

The 2018 Member of Parliament Survey

Evaluating the House of Commons and options for reform



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SUMMARY

Three years into the 42nd Parliament, is the House of Commons working well in the eyes of Members of Parliament (MPs)? This short report shares the results of a recent survey of sitting MPs. It comes as rookie MPs elected in 2015 have had time to learn the ropes, and new party leaders are settled into their roles. These results stand out as the only public effort to capture MPs' personal evaluation of the Commons and assess cross-partisan support for different reforms that could make a difference to MPs' influence and effectiveness in the 42nd Parliament and future Parliaments.

What 100 MPs shared with the Samara Centre for Democracy:

- 1. Debate Debacle: MPs across political parties are dissatisfied with the state of debate in the House. This dissatisfaction likely affects their approach to other aspects of their work—such as collaboration between parties—as well as their opinion towards certain reforms.
- 2. Secret Sauce: According to MPs, their most worthwhile work is done behind closed doors (such as during caucus meetings, while speaking with ministers, and in informal interactions with colleagues), or in settings that don't typically draw large public audiences (such as committees).
- 3. Mixed Messages: MPs share strong dissatisfaction with certain aspects of Parliament, but this doesn't lead to a strong consensus on which parliamentary reforms to seek. Not one of the reforms tested in this survey had the support of a majority of MPs from each major party.
- 4. Reforms (Re)Visited: Among the reform proposals that were tested, the greatest cross-partisan support existed for modifying how committee chairs were elected. This proposal had support from a promising number of MPs from all major parties, signalling that reforms which increase the prominence and influence of committees might find traction.

INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 2018, the Samara Centre for Democracy continued its annual tradition of surveying current MPs.¹ Previous Samara Centre surveys focused on examining specific aspects of parliamentary life—like decorum during House of Commons debates²—but this time, we collaborated with Members of the all-party Democracy Caucus to survey MPs about what can be done to strengthen Canada's Parliamentary democracy.³ This builds on the momentum of the recently published *Turning Parliament Inside Out: Practical Ideas for Reforming Canada's Democracy*, a book penned by current MPs from across the political spectrum.⁴

In the first section of the survey, MPs were asked to evaluate the performance of the House of Commons and its Members on several elements, including Parliament's transparency to the public, the productivity and independence of committees, and the state of debates (yes, again!). They also had the chance to identify where they felt they had the most influence on policy and legislation, and where they faced the greatest obstacles to performing their job. The second section measured MPs' support for a dozen parliamentary reform proposals that had been identified by Members in the Democracy Caucus to improve the functioning of Parliament.⁵

Exactly 100 representatives participated, which is just shy of one-third of all sitting MPs (30 per cent). This is a strong response rate in social science research and the largest number of responses the Samara Centre has received to a survey of sitting MPs. The results provide a unique look at how MPs think the 42nd Parliament is functioning. Or not.

Who participated in the survey?

BY PARTY

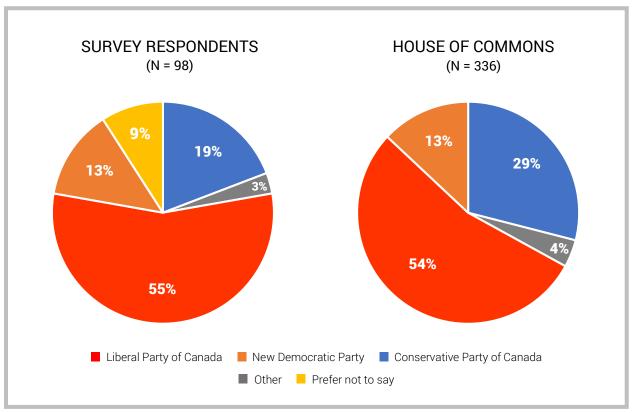


Figure 1. Note: At the time of the survey, there were two empty seats in the House of Commons.

