yes	No
Evidence of political disaffection	Yes	Yes
Elite consensus	(Rhetorically) Yes. The Citizens' Assembly was established "with cross-party support." Research discovers tension within the Liberal Party.	No. The Labour Party was (and remains) internally divided over electoral reform for Westminster. The Conservative Party is against reform, and the Liberal Democrats support reform.
Public support	Yes	No.
Approach to reform	Bottom-up emphasis on public engagement and deliberation.	Top-down, elite-dominated process with little public consultation or engagement.

Electoral Reform Case: British Columbia

Vancouver, British Columbia



The Motivation for Reform

1997

2001

Party	% votes	% seats	% votes	% seats
BC Liberals	41.8	44	57.6	97
BC NDP	39.5	52	21.6	3
Green Party	2.0	0	12.4	0
Others	16.8	4	8.4	0

A Tale of Two Referenda

Electoral System	2005 Vote %	2009 Vote %
STV (reform)	57.7	39.1
FPTP (no reform)	42.3	60.9

Why Did BC Electoral Reform Fail?

- Why did electoral reform fail in 2005 despite earning majority support?
- Parliament required 60% popular support and 60% district support
- What was the justification? There was none!
- Why was this imposed despite the PM's support for reform?
 - Simply put, many members of the BC Liberal party opposed reform because they thought they would do worse under STV

A Third Shot? British Columbia 2017

- **Liberals**: 49% of seats (43)
- **New Democratic Party**: 47% of seats (41)
- **Green Party**: 3% of seats (3)

- TOTAL SEATS: 87

- Electoral reform was a major demand of the Green Party for supporting the NDP

- The NDP platform supported electoral reform – but not the liberals. Why?

2001**2005**

Party	% votes	% seats	% votes	% seats
BC Liberals	58	97	40	54
NDP	22	3	42	42
Green Party	12	0	9	0

2009**2013**

Party	% votes	% seats	% votes	% seats
BC Liberals	46	58	44	58
NDP	42	41	40	40
Green Party	8	0	8	1

BC Electoral Reform Referendum in 2018

- There will be a third referendum on electoral reform this fall
- Q1: Should BC keep FPTP or switch to PR?
- Q2: If PR, what kind?
 - MMP
 - Dual-member PR
 - M=2 districts. One seat FPTP, one compensatory province-wide
 - Rural-urban PR
 - MMP in rural areas, STV in urban ones

Electoral Reform Case: The United Kingdom

Electoral Systems in the UK

- We think of the UK as a strongly majoritarian country, but lots of jurisdictions do not use FPTP!

Table 4. Electoral Systems in the United Kingdom 2009

Jurisdiction	Electoral system
National (Westminster)	single-member plurality system
Scottish Parliament	Additional member system
Scottish local government	Single transferable vote
National Assembly for Wales	Additional member system
Northern Ireland Assembly	Single transferable vote
Greater London Assembly	Additional member system
London mayoral elections	Supplementary vote
European elections	Regional list system (STV in Northern Ireland)

- From 2000-2017, the UK has used six different electoral systems at various levels

Outcome-Contingent Support



- These are the UK prime ministers from 1966-2010
 - Red: Labour
 - Blue: Conservatives
- Why did Labour become pro-reform in the early 90's?
- Why did reform never take place between 1997-2010 when Labour controlled the government?

The New Labour Landslides

1997**2001**

Party	votes	seats	votes	seats
Labour	43.2%	63.4%	40.7%	62.5%
Conservatives	30.7%	25.0%	31.7%	25.2%
Liberal Democrats	16.8%	7.0%	18.3%	7.9%
Others	11.5%	4.6%	9.3%	4.4%

Electoral Reform Case: New Zealand

An electoral system working “too well”

New Zealand is classic case of an electoral system producing too much majoritarianism

New Zealand Electoral Statistics, 1978-1993

Party		1978	1981	1984	1987	1990	1993
Labour	Vote %	40.4	39.0	43.0	48.0	35.1	34.7
	Seat %	43.5	46.7	60.0	58.8	29.9	45.5
National	Vote %	39.8	38.8	35.9	44.0	47.8	35.0
	Seat %	55.4	51.1	37.9	41.2	69.1	50.5
Social Credit	Vote %	16.1	20.7	7.6	-	-	-
	Seat %	1.1	2.2	2.1	-	-	-
NZ Party	Vote %	-	-	12.3	0.3	-	-
	Seat %	-	-	0.0	0.0	-	-
*Alliance	Vote %	-	-	-	-	14.3	18.2
	Seat %	-	-	-	-	1.0	2.0
NZ First	Vote %	-	-	-	-	-	8.4
	Seat %	-	-	-	-	-	0.0

*The Alliance consists of several minor third parties, including Green, New Labour, Democrat and Mana Motuhake.

