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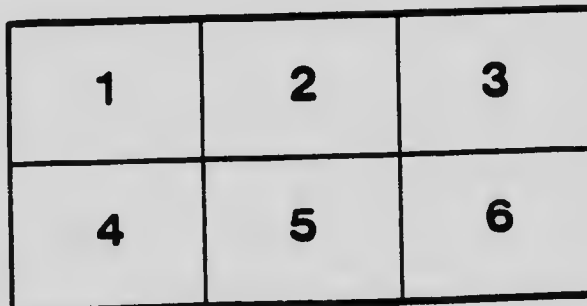
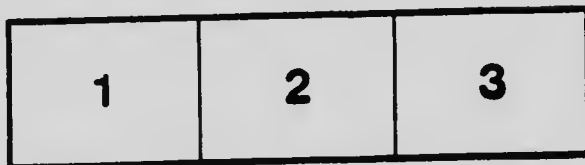
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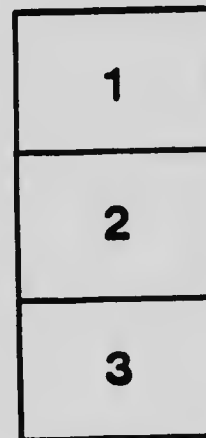
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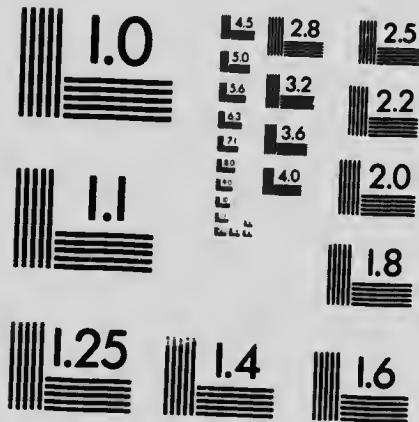
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Proportional Representation Society of Canada.

Committee on Political Purity and the Franchise

Your Committee have given special attention (during 1920) to Proportional Representation as a method of voting.

It has for years been in use in Switzerland and elsewhere. It has attained favour in Great Britain within certain limits. It was given an excellent test in Winnipeg in the recent Provincial elections and in the municipal elections. It is before a Committee of the Ontario Legislature, and is likely to be favourably reported for use in Ontario.

The following statement or explanation of what it is and how it works will be useful and welcome :

Proportional Representation

What is Proportional Representation ?

The representation of all classes of citizens on elected bodies in proportion to their voting strength.

How can this be attained ?

By the method of election known as the Single Transferable Vote.

What is the Single Transferable Vote ?

The Single Transferable Vote requires—

1. That constituencies shall be large enough to return several members each.
2. That each elector in such constituencies shall have only one vote.
3. That this vote shall, in certain contingencies, be transferable, the transfer being controlled by the elector.

Why Constituencies Returning Several Members ?

When a constituency returns only one member, the representation cannot be divided. It necessarily falls to a single party. But with constituencies returning several members, it is impossible to give representation within each electoral area to more than one party.

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Why a Single Vote ?

The single vote enables a coherent body of electors of reasonable size to obtain representation. Suppose that in a constituency, which returns five members, 10,000 electors go to the poll. As each elector has only one vote, only 10,000 votes can be recorded, and if a group consisting of 2,000 electors all vote for one and the same candidate they can secure his return. For only 8,000 electors remain, from whom not more than four other candidates can each obtain 2,000 votes.

Why a Transferable Vote ?

The fact that votes are transferable ensures that the majority and the minority parties shall each receive their fair share of the representation.

The elector entering the polling booth does not know whether his favourite will receive more support than he requires or whether he will receive so little as to have no chance of election. Thus a popular candidate of any party may receive, say, 3,000 votes when he needs only 2,000. The votes given in excess would be lost to his party.

Or again, a party may have scattered its votes over too many candidates and might lose the representation which it otherwise would gain. The transferable vote provides against both these contingencies. It enables the elector to indicate the candidate of his second choice (even further choices), to whom his vote can be transferred,

1. When his first choice has more votes than he requires, or
2. When, after all excess votes have been transferred, the elector's first choice is at the bottom of the poll.

Thus the transferable vote preserves the secrecy of the ballot and yet allows the electors to combine into groups of the necessary size. If a party contains three such groups it will win three seats ; if a party contains only two such groups it will obtain two seats.

What the Elector has to do.

The elector votes by placing the figure 1 against the name of the candidate he likes best. He

indicates his further preferences by placing the figures 2, 3, 4, etc., against the names of the other candidates he selects.

How the Successful Candidates are Chosen.