BY GENDER

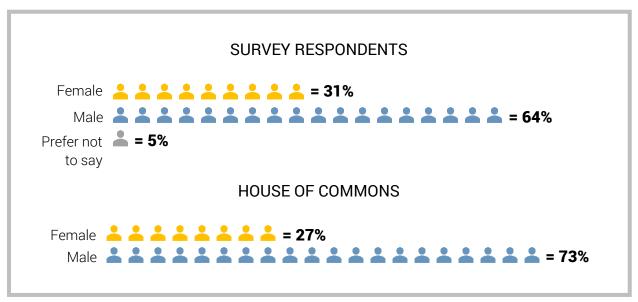


Figure 2

PERFORMANCE EVALUATION

Prescribing change requires diagnosing the problem. As such, the Samara Centre survey asked MPs to evaluate how Parliament is performing on several fronts. Issues flagged by all parties indicate potential common ground where conversations can begin on how to improve Canada's Parliamentary democracy.

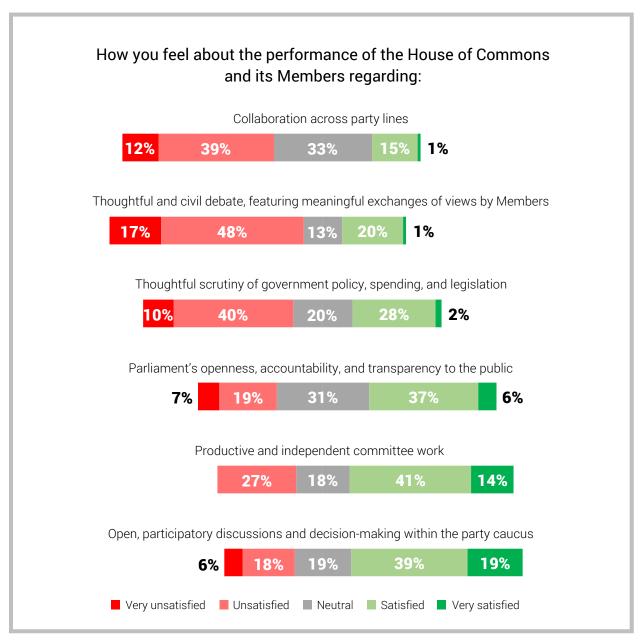


Figure 3

CAUCUS AND COMMITTEES: WHERE MPs ARE HAPPIEST

First up: The good news. Most MPs (55 per cent) said they were satisfied or very satisfied with productive and independent committee work (**Figure 3**). An even larger majority (58 per cent) indicated the same for open, participatory discussions and decision-making within their party caucus. Most MPs also said they felt most empowered to influence government policy and legislation in committees and national caucus discussions (**Figure 4**). These results are