The Systemic Failures

New Zealand 1978

Party	% votes	seats	% seats
Labour	40.4	40	43.5
National	39.8	51	55.4
Social Credit	16.1	1	1.1

New Zealand 1981

Party	% votes	seats	% seats
Labour	39	43	46.7
National	38.8	47	51.1
Social Credit	20.7	2	2.2

1992 Referendum: Non-Binding

Q1

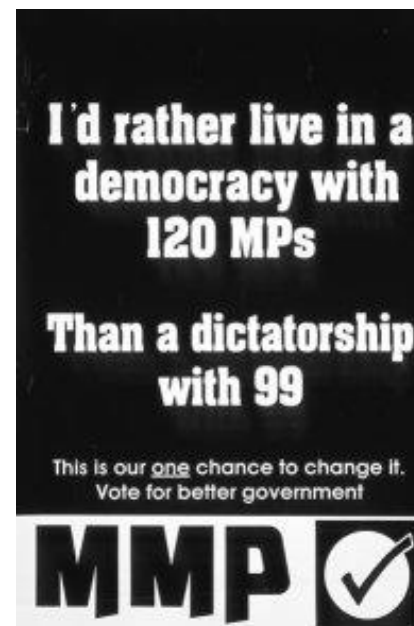
	Vote %
Keep FPTP	15.3
Change System	84.72

Q2

	Vote %
Alternative Vote (AV)	6.6
Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)	70.5
Mixed Member Majoritarian (MMM)	5.6
Single Transferable Vote (STV)	17.4

1993 Referendum: Binding

	Vote %
First Past the Post (FPTP)	46.1
Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)	53.9



MMP ballot

OFFICIAL MARK

[Consecutive Number]

YOU HAVE 2 VOTES

PARTY VOTE

Explanation
This vote decides the share of seats which each of the parties listed below will have in Parliament. Vote by putting a tick in the circle immediately after the party you choose.

Vote for only one party

ELECTORATE VOTE

Explanation
This vote decides the candidate who will be elected Member of Parliament for the [insert name] ELECTORATE. Vote by putting a tick in the circle immediately before the candidate you choose.

Vote for only one candidate

	Vote here	Vote here	
LABOUR	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ALLEN, Fred LABOUR
ACT NEW ZEALAND	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BARKER, Mary ACT NEW ZEALAND
NATIONAL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DENIS, Alistair NATIONAL
ALLIANCE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ELLIS, John ALLIANCE
THE GREENS, THE GREEN PARTY OF AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	GREIG, Tony THE GREENS, THE GREEN PARTY OF AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND
NZ FIRST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ILLOTT, Anne NZ FIRST
ROC	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MARTIN, Hamish ROC
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEMETH, Elizabeth CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS
UNITED NZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OSBERT, Sebastian UNITED NZ
CHRISTIAN HERITAGE PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PEOPLES, Wendy CHRISTIAN HERITAGE PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND
MCGILLICUDDY SERIOUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUENTIN, Oliver MCGILLICUDDY SERIOUS
TE TAWHARAU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RAWIRI, Whare TE TAWHARAU
REPUBLICAN PARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROSS, Arthur REPUBLICAN PARTY
DEMOCRATS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RUSCOE, Noel DEMOCRATS
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH, Eugene INDEPENDENT
ADVANCE NZ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TULIP, Belinda ADVANCE NZ
CONSERVATIVE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
SUPERANNUITANTS PARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

[insert party logo (if registered to the left of the name of the party)]

Final Directions

1. If you spoil this ballot paper, return it to the officer who issued it and apply for a new ballot paper.
2. After voting, fold this ballot paper so that its contents cannot be seen and place it in the ballot box.
3. You must not take this ballot paper out of the polling booth.

[insert party logo (if registered to the right of the name of the candidate)]

The effect of electoral reform: Indices

Year	D (LSq)		N(v)		N(s)		S
1972	12.06		2.43		1.87		87
1975	12.93		2.56		1.87		87
1978	15.55		2.87		2.01		92
1981	16.63		2.90		2.08		92
1984	15.40		2.99		1.98		95
1987	8.89		2.34		1.94		97
1990	17.24		2.77		1.74		97
1993	18.19	14.61	3.52	2.80	2.16	1.96	99
1996	3.43		4.27		3.76		120
1999	2.97		3.86		3.45		120
2002	2.37		4.17		3.76		120
2005	1.13		3.04		2.98		121
2008	3.84		3.07		2.78		122
2011	2.38	2.69	3.15	3.59	2.98	3.29	121

Period averages in red



2011 Referendum



Referendum on New Zealand's Voting System

*[INSERT ELECTORATE NAME
AND NUMBER]*

Official Mark

Explanation

1. You may vote in **both Part A and Part B** or you may vote in **only Part A** or **only Part B**.
2. Vote by putting a tick in the circle next to the option you choose.