The elector's vote is credited by the returning officer to the candidate whom the elector has marked with the figure 1. Every candidate who obtains a certain proportion of votes (this proportion is called the *quota*) is elected. If a candidate has obtained more than a quota of votes the Returning Officer carries forward the votes in excess to those candidates marked on the ballot papers by the voters as their next preference. If a second choice candidate does not need the vote, the Returning Officer transfers it to the third choice, and so on. The votes transferred to a candidate are added to the votes originally obtained by him, and whenever a candidate's total reaches the quota he is elected. After all surplus votes have been transferred there may still remain vacancies to be filled. In that case the candidate at the bottom of the poll is excluded, and his votes, instead of being wasted, are transferred to those candidates who are marked on the ballot papers as the voter's next choice. Again the votes transferred to candidates are added to the votes already obtained by them, and whenever a candidate's total is equal to the quota he is declared elected. In this way each quota of electors obtains one representative, and in building up these quotas the Returning Officer is guided always by the wishes expressed by the electors on their papers.

How the "Quota" is ascertained

The "quota" is that proportion of the votes, which necessarily secures the election of a candidate. If there is only one candidate to be elected, it is quite clear that the quota is one more than half of the votes, for no other candidate can obtain this number. For instance, the candidate who obtains 51 out of 100 votes in a single member constituency is sure of election. Similarly in a two member constituency any candidate who obtains more than one-third of the votes must be elected. The quota in this case would be one more than a third. If

there are 100 votes, only two candidates can poll as many as 34 each. Similarly in a three member constituency the candidate who obtains more than one-fourth (26 out of 100) is sure of election ; in a four member constituency, one more than a fifth, and so on. In general terms, the quota is found by dividing the total number of votes polled by one more than the number of seats and by adding one to the result so obtained.

How Surplus votes are Transferred.

Every transfer of surplus votes is carried out in such a way as to do even justice to all candidates who are marked as the next preference on the papers of the successful candidate.

Suppose in an election a popular candidate, A, obtains 3,000 papers when he only requires 2,000 papers. He will be able to spare 1,000 or one-third of the whole of the papers on which he has been marked with the figure "1."

The Returning Officer re-sorts all the 3,000 papers according to the names marked "2."

Suppose the result is that

Candidate B is marked "2" on 2,400 papers and

Candidate C is marked "2" on 600 papers.

Candidate A can spare one-third of all his 3,000 votes. He can therefore spare to B one-third of all his 2,400 in which B is second preference, i.e., 800. He can similarly spare to C one-third of the 600 on which C is second preference, i.e., 200.

Accordingly 800 votes are transferred to B, 200 to C.

The Scheme Works Easily and Fairly in Practice.

There have been no practical difficulties in applying proportional representation in any of the many parts of the world in which it is in operation. The elector's task is quite simple. Returning officers have always made a point of executing their duties with accuracy and dispatch. As soon as the principle is carried into law it becomes the duty of the press, candidates, agents, returning officers, to set forth simply and clearly what is required and practical experience shows that this is always done. The results are always fair. Every quota of votes elects a representative. (Adapted from publications of the P. R. Society.)

Advocates of Proportional Representation claim that it gives freedom of choice to electors, it does justice to all parties, and will yield a House of Commons which will be a true expression of public opinion on the main issues of a General Election.

This quotation from an article in "Canadian Finance" very clearly illustrates how it works in practice and especially how the ballots are marked and counted :

With the Manitoba Provincial elections near at hand, the people of Winnipeg are beginning to take a little more interest in the Proportional Representation method of conducting elections, because it is this method which will be used in Winnipeg when the forthcoming elections are held. "P.R.," as Proportional Representation is usually termed, is at the present time regarded by many people as a most complicated system and one which is entirely beyond the comprehension of any person who is not an expert mathematician. This is a mistaken idea founded upon absolute lack of information on the subject. P.R. is just as simple as our old method of conducting elections insofar as the elector is concerned. The counting of the ballots is a little more complicated, but the voter has nothing to do with this—all he has to do is to mark his ballot. Actual experience in the many countries where P.R. is in use have demonstrated that the percentage of spoiled ballots in P.R. elections does not exceed the percentage experienced under the old system of conducting elections. The counting of the ballots takes a little longer, but that is a small matter when compared to the many benefits derived from the use of P.R. The new system is not perfect—its most ardent supporters admit that, but they assert without fear of contradiction that it is far in advance of the old single member constituency system.