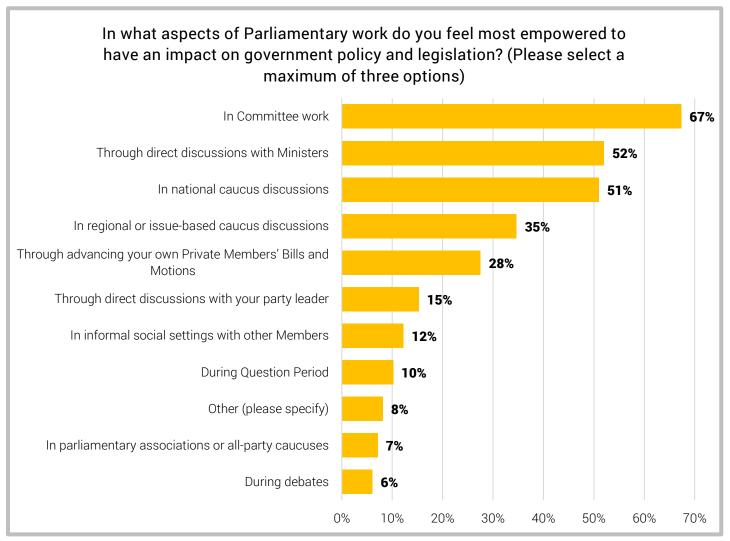


Figure 4

positive because in well-functioning parties, the direction or stance on policy and legislation is generally discussed and debated in caucus meetings. Legislation and government policy are then fine-tuned in committees. On the other hand, the parliamentary work MPs value the most and for which they feel most empowered, where they may be able to speak candidly and with greater familiarity on the subject at hand, receives little public attention. It takes place behind closed doors, as in caucus deliberations, or is more removed from the public eye, as committee work receives less media coverage than, say, Question Period. Members of the governing party also heavily favour direct discussions with ministers to influence government policy and legislation—another avenue free from public scrutiny. The puzzle is this: is there a way for meaningful and effective deliberation to be demonstrated publicly, or are authentic interactions dependent on being relegated to private spaces?

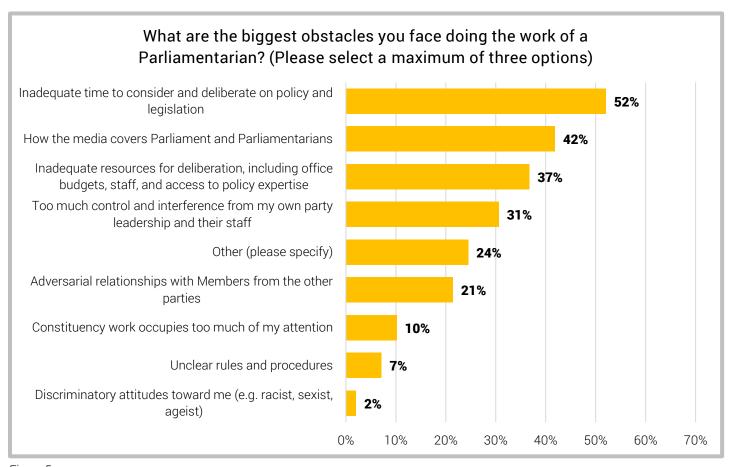


Figure 5

Similarly, the popularity of committees may mask a more deeply embedded problem, one which was expanded on in our MP Exit Interview report "Flip the Script: Reclaiming the legislature to reinvigorate representative democracy." Committees could very well provide in-depth reports to guide policy direction and provide MPs with a sense of ownership in their work, but whether those

recommendations are subsequently adopted by the Government is another question entirely.

TRANSPARENCY AND SCRUTINY: A WORRISOME FORECAST

Half of MPs were unhappy with how Parliament scrutinizes government policy, spending, and legislation (Figure 3). When considered alongside the greatest obstacles MPs identified in their work (Figure 5), there is reason for concern. More than half of MPs from every major party agreed that their work suffers because of inadequate time to consider policy, spending, and legislation. Inadequate resources for deliberation, including office budgets, staff, and access to policy expertise, was also among the top difficulties MPs identified.

When two of MPs' top three obstacles include not having enough time or resources to carefully weigh policy decisions and oversee spending, questions arise about whether the House of Commons can perform one of its most integral functions.

However, MPs were, on average, satisfied with Parliament's transparency to the public. Forty-three per cent of MPs were satisfied or very satisfied with Parliament's openness, accountability, and transparency, compared with 26 per cent who were unsatisfied or very unsatisfied. MPs believe parliamentary decisions, while challenging for time-crunched and resource-strapped legislators, are sufficiently transparent for the public.

Members from all major parties agreed on the most substantial roadblocks they faced in their work (**Figure 5**), except when it came to the media's portrayal of Parliament and parliamentarians; smaller opposition party MPs were much more likely to criticize the role of media. This may signify that media—traditionally a powerful tool available to scrutinize and hold Government accountable—is no longer an available resource for smaller opposition parties.

DEBATE AND COLLABORATION: DISSATISFACTION ALL AROUND

Now for the bad news. Among all the aspects of Parliament MPs were asked to evaluate (Figure 3), MPs were most unhappy with the state of collaboration

across party lines and the quality of debate. Only one per cent of MPs said they were 'very satisfied' with each of these two aspects of parliamentary work.