Part A

Should New Zealand keep the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) voting system?



Vote for only one option

Vote Here

I vote to **keep** the MMP voting system



I vote to **change** to another voting system



Part B

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



Vote for only one option

Vote Here

I would choose the **First Past the Post** system (FPP)



I would choose the **Preferential Voting** system (PV)



I would choose the **Single Transferable Vote** system (STV)



I would choose the **Supplementary Member** system (SM)



Final Directions

- If you spoil this voting paper, return it to the officer who issued it and apply for a new paper.
- After voting, fold this voting paper so that its contents cannot be seen and **place it in the**

[INSERT ELECTORATE NAME AND NUMBER]

Explanation

1. You may vote in both Part A and Part B or you may vote in only Part A or only Part B.
2. Vote by putting a tick in the circle next to the option you choose.

Part A

Should New Zealand keep the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) voting system?

Vote for only one option

I vote to keep the MMP voting system

I vote to change to another voting system

Part B

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

Vote for only one option

I would choose the First Past the Post system (FPP)

I would choose the Preferential Voting system (PV)

I would choose the Single Transferable Vote system (STV)

I would choose the Supplementary Member system (SM)

Final Directions

- If you spill this voting paper, return it to the officer who issued it and apply for a new paper.
- After voting, fold this voting paper so that its contents cannot be seen and place it in the box.

2011 Referendum result

Overall Results - 2011 Referendum on the Voting System

Part A - Should New Zealand keep the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) voting system?			
	Number of Votes	Percentage of Valid Votes	Percentage of Total Votes
KEEP	1,267,955	57.77%	56.17%
CHANGE	926,819	42.23%	41.06%
Total Valid Votes	2,194,774	100.00%	97.23%
Informal Votes*	62,469		2.77%
Total Votes	2,257,243		100.00%

Part B - If New Zealand were to change to another voting system, which voting system would you choose?			
	Number of Votes	Percentage of Valid Votes	Percentage of Total Votes
First Past the Post (FPP)	704,117	46.66%	31.19%
Preferential Voting (PV)	188,164	12.47%	8.34%
Single Transferable Vote (STV)	252,503	16.73%	11.19%
Supplementary Member (SM)	364,373	24.14%	16.14%
Total Valid Votes	1,509,157	100.00%	66.86%
Informal Votes*	748,086		33.14%
Total Votes	2,257,243		100.00%

* An informal vote is when the voter has not clearly indicated the option for which they wish to vote.

http://www.electionresults.govt.nz/electionresults_2011/referendum.html

Comparing the Cases

Table 5. Factors in Reform Initiation in UK, BC, and New Zealand (NZ)

Phase/Factor	UK	BC	NZ
1. Pressure	No	Yes	Yes
2. Recognition	Yes	Yes	Yes
3. Initiation and consultation	Yes	Yes	Yes
4. Decision-making	No	Yes	Yes
<i>F1. Agent</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Yes</i>
<i>F2. Ideational change</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>
Did reform occur?	No	No	Yes

Canadian & UK Systems in the News

Electoral Reform In the News: Canada

- **Liberals**: 54% of seats (184)
- **Conservatives**: 29% of seats (99)
- **New Democratic Party**: 13% of seats (44)
- **Bloc Quebecois**: 3% of seats (10)
- **Green Party**: 0.3% of seats (1)

- **TOTAL SEATS: 338**

- Electoral reform was a major plank of the 2015 Liberal platform

Electoral Reform In the News: Canada

- http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/12/01/maryam-monsef-math-equation-electoral-reform_n_13358776.html



Trudeau abandons electoral reform, breaking key campaign promise

LAURA STONE

OTTAWA — The Globe and Mail

Published Wednesday, Feb. 01, 2017 12:45PM EST

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Why Might They Have Faltered?

2011

2015

Party	% votes	% seats	% votes	% seats
Liberals	18.9	11.0	39.5	54
Conservatives	37.7	53.9	31.9	29
NDP	30.6	33.4	19.7	13
BQ	6.0	1.3	4.7	3
Green Party	3.9	0.3	3.4	0.3

The 2017 UK Election

- While Canada's 2015 election may have been **de-polarizing**, the UK's 2017 election reflects a **polarized** electorate
- Polarization by age, education, and EU attitudes
- There appears to be momentum towards a two-party system

The 2017 UK Election