The Winnipeg Experiment

The Manitoba Government is the first Provincial Government in Canada to actually enact provisions for a P.R. election in a Provincial election. The experiment will be tried out in Winnipeg, it having been chosen as the most favorable place for a trial of the system to be made. Winnipeg will be re-

presented by ten members in the new Legislature and these members will be elected from the whole of the Winnipeg area. Instead of being divided into a number of constituencies, each electing one or two members, as was the custom formerly, Winnipeg has been transformed into one large electoral constituency to be represented by ten members.

For the purpose of this article it is presumed that the electors of Winnipeg are grouped into four classes: Liberal, Conservative, Labour and Independent. If this is the case there will be four sets of candidates, one for each group. The number of candidates in each list will depend to some extent upon the decision of the organizers of the group, but it may be safely asserted that there will be at least twenty-five candidates in all. As an illustration we shall presume that the first three groups nominate ten candidates each, and the independents only one candidate, making 31 candidates in all. If this happens the ballot paper will be a very lengthy document.

Marking the Ballot

A specimen of a marked ballot paper is submitted herewith. For the sake of simplicity, details of Christian names, occupations and addresses of candidates have been omitted, but in order to assist the reader in studying the marking of the ballot the political affiliations of the candidates are shown, although this last mentioned information will not appear on the ballots actually used in the election.

BALLOT PAPER

AMES	Liberal.....	4
BROWN	Labour.....	
CASEY	Labour.....	
DARE	Conservative.....	
EVANS	Labour.....	
FRIAR	Conservative.....	
GOOD	Conservative.....	
HALL	Liberal.....	5
INKSTER	Labour.....	
JONES	Independent.....	
KAPLAN	Liberal.....	8

LOVE	Conservative.....	
MANN	Liberal.....	9
NOBLE	Labour.....	
OVER	Labour.....	
PETERS	Conservative	
QUAKER	Liberal	1
ROY	Liberal	7
SMITH	Labour.....	
TEES	Conservative.....	
ULSTER	Conservative.....	
VERNON	Labour.....	
WARES	Liberal.....	2
WASON	Liberal.....	10
WATERS	Conservative.....	
WAUGH	Liberal.....	3
WAY	Labour.....	
WEBB	Labour.....	
WEEKS	Liberal.....	6
WINTERS	Conservative.....	
WORKS	Conservative.....	

Instructions to Voters

Vote by placing the figure 1 opposite the name of the candidate *you like best*.

You are also invited to place the figure 2 opposite the name of your *second choice*,

The figure 3 opposite the name of your *third choice*, and so on, *numbering as many candidates as you please in the order of your preference*.

Note.—The paper will be valid if only the figure 1 is marked, but voters are advised to number in the order of their preference the names of all candidates whom they would desire to see elected.

The paper will be spoiled if the figure 1 is placed opposite the name of more than one candidate.

Under P.R. a voter has only one vote which actually counts, no matter how many vacancies have to be filled, but as this vote is transferable he is permitted to state to whom he wishes it transferred if it is necessary to transfer it. The specimen ballot paper shown is obviously one which has been marked by a Liberal supporter. It will be noted that an X is not used in marking the ballot, the voter being required to use figures instead. The voter has marked a figure One (1) opposite Quaker's

name, and by doing this he signifies that Quaker is his first choice—he wishes to see Quaker elected.

When the ballots are counted it may be found that Quaker has far more votes than he needs to be elected, or on the other hand, he may have so few that he has no chance of being elected. In either case, under the old system, a number of voters lost their votes because it is obvious that if Quaker had a majority of two thousand more than he needed, practically all of the votes included in that majority were wasted. If Quaker was at the bottom of the poll with 1,500 votes, all of those would be wasted because Quaker would be defeated. Under P.R. this loss of votes is avoided to a very large extent, if the voter uses his privileges to the fullest extent.

The Transferable Vote

By marking the figure 2 against Wares' name the voter has shown that he wishes Wares to have his vote if Quaker does not need it. The figure 3 opposite Waugh's name shows that the voter's next choice is for Waugh, and each succeeding figure shows the preference of the voter for the various candidates he has chosen.

It is not compulsory for the voter to mark choices from 1 to 10 if he does not wish to do so. The ballot will be a good one if he only marks the figure 1 against one of the candidates' names, or he may mark any number of preferences so long as they are shown by consecutive numbers. As an example, if he wishes to pick out five candidates, he must mark the figure 1 against the name of his first choice, the figure 2 against his second choice, and so on until he has placed the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 respectively against the names of five candidates. If he wishes to take full advantage of his privilege the voter may mark a figure against each of the 31 candidates, provided he does not use the same figure opposite the name of more than one candidate. For instance, he should not mark number 2 against the names of two candidates. Neither should he miss a number. His choices must be marked in numerical order, one, two, three, four, etc.; it would not be wise for him to mark the figure 1 against Noble's name and omit the figure 2 on his ballot and then mark the figure 3 opposite Ames' name.