What is most striking is that a clear majority—62 per cent of MPs—were unsatisfied or very unsatisfied with thoughtful and civil debate featuring meaningful exchanges of views by Members. The state of civility in debates and during Question Period in the House of Commons continues to be troublingly disappointing to most MPs (and we didn't even ask them what they think of Twitter!). It's possible that this problem is so deeply entrenched in the culture of Parliament that MPs are reluctant to even consider reform in this area, or don't know where to start.

Female MPs were especially critical of the state of collaboration. Seventy-six per cent indicated they were unsatisfied or very unsatisfied with collaboration across party lines, while only 40 per cent of male MPs said the same. This was the one striking gender difference observed in the survey responses.

The potential link between the low quality of debate and poor collaboration across party lines is difficult to ignore. Would there be more occasions for cross-party collaboration if exchanges between Members were more meaningful? Or if collaboration between MPs from different parties improved, would there be less partisan vitriol during debates? At the very least, it must be acknowledged that many problems in Parliament are likely interlinked.

PARTY DIFFERENCES

Above all, MPs from different parties broadly agreed on what ails Parliament, but there are a few minor differences that emerged along party lines. The table on the following page outlines which aspects of parliamentary work (those from **Figure 3**) scored over 50 per cent dissatisfaction or satisfaction ratings from MPs in each major party.

GREATEST DISSATISFACTION

GREATEST SATISFACTION

CONSERVATIVE PARTY MPs

- Thoughtful and civil debate, featuring meaningful exchanges of views by Members (53% unsatisfied/very unsatisfied)
- 2. Thoughtful scrutiny of government policy, spending, and legislation (53% unsatisfied/very unsatisfied)
- Open, participatory discussions and decision-making within the party caucus (84% satisfied/very satisfied)

Note: no other area scored over 50% satisfaction

LIBERAL PARTY MPs

- 1. Thoughtful and civil debate, featuring meaningful exchanges of views by Members (74% unsatisfied)
- Collaboration across party lines (57% unsatisfied/very unsatisfied)
- 1. Productive and independent committee work (70% satisfied/ very satisfied)
- 2. Parliament's openness, accountability, and transparency to the public (57% satisfied/very satisfied)
- Open, participatory discussions and decision-making within the party caucus (51% satisfied/very satisfied)

NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY MPs

 Thoughtful scrutiny of government policy, spending, and legislation (73% unsatisfied/ very unsatisfied)

Note: no other area scored over 50% dissatisfaction

- Open, participatory discussions and decision-making within the party caucus (73% satisfied/very satisfied)
- 2. Productive and independent committee work (55% satisfied/ very satisfied)

Table 1

Across all major parties, MPs generally felt that caucus discussions and decision-making were open and participatory. The support is slightly less among Liberals than for opposition parties, but the Liberals also have the

largest caucus with over 180 members to include in discussions. Notably, MPs from both the governing party and Official Opposition both tended to find that the absence of "thoughtful and civil debate" was their largest source of dissatisfaction.

WHERE MPs STAND ON (SOME) PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS

The second section of the survey asked MPs to evaluate a dozen proposals for parliamentary reform which were sourced from the membership of the all-party Democracy Caucus. This is not the first time these proposals have been discussed,⁷ nor are they the only ones worthy of discussion; space was a practical limitation on this survey. Nevertheless, the survey results remain one of the few public efforts to measure the level of support for specific reforms across all sitting MPs.

The survey shows that, despite broad agreement on the problems they experience in Parliament, there is little consensus among MPs about how to fix them. While some reforms had the support of more than half of all MPs, not a single reform had the support of a majority of MPs from each major party.

The reforms with the highest levels of support overall included:

- Changing the lottery system for Private Members' Business (56 per cent support/strongly support),
- → Modifying how Standing Committee chairs are elected (51 per cent support/strongly support),
- → Altering cameras in the House of Commons so they can capture more than just the recognized speaker (50 per cent support/strongly support), and
- → Eliminating Friday sittings (67 per cent in favour, although MPs did not agree on how to implement the change).

The reforms with the strongest opposition overall included:

- → Having the Speaker independently recognize individual Members for Standing Order 31 Members' statements, rather than relying on a list of Members provided by the party whips (56 per cent oppose/strongly oppose),
- → Selecting each party's Standing Committee Members through a secret ballot by all Members from their own party (49 per cent oppose/strongly oppose), and
- → Introducing a second debating chamber in the House of Commons (48 per cent oppose/strongly oppose).

MPs were evenly divided between four cross-partisan groupings:

Committed reformers, who tended to support many or all reforms,

- → Adamant anti-reformers, who tended to support few or no reforms,
- Those whose opinions included both 'sides' of the debate, and were both strongly for and strongly against reforms, and
- → Those who were ambivalent on reforms in general.

Significantly, the high rate of 'indifferent' responses and desire for more information about a reform can suggest an openness for change.

The reforms themselves are grouped into four main categories: debates, Private Members' Business (PMB), committees, and the House of Commons schedule.

DEBATES

These five reforms seek to improve debate by generating greater spontaneity, substance, and civility. For example, reducing the dependence of MPs on written aids during debates could deter prepared statements and challenge

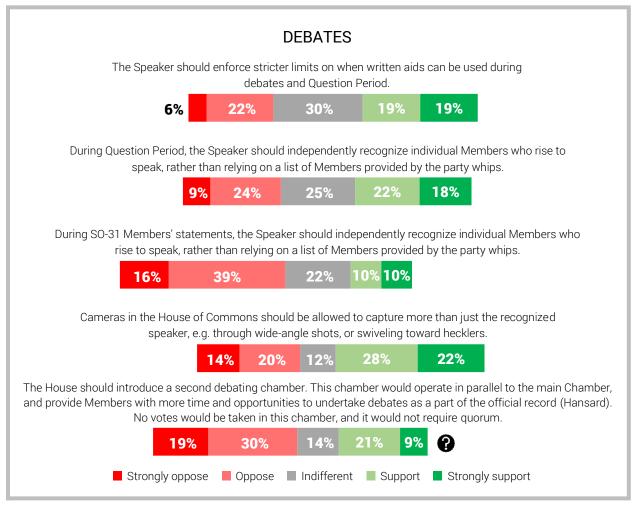


Figure 6. Note: The question mark signifies a greater proportion of MPs than usual—at least twice the average—indicated they would need more information about the reform before being able to answer.

MPs to engage in genuine discussion instead of repeating party lines. Having the Speaker select MPs spontaneously—both during Question Period and for SO31 statements⁸—rather than relying on lists provided by party whips could give backbench MPs more opportunities to participate and allow for more organic exchanges to hold Government to account.

Having cameras capture more of what happens in the House would allow the public to see more than solely the MP speaking, and could dissuade disruptive or offensive heckling. Notably, this reform received the most positive response in this section with 50 per cent support. In addition, the introduction of a second debating chamber, like in Australia and Great Britain, could give MPs an opportunity to have more take-note debates, experiment with different procedures, reduce the need for limiting debate on bills (known as closure and time allocation), and make the legislative process more effective.⁹

There is no silver bullet when it comes to improving the quality and effectiveness of debates, and MPs don't agree on where to start. For example, written comments on the survey suggested that some MPs who did not support the proposal for a second chamber were opposed because they were so unsatisfied with the current state of debate in the first one.

PRIVATE MEMBERS' BUSINESS

The first of these two reforms to Private Members' Business would provide more opportunities for backbench MPs to have their own (non-Government) bills and motions debated and voted on. The second would reformulate the lottery system—which randomly assigns an order for MPs to put forward Private Members' Bills and motions—so that those MPs whose bill never