Counting the ballots

The first choices on the ballots will be counted by the Deputy Returning Officer in each polling booth at the close of the poll and he will publish a statement of the result of his count. The actual process of counting will be as follows : The Deputy will arrange the ballot papers in separate heaps according to the candidates for whom the figure 1 is marked on the ballots. If all the candidates have been voted for the Deputy will have 31 separate heaps at the end of his count, and each heap will consist of ballot papers marked number 1 against a particular candidate's name. For instance, all the papers in the Ames' heap will have number 1 marked opposite Ames' name.

Having completed this preliminary count, each candidate's bundle will be tied up separately and placed in the ballot box, and the ballot box will then be delivered to the Returning Officer at his headquarters. This official will have a staff of counters and supervisors who will take charge of the subsequent counting. The Deputy Returning Officer's figures will be checked and the figures handed to the Returning Officer. All ballot boxes will have to be in the hands of this official before any further step is taken.

Calculating the Quota

Having received details of the first count from each Deputy Returning Officer the Returning Officer can proceed. Space available will not permit a detailed description of the procedure which would be followed in an election where ten members are to be elected out of 31 candidates, but a simple illustration of the counting process is submitted hereunder. In the illustration given it is presumed that four members are to be elected out of 8 candidates. A statement of the result of this imaginary election is submitted herewith.

If this statement is examined it will be noted that 4,995 ballots have been cast. The first step to be taken after this information is secured is to ascertain the quota, *i.e.*, the least number of votes required by a candidate in order to ensure election. This is done by dividing the total of the ballots cast (4,995)

by one more than the number of candidates to be elected (4 plus 1 equals 5), thus : 4,995 divided by 5 equals 999 to which result 1 is added thus : 999 plus 1 equals 1,000. The quota is 1,000—a candidate needs 1,000 votes to secure election at this stage of the proceedings. In the first column of figures, headed "1st count" we find the result of the preliminary count. Ames is credited with 522 which means that 522 ballots have been marked with the figure 1 opposite Ames' name. Brown has received 1,204 votes calculated in a similar way and so on down the list.

Having ascertained the quota, we examine the total opposite each name to find out whether any candidate has 1,000 or more votes to his credit. We find there is one candidate in this position, Brown, with 1,204. As Brown only needs 1,000 votes to secure election he is declared elected and steps are taken to transfer the extra 204 votes—being the difference between the quota and the actual number credited to him (1,204 minus 1,000 leaves 204) to some other candidate or candidates if the voters have shown their second preference on Brown's ballot papers.

Transferring the Surplus

Brown's ballots are re-examined to ascertain the second choices marked thereon, and it is found that all of the ballots are straight Labour votes—the voters have marked the figure 1 opposite Brown's name and the figure 2 opposite Casey's name. This is proof of careful organization by the Labour group, for not one ballot is lost, and Brown's surplus of 204 votes is transferred intact to Casey as shown in the column headed "2nd count."

Just by way of illustration we will presume that instead of Casey being marked as second choice on all of Brown's ballots, the second choices totalled as follows:

301 for Ames.
903 for Casey.

This would mean that 301 ballots were marked No. 1 for Brown and No. 2 for Ames, and 903 ballots were marked No. 1 for Brown and No. 2

for Casey. In other words one-fourth of the ballot (1,204 divided by four equals 301) shows Ames as second choice, and three-fourths of the ballot (1,204 divided by 4 equals 301; 301 times 3 equals 903) show Casey as second choice. If this happened, three-fourths of the surplus 204 would be credited to Casey and one-fourth to Ames, as follows:

Transferred to Ames, $\frac{1}{4}$ of 204.. 51 votes.

Transferred to Casey, $\frac{3}{4}$ of 204.. 153 votes.

Total surplus transferred..... 204 votes.

Eliminating Defeated Candidates

The transfer of Brown's surplus does not result in the election of any more candidates. There is no other candidate with more than the quota so the next step is to eliminate the candidate at the bottom of the poll. Good, with 196 votes, is at the bottom. His ballots are re-examined and found to be straight Conservative ballots, every one having the figure 2 marked against the name of the other Conservative, Dare. In consequence they are all transferred to Dare with the result that he now has 1,000 votes to his credit, and is therefore declared elected. These changes are shown in the column headed "3rd count."

No candidate has more than 1,000 votes to his credit at this point, so the candidate at the bottom of the poll now is eliminated. Hall, the Liberal nominee, is the man. His ballots are re-examined with very unsatisfactory results. 204 of the ballots have nothing more than the figure 1 opposite Hall's name on them. The men who marked these ballots have "plumped" for Hall, and they will suffer for their shortsightedness.