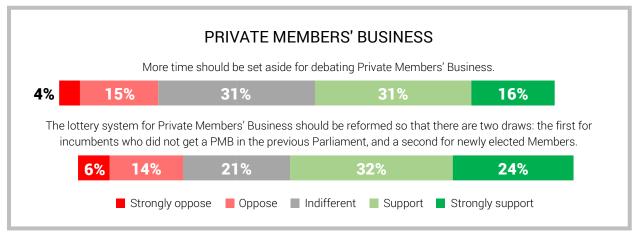


Figure 7

reached debate stage would have stronger odds in future lotteries.¹⁰ MPs generally regard Private Members' Business as having low stakes, which may explain why they have little resistance to these reforms. In fact, changes to the Private Members' Business lottery had the highest number of 'indifferent' respondents (31 per cent) than any other reform. After all, controversial bills or motions are unlikely to pass and Private Members' Bills cannot require government to spend money.

STANDING COMMITTEES

Generally, MPs who were dissatisfied with the performance of Parliament in an area were also more likely to support reforms to it, and vice versa. However, many of the same MPs who were largely satisfied with committee work—and who felt that committees were one of the most effective venues—were also supportive of committee reforms put forward in the survey.

Two reforms—electing Standing Committee members and chairs through secret ballot—have been proposed to increase the independence of MPs.¹¹ Party leaders' offices currently determine which MPs from their party are assigned to which committees. As a result, assignments become a tool with which the party leadership enforces discipline and punishes dissent. Similarly, even though committee chairs are technically elected by members of the committee, party leadership generally has a hand in who becomes chair by ensuring that their preferred MP is the only one who accepts a nomination.¹²

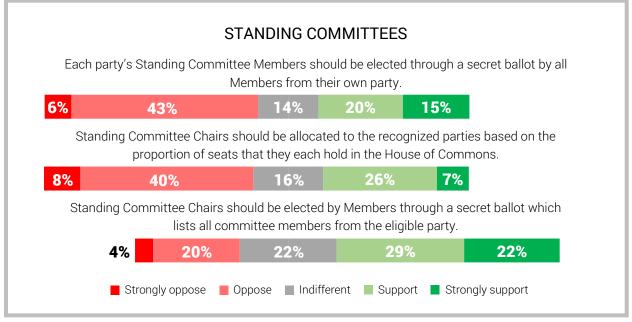


Figure 8 16

Secret ballot elections listing the name of every eligible committee member could weaken party control.

Altering the procedures for allocating committee chairs to recognized parties according to the proportion of seats they each hold in the House of Commons would enable smaller parties to play a larger role in overseeing committees. Currently, only five of the 24 Standing Committees (21 per cent) are headed by Members who are not part of the governing party (and all five must be Members of the Official Opposition). At the time of the survey, MPs from all opposition parties comprised 46 per cent of the House.

The election of Standing Committee chairs by secret ballot was the most popular reform *across all major parties* and suggests that MPs are interested in having more independent committee chairs. However, MPs' reluctance to alter the procedures to also elect Standing Committee members is an indication that, for the time being, they prefer being selected for committees by their party's leadership rather than rely on earning votes from their fellow caucus MPs on a secret ballot.

HOUSE OF COMMONS SCHEDULING

Prorogation (ending a session of Parliament) is usually an uncontroversial part of parliamentary life. But in recent years, uses of prorogation federally and provincially have provoked serious debate about the potential for abuse by the Government.¹³ The first scheduling reform responds to this concern by requiring a vote on prorogation in the House of Commons, which would need the support of more than just a majority of MPs to pass.¹⁴ This reform was opposed by 44 per cent of MPs and supported by only 23 per cent, although a relatively high number of MPs suggested they needed more information.

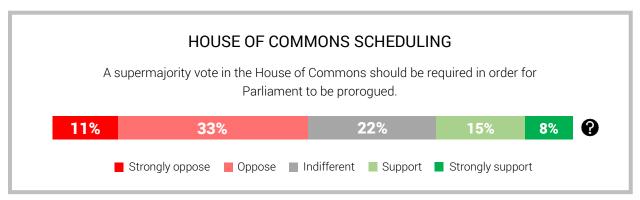


Figure 9. Note: The question mark signifies a greater proportion of MPs than usual—at least twice the average—indicated they would need more information about the reform before being able to answer.

The question of Friday sittings has gained increasing attention in Parliament, especially with discussion around making Parliament more family-friendly. ¹⁵ Altering the schedule would allow MPs—especially some from the more farflung ridings—to head to their constituencies to spend more time at local events, be available during Friday business hours, and connect with family and friends. The proposal to eliminate Friday sittings and make up the time either during other days of the week or by adding additional sitting weeks during the year appears to have a lot of support, particularly from governing party MPs. Members from the major opposition parties disagree most strongly with 50 per cent opposed to altering Friday sittings.

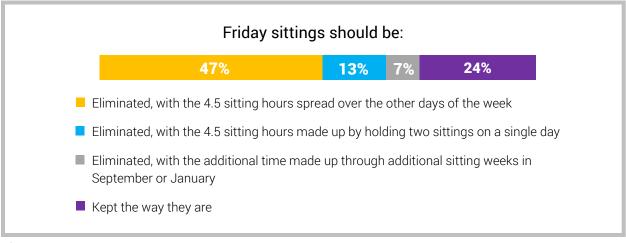


Figure 10

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Clearly, MPs feel there is room for improvement when it comes to the House of Commons' general performance. But where to start? There is a case for prioritizing reforms that would focus on improving the quality of House debates, since MPs from across the political spectrum identified it to be the most degraded aspect of the Commons. The Samara Centre for Democracy laid out several recommendations for reforming debates in its 2017 report "No One is Listening," including some that were not tested in the survey.

However, the survey found that many debate-focused reforms included in the survey (**Figure 6**) are not widely supported by MPs from all parties. To pass these reforms will likely require considerable groundwork to build cross-party consensus. This stands in contrast to reforms that received modest and multi-partisan support at this juncture, such as a different process for electing committee chairs. Beginning with the lower-hanging fruit is also a viable direction.

Pursuing parliamentary reform of any kind is a balancing act. As cross-partisan support matters for the long-term legitimacy and durability of change, reforms must be sought with cooperation and trust from all parties. Though this is difficult, Parliament can start by piloting an idea before fully committing to it.¹⁶

In the end, any change is ultimately up to sitting MPs. These survey results should prompt reflection within inter-party groups, such as the all-party Democracy Caucus. MPs from different parties must gather to discuss the House they have built, the House they want to have, and chart the way forward.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to the 100 MPs who responded to the survey and shared their perspectives with us.

This survey would not have been possible without the support of many generous donors and foundations who have invested in the public-facing, action-oriented research undertaken by the Samara Centre for Democracy. In particular, we wish to extend our sincere gratitude to Carl Turkstra, founder of the Your Canada, Your Constitution Foundation, as well as Torrance and Andrée Wylie—for remaining steadfast in a shared belief that Canada's democratic institutions can be further strengthened.

METHODOLOGY

- → Reform questions were selected based on the suggestions from Members of the all-party Democracy Caucus.
- → The survey was sent to all currently sitting MPs on May 15, 2018. Hard copies were mailed to their House of Commons offices, and email copies were sent to their general accounts.
- → MPs were sent several email reminders—one each to MPs' A1, A2, and general accounts.
- → The survey was anonymous, was available in both French and English, and could be filled out online or mailed in.
- → The survey took an average of eight minutes to complete.
- → An article appeared in the Hill Times in June alerting MPs to the survey, but it is impossible to tell how many MPs were made aware of it.
- → Some follow-up calls, independent outreach from individual MPs to their colleagues, social media outreach, and in-person meetings with MPs were used to encourage participation until the survey closed on June 22, after approximately six weeks of being accessible to MPs.
- → Late responses were accepted until the end of the month of June.
- → Surveys that were less than one-third completed were removed from the final tally although, of the 100 remaining responses, some still skipped the occasional question (or in a few cases, missed a page).
- → The response rate of 100 surpassed the response rates of similar surveys among parliamentarians.
- → The graphs outlining MPs' support for reforms include five of the options provided in the survey—strongly oppose, oppose, indifferent, support, strongly support—but exclude the answers that indicated 'need more information.' Hence, the totals will not add up to 100 per cent. The number of 'need more information' responses accounted for no more than four per cent for each question, except regarding the second debating chamber and the supermajority vote for prorogation (which were at seven per cent and 10 per cent, respectively).
- → The survey results and MPs' comments are available in CVC format and SPSS data along with the coding guide at samaracanada.com/2018-mp-survey.
- → Please contact Research Director Michael Morden at mike.morden@samaracanada.com if you have any questions about the survey or the data.