They have lost their votes by "plumping," because Hall is defeated and cannot use them, and they cannot be transferred to other candidates because the voters have made no further choices. Not only have these men lost their votes but subsequent developments will reveal that they have allowed a Labour candidate to be elected in the place of a Liberal candidate who should have been elected. It does not pay to "plump" under P.R. Use all your preferences and mark as many choices as there are vacancies to be filled.

The Final Result

120 of Hall's ballots are marked No. 2 for Friar, and 20 are marked No. 2 for Ames, and these ballots are transferred accordingly as shown in the column headed "4th count."

There is still no candidate with more than 1,000 ballots to his credit, so the man now at the bottom of the poll is eliminated. Jones, with 425 votes, is dealt with. 17 ballots have no further choices marked upon them and are therefore eliminated from the count and added to the non-transferable ballots. 68 ballots have Friar marked as second choice, and 340 have Ames marked as No. 2 thereon. These ballots are duly credited to these men as shown in the column headed "5th count."

The result of the fifth count does not alter the situation and the candidate at the bottom of the poll is now dealt with. Ames' ballots are examined and it is found that 600 of them have no further choices shown thereon, and they are therefore added to the non-transferable ballots and are wasted. 202 have Friar marked as next choice thereon, and are transferred to him. 80 have Dare marked as next choice thereon and he is credited with them. The election is now completed, for only four candidates remain, namely : Brown (Labour), Casey (Labour), Dare (Conservative), and Friar (Liberal). These men are therefore elected.

Dangers to be avoided

P.R. is a method which, if properly followed, will give representation to all shades of opinion which have sufficient voting strength, *provided that voting strength is properly used*. The illustration given herein was prepared for the express purpose of showing how the voter may abuse his privileges by failing to use his vote to the fullest extent. A number of steps in the counting have been elaborated upon for this purpose, and some of the calculations shown would not be necessary in actual practice.

Lack of organization and "plumping" may produce fatal results to a political group. To emphasize this, let us examine the total votes cast for the respective groups as shown in the column headed "1st count." The result is as follows :

Liberal candidates :	Votes
Ames.....	522
Friar.....	809
Hall.....	344
Jones.....	425
Total.....	2,100

Labour candidates :	Votes
Brown.....	1,204
Casey.....	691
Total.....	1,895

Conservative candidates :	Votes
Dare.....	804
Good.....	196
Total.....	1,000

The successful candidates were as follows :

Labour :	Voters
Brown representing.....	1,000
Casey representing.....	895
Total Labour vote.....	1,895

Liberal :	Voters
Friar representing.....	1,199

Conservative :	Voters
Dare.....	1,080

Improper Representation

Liberal voters were in excess of the Labour voters to the extent of 205 votes on the first count (2,100 minus 1,895 equals 205). It is therefore obvious that two Liberal candidates should have been elected and only one Labour candidate. Labour was only entitled to one representative on the basis of its voting strength. The Liberal voters lost one-half of their representation because a number of them "plumped." 821 votes were lost in this way, all of them being Liberal ballots at the beginning. If those 821 ballots had been marked so that they could have been transferred to Ames, he

would have been elected and Casey would have been defeated.

Proportional representation is a splendid system, its fairness is beyond question, but like any other system it is subject to abuse, and those who abuse it suffer the consequences. Do not plump, mark as many preferences as there are vacancies and you may be sure that the election will result in proper representation of all groups sufficiently strong to entitle them to representation."

Candidates	1st Count		2nd Count		3rd Count		4th Count		5th Count		6th Count	
AMES (Liberal)	522	.....	522	.....	522	.....	+20	542	+340	882	-882	.....
BROWN (Labour)	1204	.....	1000	.....	1000	.....	.....	1000	.....	1000	.....	1000
CASEY (Labour)	691	.....	895	.....	895	.....	.....	895	.....	895	.....	895
DARE (Conservative)	804	.....	804	.....	1000	.....	.....	1000	.....	1000	+80	1080
FRIAR (Liberal)	809	.....	809	.....	809	.....	+120	929	+68	997	+202	1199
GOOD (Conservative)	196	.....	196	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
HALL (Liberal)	344	.....	344	.....	344	.....	-344	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
JONES (Liberal)	425	.....	425	.....	425	.....	.....	425	-425	.....	.....	.....
Non-transferable	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	+204	204	+17	221	+600	821
Total	4995	.....	4995	.....	4995	.....	.....	4995	.....	4995	.....	4995