ENDNOTES

¹ The Samara Centre for Democracy sincerely thanks former parliamentary intern Andrew Merrell, who recruited a significant number of participants by distributing the survey in person. We also recognize the consultative role of individual MPs Michael Chong, Kennedy Stewart, Anita Vandenbeld, Daniel Blaikie, Bruce Stanton, and Erin O'Toole who provided feedback on the survey's content and design, encouraged survey participation, and/or offered their insights on the results. Thanks also to Paul E. J. Thomas, who provided feedback on the content of the survey.

² Michael Morden, Ryan van den Berg, and Mackenzie Grisdale, <u>No One is Listening: Incivility in the 42nd Parliament, and how to fix it</u> (Toronto: Samara Canada, 2017).

³ The all-party Democracy Caucus is a group of MPs working to promote healthy democracy in Canada and around the world. We would like to acknowledge their contribution to the survey, including suggestions on which reforms to include, and their help in encouraging MPs to participate.

⁴ Michael Chong, Scott Simms, and Kennedy Stewart, ed., *Turning Parliament Inside Out: Practical Ideas for Reforming Canada's Democracy* (Madeira Park, BC: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 2017).

⁵ For a full explanation of how the reforms were selected for inclusion in the survey, please see the methodology section.

⁶ Michael Morden, Jane Hilderman, and Kendall Anderson, <u>Flip the Script: Reclaiming the legislature to reinvigorate representative democracy</u> (Toronto: The Samara Centre for Democracy, 2018), 18-25.

⁷ For example, see Library of Parliament, "The Parliament We Want" (December 2003); Privy Council Office, "Ethics, Responsibility, Accountability: An Action Plan for Democratic Reform" (February 4, 2004); Thomas S. Axworthy, "Everything Old is New Again: Observations on Parliamentary Reform," Queen's University: Centre for the Study of Democracy (April 2008).

⁸ Standing Order 31 of the House of Commons outlines Members' statements. SO31s are opportunities for selected MPs (those who are not in Cabinet) to have the floor for up to a minute.

⁹ See Bruce Stanton, "A Parallel Chamber for Canada's House of Commons," *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, 41, no. 2 (Summer 2018). http://www.revparlcan.ca/en/vol-41-no2-a-parallel-chamber-for-canadas-house-of-commons/

¹⁰ For a discussion on procedure and merits of Private Members' Business, see "Flip the Script," pages 26-32.

¹¹ Michael Chong, "Rebalancing Power in Ottawa: Committee Reform," in *Turning Parliament Inside Out*, 80-97.

¹² See "Flip the Script," especially pages 18-25, for a greater discussion on committees.

¹³ For a greater discussion of the procedures relating to prorogation, see Stewart Press, <u>Samara Explains:</u> *Proroguing Parliament* (Toronto: Samara Canada, 2018).

¹⁴ Elizabeth May, "Westminster Parliamentary Democracy: Where Some MPs are more Equal than Others," in *Turning Parliament Inside Out*, 15-35.

¹⁵ Anita Vandenbeld, "Breaking the Parliamentary Glass Ceiling," in *Turning Parliament Inside Out*, 102-124.

¹⁶ For example, the House of Commons Advisory Panel on the Funding and Oversight of Officers of Parliament was started in the fall of 2005 and was originally conceived as a two-year pilot. Other parliaments have introduced changes and then revisited their success, such as the UK establishing 'explanatory statements' for the amendments to bills.

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